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# OUTLINE OF NEW TESTAMENT CHRISTOLOGY

A STUDY OF GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN  
THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE NEW  
TESTAMENT PERIOD





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TESTAMENT PERIOD

BY  
JOHN COWPER GRANBERY, PH.D.

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## INTRODUCTION

### AIM, EXPLANATION OF CHARTS, AND RÉSUMÉ

This study surveys the entire period of the New Testament history and literature, *ca.* 28-160 A. D., and includes the other extant Christian writings of these years that lie outside of the New Testament canon.

The effort is to present types of Christology within the New Testament period in such a way that they will stand out with their distinctive features and in their proper relationships, and to denote the character and sources of the conception of Christ in writings not so fully christological. It is not proposed to give an exhaustive study of the several types. Important questions are left unanswered, or the answer is only vaguely hinted at; for example, the character and extent of some of the non-Jewish influences. The study is offered as a contribution to the understanding of the Christology of the period chiefly in its bold, outstanding features and more general relationships.

The dates given are not to be taken rigidly; they are intended to be suggestive, and form no essential part of the charts. It is not expected that anyone will find all of the dates acceptable. In many cases the evidence barely makes possible a choice between different dates. The development of Christology does not move along strictly chronological lines, and yet it is so closely bound up with the several periods that an attempt at approximate dating is unavoidable. It is to be noted also that a not unimportant factor in determining the chronology of the literature is the development of the christological thought itself.

The charts cannot tell everything, and in some instances may prove actually misleading. The connecting lines in Chart II do not indicate every relationship—only the principal connections. For example, there is indirect Alexandrian influence in the Pauline Christology, but it is comprehended only under the very general head: "Gentile Needs and Thought." Pauline influence is to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse of John, but is not sufficiently direct and prominent to find place in the chart, unless the chart be made so complicated as to destroy its value. The personality of Jesus influenced in some degree all types of Christology, but it is not deemed best to draw connecting lines in every instance. The Matthaean Christology, that of Polycarp, James, etc., are given no visible connections, but this means only that they are products of

the period, not sufficiently indebted to any special source to call for connecting lines.

It is not intended to suggest that Gnosticism as such has made actual contributions in every instance where its influence is indicated by connecting lines, but that under the influence of the gnostic controversy the Christology in question took on the given form.

Chart I presents substantially the outline of this study. Chart II exhibits the genetic relationships. The succeeding treatment presents the evidence.

For convenience a brief résumé of the results achieved is here given:

In some of its leading features Christology existed in the form of Jewish messianism before Jesus came. His own ideals were nearer to Hebrew prophetism than to Jewish messianism; nevertheless he gave grounds for the application to himself of the messianic category. His purely personal, ethical, and religious influence is not estimated in this study, save as it bore upon the christological development. That the rich, strong, creative life proceeded from and gathered about Jesus is not denied; the age may well have owed to him first of all, its freshness and power. But where spiritual life is rich and growing, theology will be undergoing corresponding changes of form, and it is only with the christological aspects that we are here concerned. The fact is not overlooked that Jesus impressed men as being such a one as to require the use of various categories for the adequate evaluation of his person; all that is affirmed is that Jesus did not create those categories, nor explicitly teach their reference to himself, save that of messiahship in a modified, transformed, and spiritualized sense.

Had Jewish messianism been the only determining factor we might well drop the word Christology altogether in favor of messianism. But when we come, for example, to the Johannine Christology we find little messianism. Paul was the first after Jesus, so far as we know, to experience keenly the inadequacy of the messianic concept. His contribution is discussed under the heads: the pre-existent and incarnate Lord, the crucified Redeemer, the cosmic Savior, the indwelling Christ, and the divine Son of God. An advance upon the Pauline Christology is found in the cosmological Christology of Colossians and Ephesians, which was a further development of Paulinism, but made larger use of Alexandrian thought in the conflict with incipient Gnosticism. Another bold Alexandrian type was that of Hebrews, which was not so close to Paul but was directly dependent on Philo. In the Apocalypse of John, Jesus was interpreted by means of the concepts of apocalyptic, combined with the universalism of the post-apostolic age and a comparatively small Christian element. In First Peter and First Clement

we have edifying epistles containing much Christology, but not sufficient that is distinctive to warrant giving them a place beside the great types already discussed. The explicit emergence of the doctrine of Christ's saving mission to the world of the dead in First Peter is notable.

The Synoptic Gospels present a double problem, but we are at this point concerned with the Christology of the authors themselves and not with their sources. Mark represents the age just succeeding Paul; lying in the background is a high Pauline Christology. Luke-Acts falls at the beginning of the second century and moves in the direction of the apologies of the middle of the century. Matthew is strongly christological, representing an advanced stage and moving toward Catholicism.

The Johannine Christology is a further development of Paulinism; it is many-sided—mystical, theological, betraying sympathy with the deeper currents of the age, conserving what was most profound in Christianity and at the same time transforming it all into the ripest christological product of the period. The Ignatian Christology, called to expression by gnostic error, represents another bold, though unsystematized interpretation. A Jew could not bring himself to speak of Christ as God in the unreserved manner of this vigorous ecclesiastic. The originality of his thought may be discerned by reading his letters beside that of his conservative contemporary Polycarp. The current Christology appears again in the Pastoral Epistles, affirmed in opposition to gnostic error. A somewhat different and more responsive type appears in Barnabas.

About the middle of the second century there arose certain edifying works not strongly christological: James, Hermas, Didache, Second Clement, Jude, and Second Peter. In this period the gnostic systems were fully developed and the real controversy began. The earlier apologists also were putting forth their works. But the discussion of these subjects would take us beyond the New Testament period proper to the age of the Catholic church. It is a singular and significant fact, however, that among those counted heretics there should have been one who was at least partly gnostic, who understood, as did no contemporary of whom we know, the gospel of the Christ who brings spiritual freedom as it was preached by the apostle Paul—Marcion of Pontus.

If now we ask to what extent the development of christological thought was in accord with Jesus, anything like an adequate answer would carry us beyond the task we have set ourselves. It may not be amiss, however, to note that although Paul had his gaze fixed on the exalted Lord and not on the earthly Jesus, yet in certain respects he came nearer understanding Jesus than the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, many of whom had known



Jesus in the flesh. In the death of Jesus, Paul saw the principle of self-sacrifice that animated his life. Paul's universalism was a logical development of the universalism implicit in Jesus. Paul's doctrine of the freedom of the Christian man was essentially one with the ideal of ethical and religious freedom for which Jesus lived and died. But it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that at every point the way of arriving at these principles is different. Into Paul's thought there enter the wisdom of the rabbis, the speculation of apocalyptic, and the popular thought-world of Hellenism. On the other hand, Jesus thinks and speaks in terms that are elementary and universal; his religious ideas are simple, fundamental, and mighty. Although Paul's liberation of the gospel from national barriers was in accord with the mind of Jesus, Paul did not appeal for support to Jesus' own attitude of freedom; indeed, in his view, Jesus was born under law and came as a minister of circumcision for the truth of God (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 15:8). The basis of Jesus' criticism of the law was purely ethical: the law substituted appearance for reality and did not go to the heart of things. Paul's polemic against the law was practical in motive also, but his contention was for redemption in Christ. The love of neighbor was broader in the thought of Jesus than in that of his followers; for while they were not lacking in the comprehensive Christian virtue of love, they dwelt upon the love of brethren of the church. Where Paul departs most widely from the thought of Jesus is in the sphere of doctrine and not of life; he stakes everything on certain divine acts that entered into human history but transcended it—acts which secure for men salvation: the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ. Although Paul spoke of the obedience and self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ, he had in mind the exemplification of these virtues on the part of the Son of God who came down from heaven to save men, rather than their exemplification in Jesus as he walked among men. Yet the latter was not absent, and had not Jesus, in Paul's view, lived that kind of a life, the ascription to him of that character in the larger conception would have been an impossibility.

Wrede (*Paulus*, S. 88-97; Eng. trans., pp. 155-69) protests vigorously against the statement that Paul understood Jesus, and minimizes almost to the extent of elimination all dependence of Paul on Jesus. Closely as they are related, we must in this connection distinguish between life and dogma, and our study is of dogma. Had Wrede confined to the sphere of doctrine his contention as to Paul's independence, his position would have had more to commend it.



CHARTS—CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENETIC

CHART I

CHRONOLOGICAL EXHIBIT OF TYPES OF CHRISTOLOGY WITHIN THE  
NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD

	Hebrew Prophetism
	Jewish Messianism
A. D.	THE MESSIANISM OF JESUS
30- 40	JEWISH-CHRISTIAN CHRISTOLOGY
40- 50	
50- 60	PAULINE CHRISTOLOGY
60- 70	(Sources of Synoptic Gospels)
70- 80	Mark
80- 90	COSMOLOGICAL CHRISTOLOGY (Col. and Eph.)
90-100	CHRISTOLOGY OF HEBREWS
	I Peter
	I Clement
	APOCALYPTICAL CHRISTOLOGY (The Apocalypse of John)
100-110	Luke-Acts
	MATTHAEAN CHRISTOLOGY
	Pastoral Epistles
110-120	JOHANNINE CHRISTOLOGY
	IGNATIAN CHRISTOLOGY
	Polycarp
120-130	Apocalypse of Peter
130-140	Gospel of Peter
	Barnabas
	(Marcion)
140-150	Jude
	James
	Hermas
150-160	Didache
	II Clement
	II Peter
	GNOSTICS
	APOLOGISTS

## CHART II

SHOWING GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD

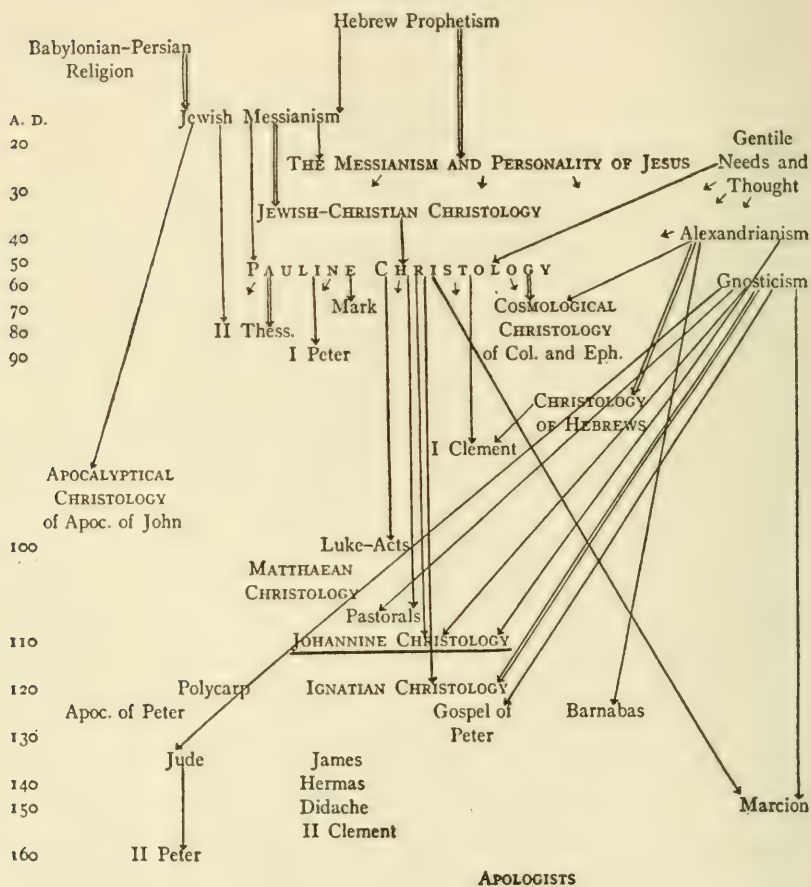


CHART III  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF LITERATURE AND EVENTS

A. D.	Harnack	K. ügler	Knopf	Emperors and Events
40-50. . . .	I Thess., II Thess. 48, 49 (47, 48)			Tiberius, 14-37 Calaphas High Priest 18-36 Pontius Pilate Procurator 26-36 Death of Jesus <i>ca.</i> 30 Conversion of Paul <i>ca.</i> 30-32 Catus Caesar (Caligula) 37-41
	I Cor. (Gal. ?), II Cor. 53 (52) Rom. 53, 54 (52, 53) Col., Philemon, Eph. (wenn er echt ist), Phil. 57-59 (56-58) Genuine portions of the Pastoral Epistles 59-64	Paul's Letters 54-64		Claudius 41-54 Herod Agrippa 41-44
50-60. . . .	Mark (probably) 65-70 Gospel according to the Hebrews 65 (70)-100			Appointment of Felix <i>ca.</i> 50, 51, 52 Nero 54-68 Recall of Felix 55-56? 57-59? Festus Procurator 55-56? 57-59?
60-70. . . .	Matthew (excepting some later additions) 70-75 Luke-Acts <i>ca.</i> 78-93	Mark? I Peter, Barnabas, Heb. 75-100		Burning of Rome and persecution by Nero 64 Jewish War 66-73 Galba, Otho, Vitellius 68-69 Vespasian 69-79
70-80. . . .			Mark <i>ca.</i> 70 Hebrews 70-96 Barnabas 70-131	Destruction of Jerusalem 70 Titus 79-81

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF LITERATURE AND EVENTS—*Continued*

A. D.	Harnack	Krüger	Knopf	Emperors and Events
80-90....	I Peter (possibly earlier), Hebrews (possibly earlier) 81-96 John, I John, II John, III John, Mark 16:9-20 (Aniston) 80-110		Matt., Luke-Acts 80-100 I Peter 81-90 Apoc. of John 80-95 Jude 80-100	Domitian 81-96
90-100....	Pastoral Epistles (with still later additions) <i>ca.</i> 90-110 Apoc. of John 93-96 I Clement 93-95 (96, 97 ?) Gospel acc. to Egyptians (possibly earlier) 98-130	Apocalypse of John	James 91-100 John, Pastoral Epistles 90-110 I Clement 95, 96 I John, II John, III John 98-113 Didache 90-140	Nerva 96-98 Trajan 98-117
100-110....	Jude <i>ca.</i> 100-130 Preaching of Peter <i>ca.</i> 100-130 (140)	Preaching of Peter, Hermas <i>ca.</i> 100? Gospel and Epistles of John } <i>ca.</i> 100 I Clement, James } Didache, Gospel of Peter, Apoc. of Peter, Gospel acc. to Egyptians, Pastoral Epistles, II Clement } after 100 before 150 Ignatius, Polycarp <i>ca.</i> 105-117 ? Papias <i>ca.</i> 140 ?	Preaching of Peter 100-120 Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius 107-117 Apoc. of Peter 100-140	



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF LITERATURE AND EVENTS—Continued

A. D.	Harnack	Krüger	Knopf	Emperors and Events
110-120. . .	Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius 110-117 Gospel of Peter <i>ca.</i> 110(100)-130		Hermas 117-140	Letter of Pliny to Trajan concerning Christians 111-113 Hadrian 117-138
120-130. . .	James <i>ca.</i> 120-140 (130) Apoc. of Peter <i>ca.</i> 120-140 (110-160) Acts of Paul <i>ca.</i> 120-170 Apology of Quadratus (date is not certain) 125, 126	Quadratus Aristides (? 138) } 125-126	II Clement 120-140	
130-140	Barnabas 130, 131 Didache 131- <i>ca.</i> 160 Apology of Aristides 138-161 (147)		Papias 135-150	Jewish revolt under Bar-Cochba 132-135 Antoninus Plus 138-161
140-150. . .	Hermas (in its present form; parts are earlier) <i>ca.</i> 140 Dialogue of Aristo of Pella <i>ca.</i> 140 (135-170) Papias <i>ca.</i> 145-160			
150-160. . .	Justin's Apology <i>ca.</i> 152, 153 Justin's Dialogue with Trypho 155-160 II Peter <i>ca.</i> 160 (150?) II Clement (Soter) <i>ca.</i> 166-174	Aristo of Pella Justin (d. 163-7) } <i>ca.</i> 150 Acts of Paul, Jude, } after II Peter } 150	II Peter 150-180	

Harnack's chronology of the Apostolic Age given in the first column does not represent the judgment of the majority of scholars. The crucial point is the date of the accession of Festus as procurator of Judea to succeed Felix, the removal of Paul the prisoner from Caesarea to Rome having followed shortly after the arrival of Festus (Acts 25:1, 6, 13, 23; 27:1). The question is as to whether Josephus, Tacitus, or Eusebius is to be followed. The dates for the recall of Felix and the accession of Festus gathered from the works of these historians are as follows:

Josephus—57–61, probably 60.

Tacitus—55

Eusebius—55–56, according to Jerome's version of Eusebius' Chronicle; 54, according to the Armenian version of Eusebius' Chronicle.

(See Votaw, "Recent Discussion of the Chronology of the Apostolic Age," *Biblical World* (1898), Vol. XI, pp. 112–19, 177–87.)

The more common dates for the Pauline letters, after Josephus, are about as follows:

I Thess.....	52	Rom.....	58
II Thess.....	53	Phile., Col., and Eph.....	62
Gal.....	54	Phil.....	63
I and II Cor.....	57	Pastoral Epistles .....	65–67

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In so large a field an exhaustive bibliography would be impracticable and would probably not be especially useful; hence only a selection of the more important books is given. Other good books that have made no special contribution to this study are omitted. Periodical literature is not given in the list, but articles are referred to in the proper places.

Mention should be made of some of the books that have been of greatest



service. Both for introduction and for theology McGiffert's admirable *Apostolic Age* has been extensively used. Stevens' *Theology of the New Testament* is the best that has yet appeared in English, and the following treatment is largely indebted to it. Pfeiderer's *Urchristentum* is a work of remarkable insight on the theological side, and has been found especially useful in the patristic field. Unfortunately it is at present but half accessible to those who read only English. Wernle's *Beginnings of Christianity* is vigorous and stimulating. *Christus*, by Johannes Weiss, is brief but valuable. E. F. Scott's *Fourth Gospel* and *Apologetic of the New Testament* are masterly, and have been used to great advantage. Harnack's *Chronologie* is a monumental work and an indispensable storehouse of information. Lightfoot has been of service on the Apostolic Fathers.

However, even in the case of books that have been found most helpful, many of their conclusions are rejected in the following pages.

## I. JEWISH MESSIANISM

Were the subject of our study the personality of Jesus, we should begin with Israelitish prophetism instead of Jewish messianism, for Jesus felt himself akin to the old prophets, and his prophetic vocation and consciousness precede and determine his relation to current messianism. But the beginnings of the christological world-drama which has played a large part in the world's religious life for more than eighteen hundred years are to be found rather in the new world of apocalyptic Judaism which succeeded the age of the great Hebrew prophets.

Early in Israel's history, when the people thought of their God as "a man of war" (Exod. 15:2) whose interests were one with his people's, and who fought their battles with them (Num. 10:35), the popular hope was directed toward the day of Yahweh, when God himself would come and destroy the enemies of Israel and establish his people in peace and prosperity. The prophets of the eighth and succeeding centuries used and transformed the popular eschatology in the direction of higher, more ethical conceptions of God. For them Yahweh was no longer a god among other gods, and his interests were not bound up with Israel and its fate. They too looked for a day of Yahweh which would inaugurate a new epoch and mean for the enemies of Yahweh vengeance, for all the wicked punishment, for Israel sifting, and for the righteous deliverance; and this crisis would come through God's initiative.

The glorious reigns of David and Solomon left a profound impression on the popular mind, and the nation hoped for a restoration of the Davidic glory. The hope at first had reference not to an individual Messiah but to theocratic kings of the house of David, and the promise of a king of his house forever meant a continuation of the Davidic dynasty. But the thought passed to that of a personal Messiah, another warrior-king, endowed by God with special gifts and powers. This popular, political conception persisted far into the Christian era. It was a powerful factor in the revolts against Rome. The tumults of the years 44-66 A. D. bear witness to the feverish state of the public mind. We meet with the idea again and again in the gospels. Any political revolutionist possessing qualities of leadership might be enthusiastically received as the Messiah. Up to the time of the Bar-Cochba rising men looked for the coming of an earthly Messiah.

But in contact with foreign life there grew up among the Jewish people a developed belief in an organized kingdom of demon-powers on the one

hand, and of angels and heavenly armies on the other, and the result was that the messianic hope became transcendental in character. In much of the Jewish post-exilic literature elements of the messianic hope appear only here and there, but with the Maccabean uprising the hope revived, and from that time became part of Jewish patriotism, bursting forth passionately in the Psalms of the Pharisees and finding more transcendental expression in other apocalyptic literature.

In the first great apocalypse, the Book of Daniel (167-165 B. C.), it is God himself who is to overthrow Antiochus and right the wrongs of his people. But there appears also the figure of an angel, one like a man, in the famous passage: "I saw in the night-visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a Son of man, and he came even to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed" (7:13, 14).

In the 17th Psalm of the Pharisees the Messiah is most strikingly portrayed. He is Israel's king, the son of David, who will break in pieces them that rule unjustly, purge Jerusalem from them that trample her down, thrust out the sinners from the inheritance and utterly destroy their proud spirit; but he shall also gather together a holy people whom he shall lead in righteousness, and suffer no iniquity to lodge in their midst, for he shall take knowledge of them, that they be all the sons of their God. He is a righteous king and taught of God. He shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow, for his hope is in God. He himself also is pure from sin, so that he may rule a mighty people. He leans upon God, and God shall cause him to be mighty through the spirit of holiness. The psalms in the first and second chapters of Luke breathe the same spirit; there is the same union of political elements with the ethical and religious elements in the national hope.

Advanced apocalyptic presents a more transcendental Messiah. In the Book of Enoch the figure of Dan. 7:13, probably symbolic, is transformed into a half-divine companion of God and angels, who was created before heaven and earth and will sit on God's throne in the coming age to judge men and angels. A chief mission of the Messiah in the Psalms of the Pharisees, 64-40 B. C., was to make the Jewish people pure and righteous, but in Enoch the Messiah comes to make righteous Israel triumphant.<sup>1</sup> According to Charles (*The Book of Enoch*, p. 41), "the influence of Enoch

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, p. 329.

on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books taken together."

In Enoch 90:37, 38, written according to Charles in the period 166-161 B. C., from the same general standpoint as Daniel, the Messiah is grotesquely symbolized as a white bull with large horns, and the people who make petition to him are beasts and birds, afterward transformed into white oxen. This Messiah is born after the kingdom has been established by God, and he becomes head of the messianic community. The passage appears to have exercised no influence upon the New Testament.

But not so the Messiah of the Similitudes (Enoch, chaps. 37-70). Charles gives the date 94-79 B. C. or 70-64 B. C. Porter places the passage in the latter part of the reign of Herod the Great. In this section the Messiah occupies the central place. The kings of the earth and the strong who possess the earth will be afflicted and fall, "for they have denied the Lord of spirits and his Anointed" (48:8-10). At the final judgment the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the elect righteous (38:1, 2). In 53:6 he is called "the Righteous and Elect One," and in many other passages "the Elect One." But most characteristic is the title "Son of man," found here as a definite title for the first time in Jewish literature. The oppression of the kings and mighty ones will not long continue, for the Head of Days will suddenly appear, and with him another being whose countenance has the appearance of a man and whose face is full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels—the Son of man. He has righteousness in an extraordinary degree, will grind to powder the teeth of the sinners and put down kings from their thrones because they do not extol and praise him (46:1-5). In him dwells the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of him who gives knowledge (49:3). He rules over all (62:6). He is the revealer of all things (46:3). "And from henceforth there will be nothing that is corruptible; for the Son of man has appeared and sits on the throne of his glory, and all evil will pass away before his face and depart; but the word of the Son of man will be strong before the Lord of Spirits" (69:29). Men and angels will be judged before him, and the word of his mouth will slay all the sinners (62:2). "He will be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall, and he will be the light of the gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled of heart" (48:4). He is to be their companion forever (62:14). His pre-existence is plainly taught: "For this reason has he been chosen and hidden before him before the creation of the world and for evermore. And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits has revealed him to the holy and righteous, for he preserveth the lot of the righteous, because they have hated and despised this world of



unrighteousness, and have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits: for they are saved in his name and he is the avenger of their life" (48:6, 7).

In the Jewish *Sibylline Oracles*, an Alexandrian production the oldest portion of which was written *ca.* 140 B. C., the messianic element is strong: God will send a king to bring peace upon the earth by destroying God's enemies and fulfilling the promises to his children; then will be established a universal kingdom with Jerusalem as its theocratic center. In the description of the approach of the kingdom of God in the Assumption of Moses, of about the beginning of the Christian era, there is no mention of the messianic king, and again he does not appear in the joyous days to come after Israel's repentance in the Book of Jubilees. In his description of the messianic age Philo appears to include the messianic king (*De Praemiis et Poenis* 16). The Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra witness to the persistence of the hope after the destruction of the holy city and temple. In the Apocalypse of Ezra, written 90-100 A. D., the Messiah introduces and rules over the millennial earthly kingdom, but God himself will be the final judge (chap. 7). The Messiah is pre-existent—"kept unto the end" (12:32), "kept a great season" (13:26).

The dominant note of the religious life of Judaism in the period we have been studying was the conviction that God had given his people a law, and the one work of the pious Jew was the observance of that law. But the rewards of such observance were in the future, and the hope of a better future was ever the faith-element in the religious consciousness of Israel. This hope assumed different forms. Alongside of belief in an earthly, Davidic Messiah there entered the idea of a heavenly world-ruler and representative of God, who sits on the throne of glory and holds judgment over sinners. In general it may be said that the Messiah was earthly and the Son of man heavenly. The Son of man might be called the Messiah, but he could not be the Son of David; that is to say, a descendant of David would hardly be described as an angelic being. For the Son of man was superhuman, and as everything valuable was supposed to have previously existed in heaven, he was a pre-existent being (Enoch 46:1-3; 48:3, 6; 49:2-4; 62:7). There was therefore nothing fixed in the conception of the Messiah. The significant fact is that before Jesus came the materials for a Christology were already present in the messianic hopes and conceptions of his countrymen, and when he gained world-significance and the Jewish concepts proved inadequate to express what men experienced in him, new materials were at hand in the gentile world; hence the rapid development of a rich Christology.



## II. THE MESSIANISM OF JESUS

In the present state of gospel-criticism it is not possible to set forth with precision the attitude of Jesus toward the current messianism. We have ample means of judging what impression he made upon others, but before we can arrive with historical assurance at Jesus' own thought, the documentary sources of the Synoptic Gospels and the mutual relationships of these sources must be more conclusively determined and evaluated. It now appears that there are more than two relatively independent and quite different sources. One of them, which is essentially our Gospel of Mark, is probably not without Pauline influence, and is in general so largely a developed expression of the faith of primitive Christians as to demand critical treatment; it has also been influenced textually by Matthew and Luke. It is interpretation as well as narrative, opening with the words, possibly a title: "Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." In its present form it was written after 70 A. D. The remaining material common to Matthew and Luke, consisting mainly of discourses and sayings of Jesus, has been generally referred to a single, homogeneous source, and this error has to some extent vitiated a vast amount of otherwise valuable criticism. The sayings and discourses of Jesus that find their way into Matthew and Luke were probably gathered into groups in Aramaic in Palestine before the destruction of Jerusalem. Intended for the Christian community, they are not directly affected by apologetic interests.

The impression made by the Gospel of Mark, critically considered, is that during the first part of his ministry, although possessed of an intimate knowledge of God and conscious of being intrusted with a great mission and endowed with divine power, Jesus did not lay claim to messiahship; at Caesarea Philippi he accepted the confession of his disciples to his messiahship, and from that time he called himself the Son of man and proclaimed the *parousia*. In the discourse-sources messiahship is assumed throughout; it comes to more definite expression in the Temptation and in Matt. 11:25-27 (Luke 10:21, 22), and in connection with the announcement of the *parousia* toward the close he puts forth the claim that he will come as king and judge. In many instances in these discourses and sayings the personality of Jesus stands out prominently. It is clear, accordingly, that our sources bear emphatic witness to messiahship as an element in the self-consciousness of Jesus, but it is equally evident that they

tend to throw into the forefront of his message the ethical and religious element, and remove to the background of his thought or eliminate altogether much of the eschatological coloring of the gospels as they now stand. Certainly the eschatological terminology and views of the age appear in these sources, and it is not always easy to determine to what extent Jesus shared in such conceptions, but the emphasis upon his prophetic vocation is unmistakable.

It would appear, then, that in the mind of Jesus his prophetic character was of primary significance. From the time of the Baptism he was conscious of a special mission; he had seen a vision of God, the heavenly Father, and his whole nature, emotional, reflective, and volitional, was powerfully stirred. His conception of his special mission is best expressed in the text at Nazareth (Luke 4:18, 19). He believed himself to be a teacher, a reformer, a prophet—and more than a prophet, the final messenger of God to men. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that he face the question of messiahship. It was in the air. With a mission distinct from that of the Baptist, a full knowledge of the Father, a work for the kingdom not only preparatory, but actually initiating the new age, he could not but accept the thought of messiahship. The incident at Caesarea Philippi, the reply to the question of the Baptist, the entry into Jerusalem, the confession at the trial, and above all the unanimous conviction of the disciples, it would seem, immediately after the resurrection, leave little room for doubt that Jesus believed that he was the Messiah. The prophetic consciousness related to what he *was*, the messianic to what he was to become, if indeed such a distinction is permissible.

It is clear, however, that he advanced the claim with great reserve. Neither the popular terrestrial and political nor the literary supra-mundane conceptions of the Messiah fitted in exactly with his inner convictions. The political rôle he rejected outright. The eschatological he appears to have accepted in part. Unless it be involved in the thought of messiahship and in the use of the title Son of man, there is no trace of any consciousness of pre-existence. If in his last hours, when his work was cut short by the forces of opposition to God's kingdom, he spoke of returning in glory, as seems to have been the case, it was a messianic expression of his faith that God's cause must finally triumph and his own work receive vindication. With this interpretation of his messianic consciousness his use of titles is in general agreement. Titles suggesting the political aspect of messianism, such as "Son of David," made no appeal to him, and if he did not in every instance positively reject them, it was only because such rejection would have been interpreted as a rejection of messiahship. "Son of God" as a title

would seem not to have been used by him as a self-designation, yet as much is involved in the recurring expressions "the Son" and "the Father;" his sonship was personal, moral, and religious, and in the accounts as they stand there is the implication of something more. His most frequent self-designation seems to have been "Son of man." He is never represented as having been so addressed by others. Both the Old Testament conception of man's frailty and lowly estate and the influential passage in Daniel (7:13, 14) may have been factors leading to the choice of the title. That he was influenced strongly by the high apocalyptic use in the Book of Enoch is not clear, though it is certain that his followers came to attach that meaning to the term in application to Jesus, with all that it involved. Jesus appears to have used the title mostly toward the close of his career, suggesting that then his consciousness assumed more strongly the messianic form. It came to mean for him that the messianic glory was to be obtained by renunciation, suffering, and death.

It is not assumed that the above sketch even remotely does justice to the subject, but the problem is too intricate to justify at this point a satisfactory exhibit of the processes by which the conclusions have been reached, or final judgment has been withheld, as the case may be. The gospels will again come before us for consideration in this discussion. Certain results of criticism may be confidently set forth and the direction in which they point indicated. The recognition of Matthew and Luke as composite works, one of whose sources is the Gospel of Mark, enables us to discover many heightened christological features of Matthew and Luke, and throws us back upon the simpler presentations of Mark and the other sources. Yet here too we must bear in mind that the writers of these sources were not especially interested in historical sequence and connection, but were concerned to awaken and foster faith in Jesus as the Christ and to secure obedience to him as Lord. The eschatological discourses of Mark, chap. 13, Matt., chap. 24, and Luke, chap. 21, seem to have taken their present form not earlier than 70 A. D., and there is much else in the discourse-material that bears marks of later origin. For example, one passage in which the speaker is the Wisdom of God appears to be a prophetic fragment from some Wisdom-writing of about 70 A. D. (Luke 11:49-51; Matt. 23:34, 35). There is specific mention of the murder of Zachariah, son of Barachiah, whom Josephus mentions as having been slain in the temple in 68 A. D. Certain passages bear indications of origin within the Jewish-Christian community. Side by side with passages of great spiritual freedom there are in Matthew expressions of narrowness and circumscribed sympathy that sound strange in the mouth of Jesus—

a high valuation of the law, an express limitation of his mission to the Jews, a command to obey the Jewish leaders (Matt. 5:18, 19; 10:5, 6; 23:3). The emphasis especially in Matthew on eschatology—on Jesus as the coming king and judge and the Twelve as judges of the twelve tribes of Israel in the regeneration—is, as we shall see when we treat of that topic, so in line with the messianism of Jewish Christianity that we hesitate to carry it all back to Jesus himself. Justice must be done to the unique religious genius and moral power of Jesus, of which there can be no reasonable doubt. Constant factors in all estimates of his thought and person should be the effects of his coming and the influence he exerted. But when criticism has eliminated much that is fantastic and traceable to other sources than his own thought, it yet leaves in his consciousness a mysterious element that may properly be called messianic: there are mighty stirrings and strivings in his soul, there is a spirit of exaltation and expectancy, there is the conviction of a unique vocation as God's last messenger to men. It is not enough to say that the title Messiah was imposed upon him by historical conditions and was something altogether external to him; it answered, to be sure inadequately, to something in his own consciousness. In the impressive language of H. J. Holtzmann,<sup>1</sup> as his forerunner John was a prophet and more than a prophet, so he was the Messiah and more than a Messiah.

There were other features in the overmastering personality of Jesus that influenced christological doctrine in the course of its development, but an adequate presentation of these would involve us in an extended historical study and estimate of Jesus for which there is here no place. Suffice it to recall his consciousness of filial relationship to God which lies at the root of his messianic consciousness and behind all his activity, the universalism at the heart of his message and work, his extraordinary dignity and authority lifting him above past and contemporary religious authorities, and the ideal of life he held up and enjoined with all of its social implications, and the abiding spiritual impression of his personal character.

<sup>1</sup> *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*, S. 100.



### III. JEWISH-CHRISTIAN CHRISTOLOGY

The sources for our study of Jewish-Christian Christology are the genuine epistles of Paul, the early chapters of Acts, and the Synoptic Gospels, all of which must be used with critical caution. We possess no literature that is directly the product of the faith of the earliest Christians. The former habit of so employing the First Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of James and of handling the first chapters of Acts uncritically is not justified, as will appear when we come to consider these works.

A good starting-point is the passage in which Paul sets forth explicitly the contents of the tradition which he received: "For I delivered to you first of all that which I myself had received: that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day according to the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the Twelve. Afterwards he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom remain until now but some have gone to their rest. After that he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. And last of all, as to one born at a wrong time, he appeared to me also" (I Cor. 15:3-8). We here note several elements of Jewish-Christian Christology.

1. Jesus is the Christ. This Paul assumes. To be sure Paul uses the word "Christ" in this instance without the article as a proper name, for when the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ, "Anointed," was translated into Greek, *χριστός*, the original Hebrew idea of the Messiah meant little to gentile Christians and *χριστός* became a proper name. In some instances it is not clear in which sense it is used. But its significance for Jewish-Christian Christology is that the earliest interpretation of the person and work of Jesus was through messiahship.

Indeed the first impression that Jesus made was that of a prophet; he was the prophet like Moses promised in Deut. 18:18, 19: "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." This passage is quoted in Acts 3:22, 23. But there was for them one higher category than that of prophet; Jesus was the Messiah. We have seen that the question of Jesus' own thought on this subject is beset with difficulties, but the readiness with which his disciples accepted and pro-



claimed his messiahship renders it almost inconceivable that he gave them no grounds for so doing. These men had known Jesus in the flesh, had eaten and drank with him, and now they revered him as Messiah and Lord and thought of him as the coming Judge.

When Jesus was thought of in the messianic framework, his speedy return from heaven to complete his messianic work took the place of the first manifestation of the Messiah in Jewish eschatology. In the appearance of Jesus upon earth the new era had already dawned, but his work had been cut short and he would soon appear on the clouds of heaven for the destruction of Satan, the god of this world, and of the kingdom of darkness, and for the deliverance of his people. Paul received from the primitive tradition—"by the word of the Lord"—how those that are alive, that are left unto the coming (*παρουσίαν*) of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep, etc. (I Thess. 4:15 ff.). Under the inspiration of early Christian prophetism pictures of the future were painted like those of Paul (such as in I Cor. 15:55 ff.), of the Apocalypse of John, and of the Synoptic Gospels. At the common meal in which the fellowship of the brethren came to expression the thoughts of all were centered upon the Savior and especially upon his glorious return.

2. Christ died for men's sins. The representation in Acts is that in the primitive Christian community the acceptance of Jesus as the Christ brought with it the forgiveness of sins, but in the passage before us a further step is taken when connection is made between Christ's death and men's release from sin. Paul's language at this point is not to be taken as in itself conclusive, but there is every probability that very early the disciples were not content with the assurance that the death of Jesus had been foretold in the Scriptures, but that being familiar with the conception of atonement by the shedding of blood, they regarded his death in the aspect of a sacrifice offered to God. In IV Macc. 6:27-29 the idea appears that the martyrdom of the righteous has atoning merit.

3. Jesus was raised from the dead on the third day and appeared to his disciples on the six occasions mentioned. The first recorded appearance was to Peter, of which we seem to have a hint in our earliest gospel (Mark 16:7). The last appearance was to Paul himself, and is not referred to by him as being in a different class from the others. Something of the character of this appearance to Paul may be inferred from his references elsewhere to the revelation of Christ that was made to him. In I Cor. 9:1 he exclaims: "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" In Gal. 1:15, 16 he says: God "saw fit . . . to reveal his Son in me." We have an indirect reference in II Cor. 4:6: "God . . .

shone in upon our hearts, to give the illumination of the knowledge of the glory of God on the face of Christ." Elsewhere he speaks of "visions and revelations of the Lord" (ὁπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου) subsequently received (II Cor. 12:1). The view of Pfleiderer that Paul did not in his own mind connect these appearances with the body of Jesus that was laid in the grave seems highly improbable.<sup>1</sup> Note the words: "He was raised on the third day." For Paul these appearances were special and unique. What we may infer from the references of Paul, both as to the nature of the appearance to him and consequently as to the nature of the appearances to others that preceded his, is another question.

With this testimony from our primary source there is no room for reasonable doubt as to the reality of these appearances, both those to individuals and those to groups. Our other sources—the gospels and Acts—are in agreement with Paul that through some such experiences the disciples became convinced that Jesus had risen, and that the primitive Christian community came into being in consequence of that faith. We recall from the gospels that in that world and age men could see in such a one as Jesus, John the Baptist, Elijah, or one of the prophets actually reappearing on earth (Mark 6:14-16; 8:28). In Matt. 27:52, 53 it is reported that at the death of Jesus "the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised, and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many." The personality of Jesus made an impression on the hearts and lives of his disciples that was ineffaceable. He bound them to him by a love so strong that even his death could not separate him from them. Their faith took the historically conditioned form that was natural to it.

Our sources then give, as the ground for the change from the gloom and despair of the crucifixion to the joy and confidence that soon succeeded, the appearances of the risen Lord, although the exact content of the resurrection-faith is not as clearly set forth as the fact itself. The preparation for these experiences consisted in the general world-view and the impressions of the personal life of Jesus. For Paul the resurrection meant that Jesus had conquered death and opened the gates of life, and he gave to it also a mystical significance (I Cor., chap. 15; Rom., chap. 6). But for the first community the resurrection of Jesus meant the vindication of his messiahship (Mark 12:10, 11; Acts 3:15) and a means toward his heavenly exaltation. The elevation of man to the sphere of the gods was a thought not strange to circles even outside of Judaism. To specify

<sup>1</sup> *Das Urchristentum*, I, S. 5 (*Primitive Christianity*, I, p. 7).

only Hebrew instances, there were Enoch (Sir. 44:16; 49:14), Moses (Assumption of Moses), and Elijah (II Kings 2:11). The significance of the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus in the interpretation of his person may be gathered from the following passages:

Jesus said to the disciples on the way to Emmaus: "What things?" And they said to him: "The things concerning Jesus the Nazarene, who was a prophet (*ἀνὴρ προφήτης*) mighty in deed and word before God and all the people; and how our chief priests and rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death and crucified him. We hoped however that it was he who was about to redeem Israel" (Luke 24:19-21).

"This Jesus God raised up, of which we are all witnesses. Being exalted therefore at the right hand of God and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured forth this which you see and hear. For David ascended not into the heavens, but he says himself:

The Lord said to my Lord:  
Sit at my right hand,  
Till I lay thine enemies under thy feet.

So let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God has made him both Lord and Christ—this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:32-36).

"You know of the matter that came through all Judea . . . Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and power, and he went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him . . . whom they slew . . . him God raised up on the third day and gave him to be made manifest. . . . This is he who is ordained (*ὀρισμένος*) by God, judge of living and dead" (Acts 10:37-42).

"And we bring you good tidings of the promise made to the fathers, that God has fulfilled this to our children by raising up Jesus, as also it is written in the second psalm: Thou art my Son; to-day have I begotten thee" (Acts 13:32, 33).

To these passages must be added two from Paul, in one of which he says that Jesus was constituted (*ὀρισθέντος*) Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead (Rom. 1:4), and the second is in the great christological passage, most of which is characteristically Pauline: "Wherefore God also highly exalted him and gave him the name which is above every name"—the name of Lord (Phil. 2:9-11; *κύριος*, for *יהוה* in the Septuagint; see Isa. 42:8; 45:23).

Now these passages clearly point toward an original Adoptionist Christology: Jesus became the Son of God and Messiah by a divine act

of adoption connected with the resurrection from the dead and the exaltation to heaven at God's right hand. The use of the second psalm is instructive. From ancient times in the Orient kings were regarded gods or of divine origin. Amid the plottings of the rulers of the earth against Yahweh and against his Anointed, God gives assurance to the king on the day of his accession to the throne that he will give nations for his inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. When the passage is quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews the thought of the writer can hardly be that the divine sonship of Jesus began at some particular time (Heb. 1:5), but the earlier view was that the divine sonship of Jesus was not by nature and from eternity, but that he was raised to it by an act of God. In the gospel-tradition there was the story how God had already chosen him as his Son at the Baptism and by the descent of the Spirit consecrated him the Messiah and endowed him with messianic power, and still later the divine act was pushed back to his birth. In the Lukan account of the Baptism, Codex D, the very words of Ps. 2:7 occur (Luke 3:22). Old Testament analogies are the anointings of Saul and of David by Samuel (I Sam. 10:1; 16:13), in each instance a period elapsing before accession to the throne, as in the case of Jesus. It is evident that the hope of establishing an earthly Davidic kingdom was still in some sense alive in Jewish-Christian circles. The Palestinian hymns of the first chapters of Luke breathe the same spirit. The genealogies of Matthew and Luke, giving the list of ancestors of Jesus in direct line from David to Joseph, were intended to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. Paul knows the tradition—"born of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. 1:3). In discussing with the scribes Jesus seems to have tried to show that the Messiah need not necessarily be a descendant of David, though this is certainly not the thought of the evangelist who reports the incident (Mark 12:35).

But this Adoptionist Christology does not represent the whole thought of the Jewish-Christian community regarding Jesus. Paul makes use of the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ as though it were already familiar. It was easily taken over from messianism. We have seen how in the Similitudes of Enoch (37-70) the Son of man is described as hidden with God before the world was and manifested as judge of men and angels. The idea was that precious persons and things were of heavenly origin, and everything of real value that appeared on earth had its existence in heaven (Exod. 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8; Num. 8:4; Ps. 139:15, 16; Gal. 4:26; Heb. 12:22; Apoc. 21:2). On the other hand, the Greek conception of pre-existence was based on the contrast between spirit and matter and



pre-temporal existence was deemed a certainty only in the case of higher and purer spirits. It cannot be said that the notion of a pre-existent Messiah was widespread in Judaism or that it played a large part. Certainly the thought of the first disciples was quite different from Paul's, for the Jewish conception of the Messiah's appearance on earth was neither that of an incarnation nor of a humiliation. But undoubtedly in identifying Jesus with the Son of man of Jewish apocalyptic the first disciples were bordering closely upon the idea that he was not merely a man who had been exalted to heavenly glory, but was originally a heavenly being who had come down to earth.

4. The Old Testament scriptures were used as foreshadowing both the death and the resurrection of Christ. Doubtless the passages appealed to as foretelling his suffering and death were those telling of the suffering Servant of Yahweh (Isa., chaps. 52, 53; cf. Acts 8:30 ff.). The stumbling-block of his death could be removed, if, in addition to his resurrection and exaltation, proof were adduced that the sufferings and death of Christ were in accord with the Old Testament vocation of the Messiah and founded in the counsel of God. The passage used as foretelling his resurrection may very well have been Ps. 16:10, as found in Peter's sermon, Acts 2:27, and also in the mouth of Paul at Antioch of Pisidia, Acts 13:35. Other passages that may have been used in this connection are Ps. 86:13 and Hos. 6:2.

But not only were the death and resurrection found in the Old Testament but almost everything else in the evangelic tradition.<sup>1</sup> Of course it worked the other way also: what was in the Old Testament must have been in the life of Jesus. Accordingly it is to be expected that some material which found its way into the gospels had its beginnings in primitive Christianity.

We close this section with some reflections on the significance of Jewish-Christian Christology. We have seen that in Judaism along with devotion to their divinely given law there was the faith-element of the messianic hope. Among the early Christians the latter element eclipsed the former. In Paul's account of the controversy about the law recorded in the second chapter of Galatians he takes it as common ground that all who believed on Christ Jesus did so in order that they might be justified by faith in Christ, but it had never occurred to his Jewish-Christian opponents that faith in Christ entirely set aside the Jewish law and abolished legalism. To their minds this would make Christ a minister of sin. To them it

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the *parousia* was seen in Zech. 12:10: "They shall look unto me whom they have pierced," quoted in Apoc. 1:7.



was not a question of faith in Jesus or observance of the law. Their hope was really not in the law but in the Lord at his coming. Faith in Jesus and hope of the kingdom were working a change of attitude. The story of Stephen in Acts points toward a larger freedom and a deeper insight into the implications of the gospel on the part especially of converts among the Hellenists.

The thinking and preaching of the first disciples were not primarily concerned with the gospel of the fatherliness of God, prominent in the teaching of Jesus. Theirs was another problem. They must prove to their countrymen that Jesus was the Messiah, and would shortly return to establish the kingdom. His crucifixion was the obstacle in the way, but that was foreshadowed by Scripture and its force destroyed by the resurrection. For them Jesus was the Servant of God, a man approved of God, constituted the Christ, raised from the tomb, exalted in the heavens, to come again to complete the messianic work. The miracle of the resurrection and his exaltation cast a halo about his earthly life, removing him from men and investing his person with mystery. Looking toward the future they made him the center of their eschatology, the chief part of which they drew from Jewish apocalyptic. They were attempting to express what they had experienced in Jesus, and their expression was more prophetic and practical than doctrinal. Their own state was one of ecstasy and exaltation, one of their charismata from the heavenly world being "speaking with tongues," described by Paul in I Cor., chap. 14; and they beheld Jesus as their risen and exalted Lord.

We often meet with the statement that in this period the Christians were nothing more than a Jewish sect,<sup>1</sup> and that their Christology was nothing more than the framework of Jewish messianism with the name of Jesus written in it. Thus Wernle concludes: "The Jewish faith swallowed up the Christian, and in reality it was the Jews who came forth the conquerors from these disputes."<sup>2</sup> Of course it is true that the Christian movement was within Judaism; that as Jesus never intended to found a "church," that is, an institution, so the early Jerusalem disciples remained members of the Jewish church, and to them the idea of two churches was an impossible one. Their aim was to convince other Jews that Jesus was their Messiah. In this sense the Christian community formed a Jewish sect, but it was something more. Although Jesus had in his own thought

<sup>1</sup> For example, Clemen, *Die Entwicklung der christlichen Religion innerhalb des Neuen Testaments*, S. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, erste Auflage, S. 85 (*The Beginnings of Christianity*, I, p. 141).

transformed, purified, spiritualized, and enriched the term Messiah in its application to himself, yet his disciples did not in this respect altogether understand him, and after his death the older elements were retained in the term. Nevertheless there was much involved in thinking of Jesus in the messianic framework. The resurrection of the Messiah was not an element in Jewish messianism because he was not expected to die.<sup>1</sup> Another new element was the redemptive significance of his death. The second coming simply corresponded to the messianic first coming. So far all seems formal. But related to it all there was a rich religious experience that was new and creative. There was something tangible and concrete about a Christ who had actually lived among men, who had been raised from the dead, had been seen in his glorified state, and to whom (or through whom) one could pray, as did Stephen, according to the testimony of Acts, in the words: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (Acts 7:59). Through the presence and power of the Spirit that Jesus sent down from heaven there was an enthusiastic life, a joyousness, an assurance of acquittal at the coming judgment, a faith-principle, that current, somber, depressing Judaism conspicuously lacked.

The noblest and truest expression of their new experience of Jesus the Christ was to be seen in their preparation for the kingdom, the new order about to be established at the Lord's return. This preparation consisted of repentance and righteousness, but essentially it was a social phenomenon, a real brotherhood. The poor were relieved by means of a common fund. The Lord's Supper—"the breaking of bread," Acts 2:42, 46—was a fellowship-meal. Through this practical Christian brotherhood Jesus, the helper of the helpless, the friend of sinners, the refuge of the heavy-laden, came to his own, and thereby Christianity conquered the world.<sup>2</sup> Beneath the thought-forms of the primitive church which have been occupying our attention there lies the gospel, and in the experience of these first disciples was manifested the practical Christian life.

Moreover we must not forget that the primitive Christian community possessed the priceless tradition of Jesus' own imperishable words and deeds. Narrowness and legalism were far from being hopeless for those who possessed a measure of his spirit and the memory of his words and conduct. Indeed, it is by no means incredible that one of the number, Stephen, should have come near to grasping the very heart-principle of

<sup>1</sup> Yet see Apoc. of Ezra 7:29.

<sup>2</sup> See Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, I, S. 22, 23 (*Primitive Christianity*, I, p. 32).

the gospel, Christian freedom; and, because he proclaimed it, to have brought martyrdom upon himself and persecution upon the other disciples. Had primitive Christianity been nothing more than a sect of Judaism, Paul the Pharisee would not have been found so zealously persecuting it, nor would he have been powerfully converted to a religion that was essentially the same as that which he held.

#### IV. PAULINE CHRISTOLOGY

The letters upon which this treatment is based are Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, Romans, First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon. Others are reserved for later consideration.<sup>1</sup> In these letters there is found no development in his conception of Christ of which it is necessary to take account. The first of the letters to be written, whether First Thessalonians or Galatians, was written not far from a score of years after his conversion, and all of them fall within a period of twelve years. He was at the time a mature man, aged somewhere between forty-five and sixty-five. Varying circumstances elicited differing forms of expression, but for him there was one original gospel.

Four factors in the formation of his Christology may be mentioned, but not always distinguished: pre-Pauline Christian thought, Jewish thought, gentile thought, and his own creative personality. No more original and influential thinker has appeared in the history of the Christian church.<sup>2</sup> Yet his primary purpose was not to give Christianity doctrinal expression, but to preach Christ; he was first a missionary, and secondly a theologian. His epistles were called forth by the exigencies of his missionary work and adapted to the needs of the churches. Vital as was his conception of the person of Christ in his apprehension of Christianity, his Christology was with a view to Soteriology, and must be studied from that point of view. But he has a Christology that is original and thought out, because he was powerfully intellectual; he felt the true theologian's necessity for harmonizing convictions growing out of his religious experience with the rest of his thought which he held in common with the age. To this fundamental need of his nature is added the fact of his rabbinical training. Though he was more than a rabbinic dialectician, still it is essential to

<sup>1</sup> It is now generally recognized among scholars that the Pastoral Epistles are in their present form not from the hand of Paul. Second Thessalonians and Ephesians are regarded as doubtful, especially the latter. The tendency at present is to defend the Pauline authorship of Colossians. Most scholars do not take seriously the contention of a few critics that all the Pauline letters belong to a later time.

<sup>2</sup> The fact is that Paul comes near being the only perfectly clear figure among the Christians of the first century. Both the immediate disciples of Jesus and the Christians of the age succeeding Paul are more or less shadowy. We have seen how difficult of historical access is Jesus himself, though on account of his dominating personality and universalism Jesus does stand out before us as not even Paul does. The point is that for Paul we possess direct sources. See Wrede, *Paulus*, S. 1, 2 (Eng. trans., pp. xi, xii).



remember that his education was Jewish; he knew the Hebrew scriptures, though he generally quotes from the Septuagint; he was trained in Jewish theology and rabbinical methods of interpretation. So while in the Jewish-Christian church certain conclusions about Jesus had been reached through reflection and in recommending him to the Jews, chiefly in connection with his messiahship and its corollaries, yet no such man as Paul had arisen who felt the necessity upon him of thinking things through theologically and who had the ability to do so.

A third factor in the situation ought, however, not to be underestimated: he was a Hellenist as well as a Pharisee. His knowledge of the Greek language and Greek Bible is in itself a matter of great importance. His native city of Tarsus was a university city and a seat of Stoicism. Under these circumstances a universal horizon and a broad and human interest were almost inevitable for such a man as Paul. This side of his nature was brought out when he became not only a Jew to the Jews but a Greek to the Greeks and took up his work among gentiles. He had not only to discuss daily in synagogue and market-place with Jews (Acts 17:17), but also to take account of Paganism and adapt his message to the heathen. Philosophic Hellenism had its conviction of the supremacy of the spirit, its desire for freedom from the sensuous, its ideals of exaltation above the world and of communion with the divine life, its belief in immortality; and while Paul did not as a scholar know Greek philosophy, yet to the Greek world he did successfully minister.

It was Paul's repeated and earnest contention that he derived his gospel from no human source, but from the revelation of God's Son in him; from God and Christ he received his apostleship and authority to preach, and the very content of his preaching as well (Gal. 1:1, 11, 12; 2:8; I Cor. 1:1, 17; II Cor. 10:8; 13:10; Rom. 1:1). Not seldom the Lord is referred to as his authority in certain specific matters (I Cor. 7:10, 12, 25; 9:14; 11:23; I Thess. 4:15). Yet we have it on his own statement that his gospel was substantially that of the Jerusalem Christians (Gal. 2:6-9). At first he and the Palestinian Christians were at one, even in regard to salvation by faith, at least nominally so (Gal. 2:15, 16). The trouble came when he emphasized salvation by grace in opposition to Jewish particularism and acted upon his principles in the evangelization of the gentiles. More than once Paul acknowledges his dependence upon the primitive Christian tradition (e. g., I Cor. 11:23; 15:3). He acquired knowledge of the historical character and teaching of Jesus both before and after his conversion. For instance, his recognition of the law of love as the regulative principle of the Christian life undoubtedly had its source



in the character and teaching of Jesus himself. But much more than that: his acquaintance with the earthly life and teaching of Jesus was more extensive than some scholars have supposed, impressed as they are with the fact that Paul dwells upon the glorified Redeemer and says comparatively little about the earthly experiences of Jesus. What Paul knew about Jesus was just what other Christians in general knew, for all alike were instructed in the evangelic tradition, not to dwell upon what ever remains the greatest source of knowledge—the life, the conduct, of those animated by his spirit. Paul found a Christian community at Damascus (Gal. 1:17; II Cor. 11:32, 33). On his visit of a fortnight to Jerusalem he had the opportunity of interviewing Peter, who had been with Jesus, and others whose knowledge was personal (Gal. 1:18, 19). His association with Barnabas (Gal. 2:1, 9; Acts 11:25) and with the churches of Syria and Cilicia, in fact his whole contact with Christian communities which he himself did not found, could have no other result than to acquaint him with the common church tradition about Jesus. It also formed in all probability a part of his own preaching, a primary duty being the instruction of his own converts on the subject. A curious confirmation of this is found in Aramaic words which he transliterated and taught to his gentile readers and which have found their way into the epistles ( $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ , Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15;  $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$ , I Cor. 16:22).<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible here to give a full and adequate presentation of the Pauline Christology; all that is attempted is an indication of what is distinctive in his thought about Christ. His contribution to Christology may be exhibited under five heads, to which is added a paragraph on eschatology: the pre-existent and incarnate Lord, the crucified Redeemer, the cosmic Savior, the indwelling Christ, the divine Son of God, the coming Lord. In the treatment of future topics we shall have occasion often to recur to the teaching of Paul.

1. There is good reason to believe that when the Jewish-Christian community applied to Jesus the category of messiahship, in spite of his own cautious use of the term as applied to himself, they felt that all that the Jews expected of the Messiah must be true of him. Now in Jewish thought the Messiah was waiting in the heavens for the time of his manifestation, when he would come in pomp and power for the overthrow of his enemies and the salvation of God's people. In this view much of the messianic work was deferred in thought to a second coming; the pre-existence was taken for granted. But whether this pre-existence was to

<sup>1</sup> See Case, "Paul's Historical Relation to the First Disciples," *American Journal of Theology*, 1907, p. 269.

their thought ideal, existing in the mind of God, or, as is more likely, personal, the Jewish Christians probably made no such ethical use of it as Paul. He speaks of the pre-existence of Christ as familiar to his readers and undisputed. The Man from heaven of apocalyptic speculation, who had existed from all time with God, out of love for man left his high estate, came from heavenly glory to earth, to participate in the lowly fortunes of men for their redemption. Originally of a different nature from us, he became like us and took our nature; was born of a woman, became a real but sinless man, died on the cross, and was buried. His nature was thus judged not from his appearance in the flesh, but from his heavenly origin. The resurrection proved him to be the Son of God. He returned to glory and will come again to complete his messianic work in the consummation of the age. Paul could have found examples of Christ's love and self-sacrifice in the life of Jesus; indeed, he did center his thought upon the supreme example of his death. But he was dominated by the Jewish speculative idea, and viewed the nature and the work of Jesus from the point of view of the heavenly Christ. However, Wernle's way of putting it does not help us to understand Paul; he says: "Doubtless this whole point of view is a myth from beginning to end, and cannot be termed anything else;" it is the "story of a God who had descended from heaven."<sup>1</sup> It was rather the transformation of a current Jewish speculation into an ethical and spiritual doctrine, resulting from the impression Jesus had made upon Paul; the end was practical: it means the divine love manifesting itself in the incarnation, an example of service, sacrifice, humility, obedience—more than that, a God who redeems us, enters our life, and secures our renewal, personal communion, and sonship (II Cor. 8:9; Phil. 2:5-11).

But what was Paul's conception of the human nature of Jesus? Between the two periods of the Son of God's existence in heaven there comes that of the incarnate life, the humiliation. His becoming poor (II Cor. 8:9) is sometimes taken to refer to a state of earthly poverty, and there may indeed be a secondary reminiscence of the fact that Jesus was lowly, but the primary thought is that he abandoned the riches of heaven for a human life. Paul's language implies that the manhood of Jesus Christ was assumed and formal. We are even reminded of the docetic teachers of a later period, but the reality of the humanity of Christ is essential to the thought of Paul; that is to say, he was born into the world in a human way, possessed a body of flesh, and was subject to death. To what extent did he also possess human thought, feeling, and will? Paul does not say

<sup>1</sup> *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, erste Auflage, S. 154 (*Beginnings of Christianity*, I, p. 251).

that the Son of God became man, but that "he emptied himself, taking the form of a bond-servant, coming in likeness (*ἐν ὁμοιώματι*) of men, and being found in fashion (*σχήματι*) as a man he humbled himself" (Phil. 2:7), and that God sent his own son *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. 8:3).<sup>1</sup>

2. We have seen that according to his own testimony Paul received in the primitive tradition the fact that Christ died for the sins of believers (I Cor. 15:3). The contradiction between the ignominious death and the messianic vocation was felt by him as keenly as by the Jewish-Christian community (*τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ*, Gal. 5:11; I Cor. 1:23). He grappled with the problem seriously and boldly, and permanently influenced the thinking of the church. He developed, explained, and enriched the primitive connection in thought between the death of Christ and his saving work. His new spiritual life would not seem to have needed help from thought of the death of Christ, for its strength was drawn from communion with the risen Lord; yet the death had to be explained. Somehow it must be a fact of supreme significance, and so Paul came to regard it as the culmination and crowning glory of Christ's saving work. From his point of view there was no special help to be gained from dwelling upon the historical situation; he makes but one reference to it (I Thess. 2:15). It must be looked at from above, and in the light of his own vision-experience of the risen and glorified Christ. Jesus was a curse (*κατάρα*), but it was *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* (Gal. 3:13). Though holy, he was made sin on our behalf (II Cor. 5:21, *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν*). The cross becomes the symbol of the divine condescension, in which Paul glories (Gal. 6:14). It is a sacrifice God himself has furnished, which men have only to accept; he was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself; it is an expression and assurance of his love (Rom. 5:8; 8:32).

But how was a sacrifice necessary? There is an aspect of the divine character expressed by the words *ὀργή* and *δικαιοσύνη*. God disapproves sin, and the death of Christ is an *ἐνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ* (Rom. 3:25). So Paul uses a rich variety of expressions: those implying substitution (*ὑπέρ* or *περὶ ὑμῶν*, or *τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*, not however *ἀντὶ ὑμῶν*), redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*), reconciliation (*καταλλαγή*), propitiation (*ἱλαστήριον*, Rom. 3:25), the language of sacrifice (blood), Christ as our passover who has been sacrificed (I Cor. 5:7). In one instance, the notable passage in Rom. 3:21-26, Paul undertakes to explain why it was

<sup>1</sup> "Die Menschheit ist ihm also eigentlich etwas Fremdes, ein Bettlergewand, das der himmlische Königssohn für eine Weile überwirft, um es wieder abzustreifen."  
—Wrede, *Paulus*, S. 55 (Eng. trans., p. 90).



necessary that Christ should die, the reason being that God had in his forbearance formerly passed over sins, with the result of creating the suspicion that he was indifferent to them; but to erect this into Paul's theory of the atonement is to give it undue weight and to ignore the obvious meaning of his language elsewhere. In Paul's thought there was not merely a substitution of methods, but a transfer of penalty, a transaction (if the meaning of the word is not pushed too far), an expiation, a propitiation. That his way of looking at it is not acceptable to some modern men does not argue invalidity in his reasoning for him. For he had been trained in Jewish law. Deissmann thinks that the forensic terms he uses could have been heard daily in the police-courts of Greek cities, but the decisive factor with Paul at this point was probably his Jewish theology. He was not a slave to it; he has given us abundant evidence that when he chose, he could use vital analogies. Certainly the religio-ethical element is present, and indeed dominant, in his thought. It is a mistake, however, to deny and explain away the other.

3. The original Christology and controversy centered in the messiahship of Jesus, but more was involved in the affirmation of such messiahship than was at first realized. It was Paul's great office to discern that the gospel of Jesus is different from the religion of law and to lay bare the radical opposition between Judaism, the religion of law, and Christianity, the religion of spirit, grace, faith, and ethical freedom. For him, therefore, the maintenance of the messianic claim for Jesus meant the exposition and defense of a new morality and a new attitude toward life. The Jewish teachers themselves discerned in the person and message of Jesus the antithesis of that for which they stood, but Jewish opposition to the Jewish-Christian church was principally not from the side of the Pharisaic party, but from the priestly, Sadducean custodians of law and order (Acts 4:1). Paul's penetration into the heart of the gospel was deeper and his horizon broader; so it devolved upon him to bring into the light of day the universalism implicit in Christianity from the beginning. For him Jesus was not only a Jewish Messiah, but much more a world-Redeemer. Paul eliminated what was merely Jewish and national, and drew to the person of Jesus the larger and universal aspirations of men.<sup>1</sup> Jesus

<sup>1</sup> Paul retained belief in the special rôle reserved for Israel (Rom. 11:25-32), but in the church at large this remnant of Jewish nationalism could not long exist alongside of the Pauline universal conception of Christ's work. The increasing enmity of the Jews against Christians, the diminishing influence of Jewish Christianity, and the destruction of the temple and holy city and of the Jewish people as a nation, contributed toward eliminating the hope for Israel *κατὰ σάρκα*. The Old Testament promises were then taken to refer to the new nation. The admission of the law for Jewish

Christ, the Son of God, died for all men, and his death was a cosmic fact, holding the center of the world's history. Through him are all things, and his relation to mankind is original and organic (I Cor. 8:6). The heavenly, second Man may have been Paul's equivalent for the Son of man of Daniel and the first Christian community, but his cosmic conception gave to Jesus a significance like that of Adam, the father of the race; as the second Adam, the head and founder of a new humanity, he recovers what Adam lost, and in him a new human epoch takes its rise (I Cor., chap. 15; Rom., chap. 5). As Adam started the race wrong and downward, so Christ comes and makes a complete break in history, sets up a new human line, and starts the race anew. He is ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ, ὁ δεύτερος ἀνθρώπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.<sup>1</sup>

4. A point at which Paul departed fundamentally in his Christology from his predecessors and contemporaries and where he is independent, individual, and original, is in his conception of the indwelling Christ. What manner of life Jesus lived on earth Paul learned from others and he acknowledged his indebtedness to the primitive tradition; but the heart of his Christology was built on the basis of his inner experience, on the risen Christ who had appeared to him, whom he knew directly and not by hearsay. Paul did not distinguish sharply in his experience between the influence of Christ and that of the Spirit (I Cor. 15:45; II Cor. 3:17). In the Jewish-Christian community the Spirit was the source of ecstasy and special endowments; Paul transferred the Spirit's activity to the entire ethical and religious life of the believer, in union with God and in fellow-

Christians was but a temporary expedient; Jewish Christianity and universal Christianity could not long exist side by side. Paul's doctrine that the law was divine in origin and holy, but abrogated and not binding upon gentile Christians, was quite difficult, till the allegorical interpretation made possible a "spiritual" understanding of the ceremonial ordinances. On the national side the extreme is reached in the Fourth Gospel, which mentions the Jews in terms of the divine rejection, though their pre-Christian status was one of privilege (1:47; 4:22). On the anti-ceremonial side the extreme among orthodox churchmen was reached in Barnabas, who rejected the cultus and legal ordinances of the Old Testament as a diabolical misrepresentation, claiming the Old Testament exclusively for Christianity. It was a short step to Gnosticism, which regarded Judaism and the Old Testament as the work of the devil and the Demiurge. See Harnack, *Apostelgeschichte*, S. 9, 211-17 (*Acts of the Apostles*, pp. xxv, 281 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> In the second century Christians spoke of themselves as a separate race. Aristides says that there are four races of men in this world: barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians; and that the barbarians reckon their head from Kronos, the Greeks from Zeus, the Jews from Abraham, and the Christians from Jesus Christ.—*Apologetica*, 2.



ship with Christ. In his own experience the presence of the Spirit was that of Christ, and meant life, freedom, sonship, as well as certain specific gifts of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:4-11). The pre-Pauline thought about Jesus was of an external character: Jesus was in heaven, exalted at the right hand of God, and he sent down his Spirit upon men. Paul needed no such mediation; Jesus himself was a life-giving Spirit, and he saved a man by taking up his abode within him (Gal. 1:16; 2:20; 3:27; 4:6, 19; Rom. 8:10). Under the control of the Spirit of Christ he was freed from bondage to the flesh; he died with Christ to the flesh and rose with him to the new life of the Spirit, and the experience of others is described in the same terms as his own (Gal. 2:20; II Cor. 4:10; Rom., chap. 6; 7:4; 8:10; Phil. 3:10).

The union between the believer and the risen Christ was certainly one of disposition, mind, heart, will, character, but it was more; it was an organic union, corresponding to the physical relation between men and Adam (I Cor. 15:47-49). In the case of the natural man and Adam the basis of the union was the *σάρξ*; in the case of the spiritual man and Christ the basis was the *πνεῦμα* (I Cor. 6:17). In becoming united to Christ a man becomes a partaker with him of the divine nature or *πνεῦμα*. His personality being in harmony with the Spirit, he is a spiritual man (Gal. 4:6; 5:16, 17; I Cor. 2:12; 6:11; 12:13; II Cor. 1:22; 5:16, 17). He is master of the lower nature (Gal. 5:16-18, 24; I Cor. 6:15, 16; Rom. 8:4, 5, 12-15). He is a free man (Gal. 2:19; 3:24-27; 5:13, 18; Rom. 6:14; 7:6; 10:4). Yet the life is a fulfilling of that inner, spiritual law which represents the divine character and will (Gal. 5:14; Rom. 7:14; 8:4; 13:8-10). But while the flesh remains there must still be a struggle, and a man may lose his hold on Christ. Final salvation means release from the flesh and resurrection in a new, spiritual body, suited to the heavenly life (I Cor. 15:54-57; Rom. 6:8-10, 23; 8:23; 13:11).

This organic relationship is not only with the individual, but is also with the body of believers, the brotherhood (*ἐκκλησία*); the church is the body of Christ (I Cor. 12:12, 27). The communion is realized in the Supper (I Cor. 10:16, 17; 11:23, 29). Paul knew what according to the evangelic tradition Jesus said about his death being for the benefit of his followers, and his identification of the bread and wine with his body and blood. How further he came to his profound conceptions of oneness and fellowship with the glorified Christ and participation in the life of God through him is not easy to determine. His thinking was akin to the longings of fine religious spirits among the Greeks. Justin, writing just beyond the middle of the second Christian century, says that to look upon

God is the end of Plato's philosophy (κατόψεσθαι τὸν θεόν—τοῦτο γὰρ τέλος τῆς Πλάτωνος φιλοσοφίας.—*Dialogue with Trypho*, 2:6).

5. Titles of Jesus which Paul took over from the Jewish-Christian community assumed for him new meaning. There was in general a broadening and a heightening. Even during his earthly life Jesus was called "Lord," the Semitic term, **בַּר**, preserved by Paul, being applicable to God to indicate rulership and to men deemed worthy of special honor, such as the king. After the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus the term in its application to Jesus was proportionately elevated. The early Palestinian disciples who spoke Aramaic called Jesus "our Lord" (**בַּרְיָ**)—a form preserved not only by Paul (I Cor. 16:22), but also in the Didache (10:6). When Christian missionaries came to transfer Hebrew and Aramaic terms to Greek, **Κύριος** had to do service for **יהוה** and **אֲדֹנָי**, as in the Septuagint, and for **בַּר**. So a common expression with Paul, based on the Aramaic, is **ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν**. There was a tendency to reserve **Κύριος** for Jesus and use **Θεός** of God. The address of prayer to Jesus and the application to him of Old Testament passages that originally referred to God indicated that in their thought God and Jesus occupied similar positions in relation to men. But the Jewish Christians were strictly monotheists, and did not go to the length of calling Jesus God. Their heaven-exalted saints and heroes like Enoch and Moses and Elijah were not thought divine, and even the Messiah was but a heavenly being chosen and sent by God. As in modern Greek, **κύριε** was but a polite form of address, used in speaking to others as well as to God or Jesus. But for Jewish Christianity **Κύριος** was employed to express the heavenly, spiritual authority of Jesus the Christ over the community.<sup>1</sup> Now Paul was a Jew, and therefore a monotheist; and although among the heathen there were gods many and lords many, for him as for Mohammed there was no God but one—the Father, of whom are all things (I Cor. 8:4-6).<sup>2</sup> But there was also one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him, and as we shall see, the recognition of this mediatorship for Paul's thought carried the movement well on the way toward the high Christology subsequently reached.

Now no such monotheism prevailed in the gentile world. No insuperable difficulty was experienced in ascribing deity to Jesus. Their heroes were called gods, and the emperor was worshipped; surely Jesus was deserv-

<sup>1</sup> See Case, "**Κύριος** as a Title for Christ," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXVI, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> J. Weiss (*Christus*, S. 29) thinks that in the much-discussed passage, Rom. 9:5, Christ is called God, but that the text is corrupt.

ing of no less an honor. It is reported that at Lystra when Paul healed a lame man, the crowd cried out: "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men;" and they called Barnabas Zeus and Paul Hermes, and the priest of Zeus brought bulls and garlands and desired to sacrifice with the crowd (Acts 14:8-13). Again, on the island of Melita, when Paul unharmed shook a snake from his arm into the fire, the friendly barbarians said he was a god (Acts 28:1-6). To this gentile public Christianity had to be presented, and the problems were vastly different from those of the Jewish apologetic. Jesus must be set forth not as the Jews' Messiah, but as the divine Savior, the world's Redeemer from sin. Savior, the Latin form, is the gentile equivalent for Messiah; for the Jews themselves were after salvation, and their hopes went out after a coming Deliverer. Accordingly by Paul and after his time Jesus is interpreted as a world-character; as in the gospels, where he appears as a miracle-worker, a demon-conqueror, Lord over nature, one who commissions for world-evangelism.

The title "Son of God" conveyed a different meaning to the Greek mind from the impression conveyed to the Semitic mind. The older Hebrew conception was mostly an ethical one; God's son was his chosen, his beloved. The gentile took the title literally. He did not distinguish between a heavenly being who was not God and God himself, and Ignatius did not hesitate to call Jesus God. Paul stopped short of this, but went so far as not only to accommodate himself to gentile needs, but in his own thinking to fall into their modes of thought. The Son of God was by nature son; he had been with God from eternity, existing in the divine form and being equal with God. As has been already emphasized, to Paul's thought the Son stands in a relation of subordination to and dependence on God (I Cor. 3:23; 15:24-28; Phil. 2:9-11). In one passage Paul says that Jesus was appointed (or constituted, *ᾠρισθέντος*) Son of God with power according to a spirit of holiness by the resurrection of the dead (Rom. 1:4); but elsewhere it is clear that his thought is that Jesus did not have to become the Son of God, his divine sonship being essential and coextensive with his existence (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 8:3, 32).

Yet his humanity was real. Paul speaks as though his was a normal human birth (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 1:3), and mentions the Lord's brothers (Gal. 1:19; I Cor. 9:5).

The messianic concept was inadequate to express Paul's thought of Christ. It alone was not able to secure for him fellowship with God. It failed to do justice to his experience. It did not express his conviction that the inward, spiritual authority of Christ was superior to the external

authority of law. It did not meet the needs of world-redemption. It was unintelligible to his gentile hearers. The political aspects of messianism seem never to have made any appeal to him. One thing he did know—that God had apprehended him through Christ; the light of the knowledge of God's glory had shone upon him from Jesus Christ (II Cor. 4:6). No relation between a merely angelic being and God would answer to such facts of experience. Only one who is outside the category of creation, the representation and manifestation of God, possessing God's own nature—God's own Son—is able to meet the needs of experience. In this Paul has influenced the later thinking of the church. But the movement was already under way. In Paul the deeper thought-currents of the age, growing naturally out of the situation, found profound and victorious expression.

6. Perhaps the most striking and significant fact in connection with Paul's eschatological views is that while he takes over the whole eschatological-messianic programme from Judaism, at the same time he practically transcends it, being lifted above its limitations by the power and dominance of his religio-ethical thought. For example, formally justification is acquittal at the Judgment-Day, practically it is realizable at once. Like all other Christians of his age, he held that the consummation had not yet been realized, and Christ must come again to complete his messianic work; and yet his emphasis is upon what Christ has already done by his incarnation, death, and resurrection to achieve salvation, and upon his present activity as the living Savior. The unhealthful tendencies toward ecstasy and idleness that early manifested themselves under the glowing expectation of the Lord's speedy return in glory and of the catastrophic passing-away of the present order were rebuked by Paul, who transferred the emphasis from the future to the blessings and duties of the present: the state of acceptance with God, sonship, spiritual freedom, love of the brethren, and social duties with respect to the state, marriage, property, and labor. The final judgment is described after the current Jewish manner as according to deeds (II Cor. 5:10), but in his characteristic thought Paul does not believe that a man's standing before God is legalistically determined. The resurrection of Christ was as for the first disciples an assurance of the messiahship of Jesus; it was also a guaranty of the final resurrection of believers, who on account of their personal relation to Christ (I Cor. 15:23) are to return to full vitality in a body suited to the spirit (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*). In the resurrection of Jesus the sovereignty of death was abolished; and although physical death remained, it was no longer as to the Jew regarded as punishment for sin, for its sting was



removed for those who had already died to sin and the flesh and entered upon the new life in the Spirit. Sometimes Paul writes as though there were an intermediate state of sleep (I Thess. 4:14; I Cor. 15:51), and again as though the believer passed to the resurrection-life at death (II Cor. 5:1-9) and to depart were to be with Christ (Phil. 1:23). Evidence of a real development or change in Paul's thought with reference to the *parousia* is wanting in his epistles; if in the earlier letters he writes as though he expected the Lord to return in his own lifetime (I Thess. 4:17; I Cor. 15:51), in Rome he is still waiting for a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ (Phil. 3:20). If, as his end drew near, he did not think the Lord would return before his own death, that would indicate no fundamental change in his thought.

A second point of interest in Paul's eschatology is his attitude toward the present world and his view of its destiny. He is concerned with it only in its moral aspect. As an evangelist and missionary he is zealous to rescue "from this present evil age" (Gal. 1:4) as many of his own race and as many out of heathenism as possible. As a pious Jew, though a Christian, he lived in the consciousness of impending judgment. Jews, gentiles, and even the material world were doomed and bound for destruction. The pious Hebrew believed that the world was so wicked that a flood was needed to wipe out the existing race of men and make a new start. So Paul thought that all men were under the condemnation of death, on account of Adam's sin and their own. The flesh was weak, so that although man desired to be free, he was a slave. The world was ruled by powers hostile to God. This dark picture was Paul's inheritance. But on the road to Damascus he saw a great light. In the resurrection of the Lord whom he beheld the reign of death came to an end, and the world of Satan became for him God's world. The Spirit of Jesus took possession of the heart that had been irredeemably evil and energized the impotent will. In the cross he found no longer a stumbling-block, but a message of grace and love. Now the eschatological work of Christ was glorious for the comparatively few who were among the saved, but it was hard on his enemies. Paul preached glad tidings. But what was to be the fate of those who died in impenitence? Paul does not resort to the ingenious expedient of supposing that upon his descent to Hades between his death and resurrection Christ preached the gospel to imprisoned souls, but there is evidence that he found a way out. Here as elsewhere his dominantly ethical nature asserted itself. Perhaps it would not be to the point to appeal to the fact that the redeeming work of Christ is described as coextensive with the ruin wrought by sin (I Cor. 15:22; Rom. 5:18),

and that universal terms are used of Christ's complete triumph which to us may seem hardly in keeping with the salvation of comparatively few. There are, however, other indications that tend to relieve him of the pessimism sometimes ascribed to him. Against an insistence upon conscious acceptance of Christ irrespective of opportunity as the basis of acceptance with God we have only to recall the instance of such Old Testament saints as Abraham. In its higher and more blessed stages faith was in Paul's thought the act by which the believer identifies himself with Christ, but fundamentally it was a moral attitude—a receptive and obedient relation of the soul toward God and truth. The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all impiety and unrighteousness of men who suppress the truth in unrighteousness (Rom. 1:18). Character is the basis of judgment, for the judgment of God is according to truth, and God will render to each according to his works; to them that by patience of well-doing seek for glory and honor and incorruption, eternal life, but to them that are factious and disobedient to the truth and obedient to unrighteousness, wrath and indignation (Rom. 2:2, 6-8). For there is no respect of persons with God; each shall be treated in accordance with his circumstances (Rom. 2:11). Even the gentiles possess conscience, by which they stand or fall (Rom. 2:14, 15).

Paul was a many-sided man, through whom flowed the currents of the age, and it is too much to ask of him that he always be rigidly logical and consistent.

## V. CHRISTOLOGY IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND ACTS

The christological importance of the Synoptic Gospels for our period is not commensurate with their central place as sources of the knowledge of Jesus. The picture of Jesus presented therein was not the leading factor in christological development. Other factors determined the course of that development and the christological forms, so that the tendency was more and more to obscure Jesus as a historical person. Yet the Synoptic Gospels, in spite of their own Christology, have by virtue of the memory of Jesus they preserve ever acted as a check upon alien speculation and recalled the Christian church to the historic basis of its faith. The memorabilia of Jesus have proved themselves a powerful vitalizing ethical and religious force. An illustration may be given in the case of the Fourth Gospel: its wonderful ethical and religious power is due to the fact that combined with its theological interpretation is a penetrating insight into the personality and character of Jesus. In thus emphasizing the central importance of the Synoptic Gospels as preserving the knowledge of Jesus it is not intimated that the attempt to interpret him theologically could or should have been avoided. The effort to understand the real significance of Jesus, to place the proper estimate upon him, to explain him by the means and in the forms at their disposal, was inevitable and necessary to the success of the Christian movement.

It is then a matter of the greatest significance that along with the development of christological doctrine the church was interested in maintaining the historical picture of him whom they sought first to explain messianically. Accepting the messianic estimate they worshiped him as the risen and exalted Redeemer and looked forward to his coming again in glory, but they looked also toward the past and fixed their gaze upon Jesus. Some of the first generation had seen him; others had to rely upon the tradition of his mighty deeds and words. As the eyewitnesses were passing away the church felt the need of gathering and preserving in writing the oral tradition. It is the Palestinian community we have ultimately to thank for the preservation of the evangelic tradition,<sup>1</sup> inevitably embellished as it is with their reflections upon his glorified life and their messianic hopes. In Palestine the original disciples of the Master were gathered and there the memory of his works and words was cherished. A conservative group, they wanted to be true to his teaching and example, and so they brought

<sup>1</sup> Yet justice must be done to the gentile Christians, who carried farther the gospel-making process, and to whom we owe our four canonical gospels.

together his sayings and deeds in collections for practical guidance. His works of wisdom, power, and goodness, fulfilling Old Testament prophecy, were pointed to for confirmation of his messiahship. On earth Jesus, though still a man, was equipped with the Spirit and power.

Paul worshiped the risen, eternal Christ who for but a brief space had appeared among men in Jesus, to bring to an end the curse of the law, and so in his letters he makes comparatively little use of the evangelic tradition, though he was familiar with it and doubtless made larger use of it on other occasions. To him it was of first importance that Christ had come into the world, died on the cross, and risen from the dead. But others felt the need of returning to Jesus as he lived on earth. The author of First Peter finds inspiration in his suffering and patience, and the writer of Hebrews makes especially striking use of the evangelic tradition (as in 5:7-9). In the literature of the second century there is frequent appeal to what the Lord had said or commanded. In some instances we find a great deal of gospel-material, as in the *Didache* in its present form and in Justin. In like manner the sayings of great rabbis were gradually collected by the Jews. After Paul and others had introduced Christianity into the gentile world, Jewish Christianity of Palestine assumed less and less of importance; it was off to the side, out of the strong current of progress. Yet these Palestinian Jewish Christians left to the church the legacy of the evangelic tradition. The next step was the translation of the Aramaic collections for the Greek-speaking world.

Luke says that already many had taken in hand to draw up the evangelic narrative. We know of the existence of several gospels in addition to those that found final ecclesiastical recognition, but such fragments of them as we possess are too meager to justify our taking account of them in this discussion. The authors of the ones we possess were not eyewitnesses, but belonged to the second or third generation, which felt an interest in preserving what had been delivered to it. Their christological standpoint was simply that of the generation to which they belonged. Accordingly their narratives were written under the influence of their Christology and had to be somehow brought into relation with it. It is easy to undervalue the christological material and influence in the Synoptic Gospels, and no less a mistake to look upon it all as christological, after the manner of the Fourth Gospel.<sup>1</sup> Many illustrations of the self-restraint of the synoptists might be given; let one suffice. The phrase "Son of man" is frequently

<sup>1</sup> For example, W. A. Brown exaggerates when he says: "It is as true of the Fourth Gospel as of the epistles, and of the Synoptics as of the Fourth Gospel, that their subject is not so much the Jesus of history as the Christ of faith."—*Christian Theology in Outline*, p. 328.



used, but always by Jesus himself; it occurs only once in Acts, twice in the Apocalypse, never in the epistles, and rarely in other Christian literature of the period. It is not our problem to note what the synoptists have to say about Jesus, but to determine their christological standpoint. Everywhere, however, we shall be confronted with the difficult task of distinguishing between the account of Jesus in the sources and the synoptists' own conceptions of Christ. The task is simplified by the fact that we already know in its main outlines the prevalent Christology of the period.

#### MARK

Mark gives us a simple and graphic account of the ministry of Jesus, telling only how he appeared to men during the period between his baptism and his resurrection. He appears to follow the tradition with fidelity, recounting events and words without comment of his own and not permitting his christological views to eclipse Jesus as he was. Papias has set the example of ever distinguishing sharply between the accounts of Jesus' works and his words, perhaps to the confusion of modern students;<sup>1</sup> a quarter of Mark is taken up with the teaching of Jesus. Mark's order is intended to be in general outline chronological and does not accord with Papias' statement that he wrote accurately but not in order ("ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει," Euseb., *H. E.* 3:39:15). The Hebraistic style suggests that the book was written by a Jew, but it was composed in Greek. It was not intended for Palestinian Jews nor for Jews outside of Palestine, but for readers unacquainted with Jewish affairs; hence Aramaic words are translated and Jewish customs explained (3:17, 22; 5:41; 7:3, 4, 11, 34; 9:43; 10:46; 14:12, 36; 15:6, 22, 34, 42). The traditional place of composition is Rome, and the numerous Latin words suggest a Roman public; yet the other gospels employ Latinisms, which had in considerable number very naturally found their way into the Greek language.<sup>2</sup> Chap. 13 shows that in its present form Mark was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, but probably not long after.

The christological standpoint is manifest in the opening words: "Beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ." Mark presupposes the work of Paul. The evangelic tradition is adapted to practical use in the churches. The double name "Jesus Christ" in the opening verse is significant. "Christ" has lost its original messianic meaning and become a personal

<sup>1</sup> The fact is that Papias has been taken too uncritically. There probably never existed any such "Logia" as modern scholars build upon.

<sup>2</sup> Grabatus, 2:4, 9, 11; 6:55; legion, 5:9, 15; speculator, 6:27; denarius, 6:37; 14:5; sextarius, 7:4; census, 12:14; quadrans, 12:42; flagello, 15:15; praetorium, 15:16; spira, 15:16; centurion, 15:39, 44, 45.

name. To the gentile Christians for whom the book was written the Jewish "Messiah" meant little. But the author knew well that in the lifetime of Jesus the double name was not yet in use, and so as he passes on to his narrative he uses "Jesus" only, reserving "Christ" for the strict messianic sense (8:29; 14:61; 15:32). Likewise "Son of God" and "the Son" are generally employed in the historical Old Testament sense of one beloved of God, occupying a position of special nearness to God, in personal fellowship with him (1:11; 9:7; 12:1-8). The idea of the centurion at the cross was of course that Jesus was a hero or demi-god (15:39). But it is evident that for the author himself the title has the Pauline, theological meaning of one possessing God's nature. We are here upon a Pauline basis. We should therefore be unwarranted in supposing that because Mark did not mention the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence, he did not believe in it. The case is different with respect to the virgin-birth, of which like Paul he seems to have known nothing (10:47; Rom. 1:3).<sup>1</sup> The Greeks were accustomed to think of their gods in the form of men, and Mark like Paul could think of the human Jesus as of divine, heavenly origin.

It is with this Pauline, christological background that the whole narrative is to be read. We may be able to see in Jesus' baptism an act of great significance for his own consciousness, as did the original Jewish-Christian community, but it is doubtful whether for Mark it had such a meaning.<sup>2</sup> As Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed David in the midst of his brethren, and the Spirit of Jehovah came mightily upon David from that day forward, so the Spirit descended upon Jesus at his baptism, designating him the Christ and assuring him of God's favor (1:10, 11; cf. 1 Sam. 16:13); yet the voice from heaven but testified to a fact already present. Likewise the transfiguration was for the sake of the disciples, who had just confessed his messiahship and now beheld him for a brief time in his glory. His sonship is of a character to be recognized by supernatural demons, but is not easily discovered by men (3:11; 5:7). The primitive conception of his miracles as mighty works and wonders and signs which God wrought by him is retained (Acts 2:22; Mark 2:12; 5:19; 6:2, 5, 14), but the feeding of the multitudes and the walking on the sea are related in a matter-of-fact way, as though such acts were to be expected of a divine personality like the figure we meet with in the Fourth Gospel. Yet in the tradition

<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that the question of 6:3: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" in the original copy contained the words of Luke 4:22: "Joseph's son."

<sup>2</sup> Of Matthew's thought there can be no doubt, for he changes to the third person: "This is my beloved Son" (Matt. 3:17).

there were evidences of limited power (6:5; 10:40; 14:36; 15:34). Jesus knows beforehand about his sufferings and resurrection in detail (10:32-34), but knows not the day or the hour of his return (13:32). His sinlessness was taken for granted; but his coming to John for baptism, his temptation, and his refusal to be called "good" (10:18) were in the tradition, and he was too true to what he had received about Jesus to eliminate it all in favor of his Christology. For Mark as for Paul everything culminates in the death of Christ (2:20; 8:31-33; 10:42-45; 14:22-24). Large space is given to the closing days. The death is of sacrificial, atoning significance. The Last Supper is a Christian passover. Of course Mark does not attempt to interpret it theologically as does Paul, and that for two reasons: he is writing a narrative and is loyal to the tradition, and secondly, the generation following Paul viewed Christianity in a simpler way than the apostle did.

Summing up, we may say that Mark's sources represent Jesus as a preacher of the kingdom of God, calling sinners to repentance; a Prophet and Teacher, superior to the scribes, speaking with authority, his utterances carrying weight; one who on the authority of God wrought miracles of healing (1:14, 22; 4:1-20; 6:4); also as the Messiah who will come again in the glory of his Father with the holy angels (8:38). But Mark's own christological standpoint is that of the age succeeding Paul: for him Jesus Christ was the eternal Son of God, who alone had the right on earth to forgive sins (2:7, 10).

#### LUKE-ACTS

It is generally recognized that Luke and Acts have the same author and are in a way parts of the same work. The preface to Luke, written in characteristic literary form, marks the author as a man of culture. He was probably a convert from heathenism, and had little personal acquaintance with the scenes of the Lord's life. He was no theologian, but was possessed of good historical taste and feeling. The Jewish war and the siege and destruction of Jerusalem are described in more vivid and detailed prophecies than in Mark and Matthew (Mark 19:42-44; 21:20-24). The description of the persecution of Christians is also striking (Luke 6:22). It has been more frequently thought that Luke was later than Matthew, but decisive evidence is wanting. Both gospels were probably written about the same time at the beginning of the second century. The closing of Acts without mentioning the death of Paul is not conclusive for an early date. It is not likely that the end of the book has been lost, but when we consider the writer's apologetic purpose, the freedom accorded the apostle though a

prisoner seems a more fitting close than his condemnation to death. Acts was probably written after the persecution of Domitian.

The Gospel of Luke was composed in an environment of Greek culture, and, addressed to "most excellent Theophilus" (κράτιστε Θεόφιλε), was designed to inform persons of social standing, doubtless non-Christians, about the origin and character of the Christian movement. The author's own Christology is not brought to the front. The speech-material which he uses in common with Matthew strengthens the Markan impression of Jesus as a great prophetic personality dependent on God. Luke has subordinated doctrinal interests. He delights in the parables of Jesus. The comprehensive sympathy of Jesus is brought out in his conversation with sinners, Samaritans, and women. He has contributed one new miracle: the raising of the young man at Nain. The great christological contribution he shares with Matthew: that of the virgin-birth. Both Luke and Matthew attempt to show that Jesus was David's son by means of genealogies, which do not agree with one another (Luke 3:23-38; Matt. 1:1-17), and the result does not harmonize with the miraculous birth. The first chapters of Luke have strong Semitic coloring and came from Jewish-Christian sources. The beautiful Palestinian hymns and the primitive descriptions of the Messiah are especially to be noted (Luke 1:32; 2:4, 11). The Semitic setting suggests that the conception of the virgin-birth was of Palestinian origin. Its christological significance is that it furnished a way of accounting for the divine personality of Jesus. The agency of the Spirit under such circumstances was not unfamiliar to Hebrew thought.<sup>1</sup> The incidents related in these opening chapters of Luke are closely related to Old Testament stories. As for the Greeks, they were accustomed to think of men of unusual gifts as sons of gods with a human mother.<sup>2</sup> Of course with their exalted ethical conception of God derived from the prophets and from Jesus himself Christians could not think in the realistic forms of the Greeks, and hence the holy conception was spoken of in terms of awe and mystery: "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and the power

<sup>1</sup> Paul speaks of Isaac as born after the Spirit (Gal. 4:29; Rom. 4:16-21). Job claims to have been the helper of the poor, the widow, and the fatherless, from his mother's womb (31:16-18). Unusual circumstances are connected with the births of Isaac, Samson, and Samuel. This is especially true of John the Baptist, who was "filled with the Holy Spirit even from his mother's womb" (Luke 1:15). In the Gospel according to the Hebrews the Holy Spirit, which in Hebrew is a feminine noun, is represented as the mother of Jesus: ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. (Quoted by Origen, *Comm. on John* 2:6; in *Homil. on Jer.* 15:4; by Jerome on Isa. 40:13; Ezek. 16:13; Mic. 7:6.)

<sup>2</sup> See for examples Pfeleiderer, *The Early Christian Conception of Christ*, pp. 33-45.



of the Highest shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that which is born shall be called holy, Son of God" (Luke 1:35).

The Book of Acts is the longest work in the New Testament, but it does not furnish us with much material for determining the author's own christological standpoint. Its object is to give information concerning the introduction of Christianity into the gentile world and concerning the relation of Christianity to the Jewish religion and to the Roman state, and it treats of events of an outward nature. It was the first generation that fulfilled the task of introducing Christianity into the world at large and diffusing it over the earth, and although some time separates the author from the first generation, he chooses that through which to give his message. The Book of Acts is best understood as one of the earliest of our great Christian apologies; it has the leading features of those that began to flourish about the middle of the second century. Christianity is the worship of one God, Creator, and Ruler of the world revealed to men by Christ; it is accepting Jesus as the Christ, proved such by the resurrection, and believing in the coming judgment and resurrection and living a holy life. The author would prove to the Roman power and the heathen world of culture that Christianity is the true religion: the fulfilment of revealed religion in Judaism, at one with the wisdom of the Greeks—worthy of tolerance and recognition by the state in view of the blameless lives of its adherents. Its extension is in accordance with God's will and without danger to the state. Thus the problem of the relation of Christians to the state taken up by Paul in Rom. 13:1-7, resumed in I Pet. 2:13-17, again receives attention. The early speeches of Acts are apologies for the Christian brotherhood and its missionary activities and the later speeches of Paul are further apologies for Christianity and its extension among the gentiles. The attitude of the civil authorities toward charges brought against Christians receives special attention, the Christians always being found innocent: at Philippi (16:20-40), at Thessalonica (17:6-9), at Corinth (18:12-17), and at Ephesus (19:23-40).

Thus we see that the general purpose of Luke and Acts is the same, and the Christology is that of the third generation.

#### MATTHEW

The Gospel of Matthew is a doctrinal work, representing an advanced stage of Christology. The author was a Christian Jew, possibly of Palestine, who knew the Hebrew Old Testament. He was, however, not a particularist—did not belong to the Jewish-Christian party, but to the church universal. He was free from Jewish law and prejudice, and

wherever his own thought shows itself, his Christology finds splendid universalistic expression. He represents the spirit of the developing church. He is a teacher and an artist. Mark's order is in general chronological, his topical. Lacking the picture-painting power of Mark and the poetic genius of Luke, he arranges his material according to numerical system. He presents not a portrait but an argument. He is perhaps more akin to John than to Mark.

We may say that his primary purpose is to establish the messiahship of Jesus by showing how from birth to ascension he fulfilled the messianic requirements; lineage, birthplace, manner of birth, the events of his life, his death and resurrection, all pointing in the same direction. The conformity of Old Testament prophecies concerning the Christ with the life of Jesus is demonstrated. He is Messiah, Son of David, King of the Jews, Immanuel, Son of man, Son of God, Teacher, Lord. But although the gospel was written to prove that Jesus bore the messianic character, such must not be understood in the older national sense. Matthew treads the path that leads to catholicism. Jesus is the Savior of the world, and from beginning to close it is the author's own conviction that the gospel is intended for all nations (2:1-12; 28:19, 20). Either the date of Matthew is quite late, or else our author has anticipated ecclesiastical developments in a remarkable manner: witness the advanced recognition of the authority of the apostles and of the church (16:18, 19; 18:15-20) and the developed baptismal formula. Christianity is a new spiritual law and Christ one who gives commandments (see especially the Sermon on the Mount and the Great Commission). In these directions the church was in a degree getting away from Paul.

Three points may be especially noted: the heightening of the evangelic tradition, the place of the sacrificial death, and the eschatology.

1. Matthew's transformation of the evangelic tradition in favor of his own Christology reminds us of the Gospel of John. One has only to set before him side by side Matthew where he follows Mark and Mark to behold the inner workings of Matthew's own mind. It is not enough that Jesus cast out demons by the Spirit of God (12:28), performed miracles of healing, raised the dead to life, walked on the water, and on two occasions fed the multitudes with a few loaves and fishes. Miracles where cure is effected by physical means must be omitted; he heals with a word (8:8, 16). Miracle must be immediate: the disciples marveled, saying: "How did the fig-tree immediately wither away?" (21:20). The scope of the healings must be made universal: "all" instead of "many." Human emotion, inability, desire unfulfilled, and the asking of questions must not be ascribed

to Jesus if there is a way of escape. In other words, Mark's defects must be corrected. The difficulty in Mark's account of the baptism of Jesus must be removed.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Pauline doctrine of the death of Christ as a sacrifice which propitiates God and does away with the necessity for further sacrifices is taught: "This is my blood of the new covenant which is shed for many for remission of sins" (26:28).

3. The striking feature of the eschatology is the prominent place given to the Son of man as Judge. He shall send forth his angels for judgment and to gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost bounds of the heavens (13:41-43; 24:31). In the regeneration the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory and shall render to every man according to his deeds (16:27; 19:28; 25:31-46). Even in the Sermon on the Mount he is presented in this capacity (7:21).

<sup>1</sup> In his *Commentary on Matthew*, Allen gives a full list of passages where the heightened Christology appears—pp. xxxi-xxxiii. He gives a good summary of Matthew's Christology, pp. lxvi, lxvii.

## VI. CHRISTOLOGY OF THE EPISTLES TO THE COLOSSIANS AND THE EPHESIANS: COSMOLOGICAL CHRISTOLOGY

If the epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians were written by Paul, they mark an advance upon the conception of Christ found in his other epistles. Inasmuch as the Christology is distinct and more highly developed, it is here treated apart from the Pauline Christology, with which are its closest affinities, the question of the possibility of Pauline authorship being left an open one. If Paul was not the author, no early Christian known to us stood so near to him as the writer or writers of these epistles. It is possible, but not likely, that Colossians and Ephesians have the same author. Akin to Hebrews, they stand between the Pauline and the Johannine Christology, representing an interpretation of Christ that may be called cosmological.

### COLOSSIANS

A better case can be made out for the Pauline authorship of Colossians than of Ephesians. Colossians probably has as its basis a genuine work of Paul, which has been worked over or interpolated. For example, the description of the work of redemption perfected in Christ in 1:15-20 may be a later amplification. Three influences upon the christological thought may be discussed.

1. *Paulinism*.—The genuine Paulinism underlying and pervading the epistle is too thoroughgoing to require enumeration of details. If this is not directly due to Paul himself as the author, it is remarkable in view of the fact that in general he was little understood. But the thought of Christ is carried a stage farther. In I Cor. 8:6 Paul intimates that Christ is the agent in creation, but in Col. 1:16, 17 he is set forth as the author, ground, and end—a relation which in Paul's thought belongs to God (I Cor. 15:28; Rom. 11:33-36). In Paul's teaching the reconciling death of Christ was for the benefit of men, with whom Christ identified himself, and not for the world of spirits (II Cor. 5:18-21; Rom. 8:3); but in Col. 1:20 the thought is that Christ's death has universal cosmic effects, reconciling things on the earth and things in the heavens.

2. *Alexandrianism*.—It appears that the Colossian Christians were for the most part gentiles, among whom an ascetic and legalistic tendency had appeared, not without a decided Jewish color. But the trouble was not due to the influence of the Judaizers who were a source of annoyance



to Paul, for the question is not one of circumcision or the observance of Jewish law or hostility to Paul's authority. These errorists did not preach another gospel, like the anathematized Judaizers in Galatia, but only an alleged higher stage of perfection. They represented not Palestinian Judaism, but the freer, more speculative kind prevailing at Alexandria, which made itself felt in the world at large and especially in Asia Minor.

Now the author meets those who make pretensions to philosophy and wisdom on their own ground (2:8, 23). In the spirit of the Alexandrian who wrote Hebrews he applies to Christ language that Philo used of the Logos. When he says that Christ is an *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου* (1:15), he recalls the language of Paul in II Cor. 4:4, but also the thought of Philo that the God who hides himself is revealed through the Logos, who mediates the relations of God to the world. Like the Logos, Christ is the immanent cosmic principle. Philo says that the incorporeal cosmos has its seat in the divine Logos, the cosmos perceptible by the external senses being made on the model of it;<sup>1</sup> that the Logos of the *ὄντος* being the bond of everything holds together (*συνέχει*) and grasps all the parts, and prevents them from being loosened;<sup>2</sup> that the Logos holds together and regulates the whole.<sup>3</sup> In Col. 1:17 it is said that in Christ all things hold together (*συνέστηκεν*). Philo called the Logos the firstborn and oldest Son of God; in Col. 1:15 Christ is said to be the firstborn of all creation, and in Col. 1:18 the firstborn from the dead, recalling also the "firstborn among many brethren" of Rom. 8:29 and "the firstborn" of Heb. 1:6. Thus Christ is made the center of cosmology.

3. *Gnosticism*.—It was largely under the pressure of the gnostic controversy of the second century that out of the scattered Christian communities of the period of which we write the Catholic church was organized, with its settled order of government and worship, its formulated creed, and its New Testament canon; and it is not customary to speak of Gnosticism as existing at the time when these epistles were written. But long before the great gnostic systems had been elaborated the movement had begun and had excited the suspicion of church-leaders. Its origin was in the aspirations after deliverance from the bondage of the flesh and the earth on the part of an age which, having outgrown the popular religion, attempted the construction of something more satisfying in the union of oriental myth and Greek philosophy. Eclectic in spirit, it welcomed help from any source, not rejecting apocalyptic and Philonic Judaism; but when it came into contact with the powerful, vital Christian movement, which

<sup>1</sup> *De Mundi Opif.* 10.

<sup>2</sup> *De Profug.* 20.

<sup>3</sup> *De Vita Mosis* 3:14.

offered the very redemption for which it sought, it had to take a subordinate place.

Though later counted a heresy, incipient Gnosticism at first represented a tendency and movement within Christianity. In presenting Christianity to the Hellenic world Paul spoke of the gospel in terms of knowledge and mystery, and distinguished grades of initiation. He intimated that for more advanced, spiritual Christians he had a higher doctrine (I Cor., chap. 3). His sharp antithesis of flesh and spirit was in line with tendencies in the Greek world. He found it necessary to divert the emphasis of his teaching at Corinth from the speculative side. So the errorists at Colossae were not counted out of the fold as having denied Christ, but they were losing their hold on him (2:19). Prayer was made for the Colossian Christians that they might be filled not with speculative, but practical knowledge—the knowledge of God's will (1:9).

The writer's conception of Christ takes the form given it by gnostic thought. To what extent gnostic speculation had developed at this time cannot be said, but at least at a somewhat later period the Gnostics looked upon the work of Jesus as but an aspect of a magnificent cosmical process, in which he was united with an Aeon from the supernal world. It is against some such teaching that our author magnifies the dignity of Christ's person and the completeness of his redemptive work. He is not an Aeon of the Pleroma, but in him dwells in bodily form all the fulness (*πλήρωμα*) of deity. He is superior to and sovereign over all the visible and invisible forces of the universe. Having rid himself of the principalities and the powers, he held them up to open contempt when he triumphed over them on the cross (2:15). By his death all things in earth and heaven were reconciled to God, so that no place is left for the intermediate agencies of Gnosticism. What was sought in the doctrine of the Pleroma was to be found in Christ (2:3), fellowship with whom meant participation in the divine life. In spite of its pretensions to spirituality, the new teaching was materialistic—according to the rudiments of the world (2:8).

#### EPHESIANS

The Epistle to the Ephesians is certainly no letter of the apostle Paul to the church at Ephesus, with which he had had such intimate relations (1:15; 3:2-4). The words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (1:1) are even textually suspicious,<sup>1</sup> Marcion having read in his copy *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ*. It may have been a

<sup>1</sup> *Σ* has *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* only from the hand of a later corrector. *B* has the words only in the margin and not from the first hand. Church Fathers bear witness against any indication of place in this passage according to certain early manuscripts with which they were familiar.

circular letter addressed by Paul to a definite circle of churches (1:15; 3:18; 6:18, 21, 22). But while there is ample genuine Paulinism, the long, intricate sentences do not seem to have come from his hand, and as in Colossians, Pauline ideas are pushed farther. Echoes of the Pauline epistles appear everywhere; Ephesians is like an elaborated mosaic. The style is elevated and almost lyrical, some passages sounding like bits of liturgy. It is a hymn of love and peace and unity, and its theme is Christ and the church. The statement that the church is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets (2:20), and the reference to Christ's holy apostles and prophets as the recipients of the revelation of the mystery of Christ (3:5), suggest an age considerably beyond that of Paul. Apparently the first epistle of Peter had reached Asia Minor and was known to the author.

The relationship between this epistle and Colossians is certainly close. The Christology of Ephesians does not go beyond that of Colossians. There is in the background the same syncretism of oriental theosophy and Christian faith which characterized gnostic systems and influenced even the church conceptions, though the form of error here is libertinism instead of asceticism. Influenced indeed by these speculations, both epistles combat the errors from the standpoint of the church in the name of the apostle Paul. It would seem that in thought and place of origin they stand near the Ignatian and Johannine writings, although removed perhaps in time. Profound thought is the weapon used against error, and not as in the Pastoral Epistles ecclesiastical authority and tradition. But in Ephesians there is a certain elevation above the concrete; contradictions have been abolished in Christ, and the strife and confusions of earth are harmonized in the kingdom of God. A new humanity rises in which the enmity that divided the old humanity into two hostile camps of Jew and gentile has been abolished. When Christ Jesus reconciled men to God he did away with the Jewish law that separated men from each other (2:13-16). This amalgamation of humanity into a new man, a new social fellowship, that is, the church, the mystical body of Christ, in which has been abolished the national and ceremonial particularism of Judaism so that the heathen who were once far off are taken up into the covenant-relationship of the Old Testament church and all have access in one Spirit to the Father, rests upon the foreordaining counsel of God before the foundation of the world (1:4, 5, 11). But for the present the church must wage a conflict with the spiritual powers of the world and make known to the principalities and the powers in the heavenlies the manifold wisdom of God (3:10; 6:10-18).

It will thus be seen that Colossians is cosmologically and we might almost say metaphysically christological, while Ephesians is ecclesiastically and soteriologically christological. The conception of the church as the body of Christ contained implicitly in Rom. 12:4, 5 and explicitly in I Cor. 12:12-30, found also in Col. 1:18, 24; 2:19, comes here into the foreground. It is not a local society, but the church universal—a conception not wanting in Paul (I Cor. 10:32; 12:28; 15:9). It is the object of Christ's love (5:25-32).

There is, as in Colossians, the effort to set over against the false and destructive Gnosis which did not rightly apprehend and value the Christian redemption the true Gnosis of Christ and his redemptive work. The gospel-mystery, at first hidden but now revealed to apostles and prophets and proclaimed to all, consists of God's love for the world, his revelation in Christ, and the inclusion of the gentiles as fellow-heirs and fellow-members of the body and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus (3:4-6). The emphasis is transferred from knowledge to ethics. The higher knowledge is morally conditioned; love is the central virtue and energy. The Pleroma of Col. 1:19 and 2:9 is here introduced in connection with the church (1:23).

But while the practical and religious interest is dominant, the speculative side is not wanting. The creation of the world by Christ is not directly stated, God being designated as the Creator of all things in 3:9, but Christ is set forth as the cosmical principle of unity. As in Col. 1:16, 17 Christ appears as not only the mediator, but also the goal of creation, in whom all things find consistency, so in Eph. 1:10 all things in the heavens and on the earth are summed up (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*) in Christ, and in 1:23 he is said to fill all in all. Christ seems to be thought of not merely as an individual person, but in some way the content of the totality of the elect (1:4; 2:21). He is the realization of the plan of the universe that existed in the counsel of God from all eternity, the basis of a unity which will embrace the whole creation.



## VII. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

Theological interpretations of Jesus may be found in practically all the literature of primitive Christianity, but in most cases it is only the current Christology of the church in the particular period and region to which a given writing belongs. In several instances, however, the Christology is of a bold, original, and individual type, notably in the Pauline, Ignatian, and Johannine writings. To the former class belongs the First Epistle of Peter, to the latter the Epistle to the Hebrews. The writer of Hebrews is no mere Paulinist, but an independent Christian thinker worthy of comparison with Paul, Ignatius, and the author of the Fourth Gospel. For refinement, culture, precision, elevated and finished literary style, combined with vigorous thought, energetic utterance, moral earnestness, and practical aim, among the writers of primitive Christianity known to us he stands unique.

The epistle is a word of exhortation (*ὁ λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως*, 13:22), addressed with extraordinary dignity and eloquence to sluggish, indifferent, and wavering Christians, in imminent danger of falling away from their Christian faith, designed to arouse them to a sense of the transcendent worth and sufficiency of the Christian revelation. It was not addressed *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, nor to Jewish Christians at all, but to Christians in general, to a Christian community where race-distinctions no longer obtained, as was the case in most of the churches after the older Jewish controversies had passed away. The danger is not that of a reversion to Judaism, but of an evil, unbelieving heart, an apostasy from the living God, of being carried away by divers and strange teachings (3:12; 13:9). Writer and readers belonged to the second generation; they were not among those who at first heard the words spoken through the Lord, but received from them the word (2:3). Paul on the other hand received the gospel not from man, nor was he taught it, but directly from the risen Christ (Gal. 1:12); yet he acknowledges having received the tradition from others (I Cor. 11:2, 23; 15:3).

For the determination of date and destination comparison with First Clement (about A. D. 95) is instructive. Its extended use by Clement is unmistakable. The sudden and repeated calamities and reverses of I Clem. 1:1 in the latter part of the reign of Domitian (81-96) best answer to the situation reflected in Hebrews, where the persons addressed are

subject to persecution or have the near prospect of it (12:4-13; 13:3, 23). Domitian's cruel caprice manifested itself after the revolt of Antoninus Saturninus in A. D. 88, the famous cases of Titus Flavius Clemens and Flavia Domitilla coming toward the close of his reign. His persecution extended to Jews, Christians, and noble Romans.<sup>1</sup> Hebrews was then written late in Domitian's reign, shortly before First Clement. With this agrees the reference to the Neronian persecution of A. D. 64, in the former days, soon after their acceptance of Christ, when they endured a great conflict of sufferings and were made a spectacle (10:32, 33). Clement makes similar reference to the persecution under Nero (chaps. 5, 6; see also Tacitus, *Annals*, 15:44). In addition to the use by Clement, the references to the two persecutions (probably that under Nero was local only), and to former great leaders, also the mention of Timothy's release and the salutations of those from Italy (13:23, 24), if genuine, tend to confirm the Roman destination.

The author was a literary Hellenist, familiar with Alexandrian philosophy and skilful in argumentation, a master of periodic and antithetical Greek style. This type of academic and philosophic Judaism was not, however, confined to Alexandria. His treatment of Jewish history and religion gives the impression of remoteness and detachment; like Philo he speaks of the tabernacle and not of the temple, his source of information being the Pentateuch. Like Philo he represents the high priest as offering daily sacrifices for his own sins and the sins of the people (7:27), but elsewhere he shows that he is aware of the fact that it was yearly (9:7, 25). The altar of incense is placed within the Most Holy Place instead of in the Holy Place (9:4). Contemporary ceremonial Judaism is far from his mind. The attitude of Clement of Rome is very much the same; he likewise disregards the fact that the temple has been destroyed and the sacrifices are no longer offered (chap. 4). Hebrews makes large use of the Greek Old Testament; the canon is that of the Septuagint (note Maccabean heroes of chap. 11). Clement makes still larger use of the Greek Old Testament Scriptures, assuming that his readers knew them (chaps. 45, 53, 62). The Old Testament constituted the only authoritative Scriptures of the Christians themselves at this time. Clement, probably a gentile Christian, writing to gentile believers, speaks of "our father Jacob," "our father Abraham," and calls Old Testament worthies "our fathers" (4:7; 31:2; 62:2; cf. Heb. 1:1; 2:16).

*Relation to Paul.*—The dependence of Hebrews upon Paul is generally

<sup>1</sup> Compare the reference to confiscation of property in Heb. 10:34 with Dion Cassius, *Hist.* 87:14.

maintained, but it is not so easy to point out specifically in what such dependence consists. Paul so influenced the Christian movement in general that it would have been something different had he not come into contact with it; accordingly no Christian writing in the last decade of the first century A. D. could escape his indirect influence. In the case of First Peter, it is not difficult to distinguish the Pauline element. In Hebrews, the Philonic influence is evident. Resemblances to Paul in Hebrews there are, but evidence of direct indebtedness is not manifest. The pre-existence of Christ plays a part in Hebrews, but the idea of pre-existence belonged to Jewish messianism, Hellenistic Judaism, and pre-Pauline Christianity as well. It is true that Paul made a remarkable ethical and religious use of the conception that was unique, and at this point the writer of Hebrews was doubtless—in common with others—his debtor. Perhaps Pauline influence may be looked for with more confidence in the connection of the remission of sins with the death of Christ, and this doctrine upon which Paul laid great emphasis is certainly present in Hebrews; yet the point of view is different. Taking his words at their face value, Paul teaches that Christ bore the curse of the law as the representative of sinful humanity, receiving in himself the judgment of death. The satisfaction of the law or of the divine righteousness in the death of Christ is not brought to the front in Hebrews. Paul thought in terms of Pharisaic theology; the writer of Hebrews thought of the Old Testament offerings. Through suffering and death Christ became a Savior (2:14-18; 10:5-10); he is the high priest who offers his life in obedience and patience, to cleanse the hearts of men. Answering to the Pauline doing-away with the curse of the law, there is in one passage in Hebrews the destruction of him who has the power of death, so as to free those who are in lifelong bondage and fear (2:14, 15). For the almost personified law of Paul is here substituted the devil, who is not represented as satisfied by a ransom, but as in some way overcome by Christ's sacrificial death.

It is only on the surface that the epistle is seen to take up the argument against Judaism on the lines of Paul; the standpoint is different. The conclusions of Paul are assumed; they had already prevailed. Christianity had been severed from the Jewish law, and was recognized as a new religion with a new principle. Of course in a deeper sense the battle against every kind of legalism had not been fought to a finish; in this most of Paul's followers failed to catch the full import of his doctrine. His conception of Christian freedom from the flesh and the law, effected by oneness with Christ in his death and resurrection, does not appear in this epistle; an approach to this is seen in the proposition that believers are partakers



of Christ and of the Holy Spirit (*μέτοχοι τοῦ χριστοῦ*, 3:14; 6:4). In the first instance the relationship is that to a leader or elder brother, and probably not that of mystic union: partners of Christ. For Paul faith meant life-union with Christ; in Hebrews it is akin to obedience, fidelity, heroism, and belief in the unseen.

To the Jew the ritual side of his religion was of subordinate interest. Judaism was able to survive the destruction of its temple and holy city in A. D. 70. So Hebrews is not concerned with the temple, but the tabernacle. Paul was interested in neither; passing by the temple and external worship of Judaism he fixed his attention upon its very heart—the law. Now for the purpose of his argument the author of Hebrews finds the soul of Old Testament religion in the priestly cultus. He is not engaged in the old Pauline conflict with the Judaizers, nor is he even making a plea primarily for Christianity against Judaism; rather it is his effort to set forth Christianity as the perfect, eternal religion, better at every point than the only pre-Christian and non-Christian religion worthy of consideration in comparison, one based on a real revelation. Paul considers the law in relation to justifying faith in Christ; Hebrews in relation to the perfection of Christ's sacrifice. For Paul the law is weak only through the flesh—through its incapacity to enable a man to obey the will of God (Rom. 8:2); it cannot save because man is morally impotent to keep it. The office of the law is to deepen the consciousness of sin and to make transgressions abound. On the other hand, viewing it in its ceremonial aspects Hebrews considers it carnal (7:16; 9:10), its failure being due to the fact that animal sacrifices cannot cleanse the conscience. Judaism's partial truth is perceived, as a system of types and symbols foreshadowing the reality in Christ. The law and the gospel are shadow and substance.

Generally, the emphasis in Hebrews is different from that in the epistles of Paul. It is notable that Paul was not able to find so great a value in the earthly life and experiences of Jesus as our author finds. His present activity in our behalf is differently represented. To be sure Paul does in one instance describe Christ as the intercessor in heaven on our behalf (Rom. 8:34). Only in one passage is there reference to the resurrection of Christ in Hebrews (13:20).

*Relation to Philo.*—The Epistle to the Hebrews is a Christian work written from the standpoint of philosophic Judaism. We have noted the absence of direct dependence on Paul; very different is the relation to the Book of Wisdom and to Philo. Doubtless the author had felt the influence of Philo before his conversion to Christianity. His allegorizing exegesis discloses his Alexandrian education. The allegorical interpretation was



indeed current in rabbinic circles of Palestine, but this author's method is that of Philo—employing historical characters, institutions, and events as symbols of spiritual realities. Points of contact with Philo are found almost everywhere, and the conclusion is irresistible that often there are genuine echoes. To be sure our author is more temperate than Philo in allegorizing the Old Testament. Even the more striking resemblances are too numerous to exhibit here; the reader is referred for details to Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, S. 321-30.

It would have been strange had our author not employed the Logos-conception of Philo. The fact is that he uses it on a far larger scale than does the writer of the Fourth Gospel, only he does not take over the word; another title used by Philo of the Logos was already in Christian use and served his purposes better—the Son of God. The striking designations of Christ and the functions attributed to him in Heb. 1:2, 3 may be found in the Book of Wisdom and in Philo, there having reference to Wisdom personified and the Logos. Of Wisdom it is said in a notable passage (Wis. 7:26):

For she is an effulgence (*ἀπαύγασμα*) of eternal light,  
And an immaculate mirror of God's energy,  
And an image of his goodness.

Philo says that every man in regard to his intellect is related to the divine reason, being an *ἀπαύγασμα* of that blessed nature;<sup>1</sup> and that the *πνεῦμα* in man is a certain type and *χαρακτήρ* of the divine power, man in his reason being the image of God.<sup>2</sup> A favorite conception with Philo is that of the Logos as the agent through whom God fashioned the world. In *De Plantat.* 5 he says: *ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν αἰδῖος λόγος*. In Heb. 1:6 the Son is designated *πρωτότοκος*; so Philo often calls the Logos God's *πρωτόγονος υἱός* (as in *De Agricult.* 12).

Just as Philo does not scruple to call the Logos a second God (*ὁ δεύτερος Θεός*),<sup>3</sup> though dependent on the one original God, so the writer of Hebrews applies to Christ passages from the Psalms in which God is addressed, setting forth his eternal royal dignity and creative rôle (1:8-12); yet what Christ did was part of God's own plan and under his direction (2:9, 10; 5:4, 5).

In Philo the Logos is not only the mediator of creation, but also of

<sup>1</sup> *De Mundi Opif.* 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Quod Det. Pot. Insid.* 23.

<sup>3</sup> Found only in one passage, which is preserved by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Bk. VII, chap. xiii. See E. H. Gifford's edition, *Eusebii Praeparatio Evangelica*, 1903; also Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, II, p. 197.

redemption: the great high priest, exposed to affliction and misery, an ambassador sent to the subject race;<sup>1</sup> not a man, but the divine Word, a non-participant in both voluntary and involuntary sins;<sup>2</sup> the priest-king typified in Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18-20; Ps. 110:4)—the names Melchizedek and Salem being treated in the same etymological manner as that we find in Hebrews.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the most fundamental and significant fact is that the general view of the world—the cosmology—is the same in Philo and Hebrews: the contrast between the *ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν συσταθεὶς κόσμος νοητός* and the sensuous, visible world.<sup>4</sup> The visible world is a copy, a shadow and symbol of the invisible, spiritual world; created things are perishable, divine things eternal. Plato and Philo distinguish the sensible and the intelligible worlds; so Hebrews contrasts the lower world of semblances and the heavenly world of abiding realities, related as type and reality, shadow and substance (*ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά τῶν ἐπουρανίων*, 8:5; *παραβολὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα*, 9:9; *ὑποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν*, Heb. 9:23, 24). In Philo the mediator of the two worlds is the Logos, the firstborn son of God; for the author of Hebrews the heavenly sanctuary is accessible through Christ, the Son of God. There is indeed a vast difference between Philo and our author, but it consists in the fact that the latter was a Christian. Philo's abstract theories are made to do religious service. The chasm between this mundane sphere and the supernal world of eternal realities is bridged and free access to the throne of grace is gained when the Logos, the great high priest, the first-born son of God, the second God of Philo, becomes the Jesus of history, the Brother and Savior of men (4:14-16). Philo was still in a way in bondage to the letter and groping in the dark; but his pupil had learned also from a higher Master, and now used Philo's own method and thought-forms to show that what was formerly the world's divinest religion must be considered but a shadow-copy since the revelation of the substance, the perfect spiritual covenant in Jesus Christ.

Summing up the thought of Hebrews, we observe that the new is superior to the old because Christ is higher than the angels, through whom the old came (Acts 7:53; Gal. 3:19; LXX of Deut. 33:2), higher than the prophets, whose revelation was partial (1:1), higher than Moses who organized the old and than Joshua who ushered in an inferior rest, higher

<sup>1</sup> *Quis Rer. Div. Haer.* 42.

<sup>2</sup> *De Profug.* 20, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Leg. Alleg.* 3:25, 26; Heb. 5:10; 7:1-10.

<sup>4</sup> *De Somn.* 1:32.

than Aaron and all earthly priests who ministered in the old. He is the Son of God, his agent in creation, revelation, and redemption (cf. 1:3 and Col. 1:15-17); in him is realized man's world-dominion of prophecy (2:5-10); he established the Old Testament system (3:3; cf. I Cor. 10:4); he is our high priest from heaven, but one of us, possessing sympathy as a priest should; immortal, abiding a priest forever, higher than the heavens, a son holy and perfected for evermore, minister of a covenant that endures in a heavenly tabernacle with spiritual ordinances, offering his own blood which is efficacious for the cleansing of the conscience from dead works to the service of the living God, putting away sin, obtaining eternal redemption, and perfecting forever them that are sanctified—in such language is set forth the superiority and perfection of the priestly character and work of Christ. To Christians who were growing discouraged under persecution and in danger of lapsing into their former heathenism the writer exhibits the glory of Christ's person and work, reminding them of the blessings he has secured and the terrible consequences of neglecting his salvation and denying him.

Hebrews presents a remarkable combination of the philosophic and the historical. The facts of the evangelic tradition are known (1:2, 3; 2:3, 4, 13, 14, 17; 3:2; 5:5-9; 7:4, 26; 10:7; 12:2, 3; 13:12, 20). The recalling of the gospel-narrative where Jesus calls men his own brothers is notable (2:11, 12). The language in which Melchizedek is set forth as a type of non-Aaronic priesthood, underived and unlimited, having no father or mother (7:3; cf. 10:5), might lend itself to docetic Gnosticism, but such is not in the mind of the author: "for it is evident that our Lord sprang from Judah" (7:14).<sup>1</sup> These earthly, human experiences by which he came to understand man's infirmities and needs were a preparation for his highpriesthood in our behalf; the center of interest is his heavenly activity on our behalf, offering sacrifice and interceding with God. He came out of the heavenly world, lived through the eternal Spirit a life of faith, courage, obedience, sinlessness, sympathy, and self-sacrifice, and passed into the heavens as our perfect high priest—the same yesterday and today and forever.

There are several striking facts about Christ's sacrificial priestly work as here presented. Certainly he offered himself upon the cross once for all (7:27; 9:14, 25, 26; 10:12, 26), the word *λύτρωσις* occurring twice (9:12, 15) and *καταλλαγή*, common with Paul, not at all. But his supreme function is as high priest in heaven, and sometimes it appears that it was

<sup>1</sup> Philo says of the Logos-priest that God was the father and wisdom the mother, *De Profug.* 20.

upon the heavenly altar he presented himself as a sacrifice to God (9:14). His single and final sacrifice on earth has a counterpart in an offering at the heavenly altar, and there is also a perpetual atoning work carried on in the upper sanctuary. Secondly, the blood of Christ is not only sacrificial, but also cleansing. Sanctification did not belong to the priestly office of the Jews, but his cleansing is not ceremonial, but real and inward, securing deliverance from the power of sin (9:13, 14, 26, ἀθέτησις τῆς ἁμαρτίας). As in First Peter, the stress is upon the moral effects of Christ's sacrifice (καθαρίζειν, ἁγιάζειν, τελειοῦν). How this purification is wrought is not here elaborated; the fact is one of religious experience. Paul would have said that it was through the indwelling Christ, transforming the believer by his Spirit.

*Eschatology.*—The common eschatological ideas of the period are found: Christ's appearance a second time apart from sin to complete the salvation of his own (9:28; 10:25, 37); the approaching day when earth and heaven shall tremble and things not stable be overthrown, and the kingdom that cannot be shaken shall remain (12:26–28); the sabbath-rest of the messianic age typified by the rest of Canaan (σαββατισμός, 4:9); the better and abiding possession, the great recompense of reward, the better, heavenly country, the city that has foundations, whose builder and maker is God, the heavenly Jerusalem inhabited by a host of angels and saints (10:34, 35; 11:10, 16; 12:22, 23)—all of which will outweigh the hardships of the present life. Salvation is future, dependent upon the faithful observance of God's will; but faith now makes it present—the substance of what we hope for, the proof of things that we do not see (11:1). Colored as is his language with current eschatology, the author comes very near transcending that standpoint through his doctrine of immediate access to the world of reality, as Paul did by his doctrine of the indwelling Christ and the Fourth Gospel did by its doctrine of the Spirit and eternal life. Christianity is identified with the upper, heavenly world, which is indeed future, but is also present, and indeed from the beginning has been the world of reality, so that even now men can taste the good word of God and the powers of the age to come (6:5).



## VIII. CHRISTOLOGY IN FIRST PETER AND FIRST CLEMENT

### FIRST PETER

Questions of introduction to First Peter present, in the words of Wrede, "eine Reihe von Schwierigkeiten und Dunkelheiten."<sup>1</sup> The difficulties are created by the address and the conclusion, and Harnack solves the problem by removing the address and the conclusion altogether, understanding 5:1 (μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ χριστοῦ παθημάτων) not in a literal sense.<sup>2</sup> According to this view the author was a prominent teacher and confessor of about 90 A. D., perhaps earlier, who did not pretend to be Peter. Another, probably the author of Second Peter, invented the beginning and the end of the epistle in order to give it apostolic authority. The view of McGiffert<sup>3</sup> is similar, except that he holds to its true epistolary character (1:3, 4, 12; 2:13; 4:12; 5:1-5, 9). The epistle was, he thinks, originally anonymous, like Hebrews, Barnabas, and the Johannine epistles, and the name of Peter was attached in the second century, some scribe probably writing it on the margin of the manuscript, because he thought he saw reason for regarding it as the work of Peter. If we take the epistle as it stands, the only reasonable theory open to us is that of pseudonymity, unless indeed we make Silvanus responsible for the epistle in the name of Peter. That was an age in which men could think it a virtue for a writer to withhold his own name in favor of some great master. It must be acknowledged that this straightforward epistle does not bear such palpable marks of pseudepigraphy as for example Second Peter. But in view of the pseudepigraphic customs of the time it is conceivable that a Roman Christian, wishing to issue a letter of consolation to his persecuted fellow-Christians of Asia Minor under an apostolic title, chose the name of Peter. In fact we know six early Christian writings connected with the name of Peter—the two canonical letters, the Acts, the Gospel, the Preaching, and the Apocalypse of Peter. Great as are the difficulties in connection with the authorship of First Peter, the most difficult position of all would be the assumption that Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, wrote in fairly good Greek, even with the help of Silvanus, this letter, saturated as it is with

<sup>1</sup> "Bemerkungen zu Harnack's Hypothese über die Adresse des I. Petrusbriefs," *Zeitschrift für N. T. Wissenschaft*, I, 1900, S. 75-85—an able reply to Harnack.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronologie*, S. 451-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Apostolic Age*, p. 596.

characteristic Pauline thought and vocabulary, to gentile churches of Asia Minor founded chiefly by Paul.

The conditions set forth in the epistle, reflecting a general persecution of Christians as such (4:15, 16; 5:9), are best satisfied by the reign of Domitian (81-96), and the doctrinal affinities are mostly with the literature of this period. But we must leave open the possibility of a date within the reign of Trajan (98-117), either about 100 (Jülicher) or about 112 A. D. The fact that one suffered *ὡς χριστιανός* (4:15) reminds us of the famous letter of Pliny to Trajan regarding the treatment of Christians, about 112 A. D., and if we take the word *ἄλλοτριεπίσκοπος* in the same verse to refer to the judicial informer, the delator, which is not necessary, this late date is confirmed. But this would take the epistle far down toward the *terminus ad quem*, the letter of Polycarp (*ca.* 116 A. D.), which makes frequent quotation from First Peter. If the use of First Peter by Clement of Rome could be established, the year 95 would be the *terminus ad quem*, but the numerous striking resemblances (for example, *ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν*, I Pet. 4:8, and I Clem. 49:5) may be explained by proximity of date and place of composition.

First Peter was written apparently from Rome (5:13; Apoc. 14:8. So far as we know, Babylon played small part in early Christian history) to Christians of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (1:1)—five provinces that comprise the whole of Asia Minor north of Mt. Taurus. Though *παρεπίδημοι Διασποράς*, the readers were in general gentile believers (1:14, 18; 2:9, 10; 4:3, 4). The purpose of the epistle is to admonish and encourage (*παρακαλεῖν*, 5:12) its readers patiently to endure sufferings that have come upon them on account of their Christian confession and to live in every way worthy of the Christian name. The incentives to this course are to be found in the hope of a blessedness to be obtained through suffering and obedience, and in the example of Christ. The common church-doctrine is employed wherever it will serve the practical aim. While the object is not indoctrination, for the writer the Christian world-view lies behind all right thinking and right conduct. The epistle offers no original doctrinal contribution to the development of early Christianity, but it does bring incidentally to light ideas that are not given definite expression in other writings that have come down to us from the period to which it belongs.

The epistle is then not to be understood as in any sense representing the most primitive Christianity—either as actually pre-Pauline, or as Petrine with comparatively slight Pauline influence. We find here no genuine reminiscence of Jesus and no echo of the old controversies about

the law and faith and the relative standing of Jew and gentile. The permanent Pauline contributions to Christianity are presupposed throughout, but by this time the sharp points of his system have been worn down. Some of Paul's characteristic expressions and ideas are employed, especially from Romans, but the specifically Pauline thoughts of justification by faith, freedom from the law, dying to the flesh and living in the Spirit, mystical union with Christ, are wanting. Paul's use of baptism in Rom. 6:3: "All we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death," recurs after a fashion in I Pet. 3:21. In this chapter Paul continues in his striking and profound mystical manner (Rom. 6:6 ff.): "Our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away, that we should no longer be in bondage to sin, for he that has died is justified from sin," etc.; whereas in I Pet. 4:1 it is expressed: "He that has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin." On the other hand the consciousness of the value of Christianity, of the high and peculiar calling of God's people, of the greatness and preciousness of the promises, of the sacred obligations of the Christian profession, are no less clear and impressive than with Paul.<sup>1</sup>

We now inquire what lies central in the doctrinal background from which this practical homily proceeds. That which for the writer comes first is the revelation of God and a way of life in Christ. His religious world is the Christian world, his view of God is that which has historically come from Christ; he worships "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1:3); God is a faithful Creator (4:19), is mighty (5:6), is holy (1:5), is judge of living and dead (4:5), is one who judges righteously (2:23) and without respect of persons (1:17), is one who foreknows the elect (1:12), is one who resists the proud (5:5); but he is above all Father (1:17) and the God of all grace (5:10), is long suffering (3:20) and merciful (1:3). The means by which this grace is communicated is the preaching of the gospel, the word of good news which is preached (1:12, 25). This then is the first and most general item in the writer's Christology: the God he worships is, as he thinks, the God of Jesus, and his readers are οἱ δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὶ εἰς Θεόν (1:21). In Christianity, in Christ, he finds a helpful, satisfying experience of God, and as a correlate of that faith the true way of life.

The second item in his christological faith is the redemptive death of Christ. "For Christ also died once for sins as the righteous one for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God" (3:18). He "bore our sins in his body on the tree, that having died unto sins he might live unto righteous-

<sup>1</sup> So Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, 2d ed. (1902), II, S. 506.

ness; by whose bruise you were healed" (2:24). This language means just what it seems to mean; namely, that, as it is expressed in Heb. 9:28, Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, and it is here added that the cross was the altar upon which he was offered. The writer constantly uses the conception of Isa., chap. 53. To be sure, there is introduced an ethical significance: in Christ's sacrificial death there is an example for our imitation; those to whom he writes were redeemed from their vain heathen life handed down from their fathers, with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without spot and without blemish (1:18, 19), and in suffering for them Christ has given them an example, that they should follow his steps (2:21). But fundamental is the thought of the expiatory death, though the use made of the death of Christ is ethical.

An ever-present thought is that of the coming glory of Christ, when he is revealed, and in this Christians shall share. Its certainty rests on his resurrection and exaltation. God has begotten us again unto a living hope through the resurrection of Christ from the dead (1:3). This hope has been awakened by the preaching of the gospel; the readers have been begotten through the living and abiding word of God (1:23). The test and fruit of Christian faith and hope are to be found in obedience, which consists in a holy life after the character of God (1:14-16); more especially in patient endurance of suffering, and in fervent brotherly love, which covers a multitude of sins (1:22; 4:8).

The christological peculiarities are the doctrine of the inspiration of the prophets through the spirit of the pre-existing Christ, and that of the descent of Christ to Hades for the purpose of preaching to the spirits in prison, and for this reason a fuller treatment will be accorded these subjects than has been given to other features of the Petrine Christology.

1. Upon the first topic the following are the passages to come before us:

"For this Christ was indeed destined before the foundation of the world, but he has been manifested at the end of the times for your sake" (1:20).

"To this salvation the prophets, who prophesied in regard to the grace intended for you, directed their inquiries and researches, seeking to find out to what season or what kind of a season the spirit of Christ within them was pointing, when testifying in advance to the sufferings which would befall Christ and the glories which would follow; and to them it was revealed that not for themselves but for you were they performing this service in regard to truths which have been announced to you through those who, by the Holy Spirit sent from heaven, have brought you the good tidings—matters into which angels are longing to look" (1:10-12).



In the first of these passages we find contrasted the foreknowledge by God of Christ before the foundation of the world and his manifestation at the end of the times. As the translation given above implies, foreknowledge (*προεγνωσμένου* is the form here) in this passage as elsewhere in the Scriptures ("Before I formed thee in the womb I knew thee"—Jer. 1:5) is not colorless prescience, but previous designation to a position or function.<sup>1</sup> The idea of Christ's designation before the foundations of the world were laid is a familiar one, finding frequent expression both in Jewish messianism and in Christian literature (Eph. 3:11; II Tim. 1:9).

"Foreknown" by itself does not of course necessarily imply the personal pre-existence of the object foreknown; the expression is used of believers in I Pet. 1:2. But pre-existence is taken for granted, and the second clause places it beyond all doubt. That which is manifested existed in a state of concealment before its manifestation. Nowhere is it said of believers that they were first foreknown before the foundation of the world and then manifested. In some of the passages either in a primary or a secondary sense Pauline it is the mystery concerning Christ which is manifested, as in Rom. 16:25, 26: "the mystery kept in silence through times eternal, but now manifested;" but in the passage before us it is Christ himself who is manifested.

Both clauses find an exact parallel in Enoch 48:6, 7: "And for this reason he has been chosen and hidden before him before the creation of the world and forevermore, and the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits has revealed to him the holy and righteous;" and again, 62:7: "For the Son of man was hidden before him and the Most High preserved him in the presence of his might and revealed him to the elect." To these may be added Apocalypse of Ezra 12:32: "This is the anointed one, whom the Most High has kept to the end of days, who shall spring up out of the seed of David, and he shall come and speak to them and reprove them for their wickedness and their unrighteousness, and shall heap up before them their contemptuous dealings." In I Tim. 3:16 we have a fragment of an early Christian hymn, of which the first line is: "He was manifested in the flesh" (*ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*). The idea is common in the Johannine writings: John 1:14, 31; I John 3:5, 8, for example.<sup>2</sup>

In the second passage it is stated that the prophets of old who foretold

<sup>1</sup> See Hort, *Commentary*, on this passage.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that First Peter is using, not the Pauline conception of an incarnation, but the messianic conception of a revelation. For Paul, Christ's appearance was not a mere *φανερωθῆναι*, but a *κενοῦσθαι, ταπεινούσθαι, πτωχεύειν*. So Harnack, *History of Dogma*, I, p. 328.

the messianic salvation sought to fathom its meaning and to determine at what appointed date it would come; the Spirit of Christ within them pointed out the sufferings that would come upon Christ and the glories that would follow them, and it was revealed to them that the realization of their vision was not for their own time, but for the recipients of the good tidings in the time of the Holy Spirit's ministration.

The problem here is to determine in what sense the Spirit of Christ inspired the prophets. Kühl<sup>1</sup> understands the reference of the ideal Christ, who existed only in the foreknowledge of God. Hort says: "This cannot possibly mean the sufferings of Christ in our sense of the word, i. e., the sufferings which as a matter of history befell the historical Christ." Why not? "It is intelligible only from the point of view of the prophets and their contemporaries, the sufferings destined for Messiah." But the New Testament writers did not take the point of view of the prophets and their contemporaries; they wrote from their own standpoint. Their presupposition was the identity of the Old Testament and the New Testament salvation; see, for example, I Pet. 1:25. The use of Christ's pre-existence in this connection is but a part of the process of Christianizing the Old Testament. The Old Testament was the Bible of the Christians, and they read back into it their new experiences. The conception of sufferings destined for the Christ is a common one: as in Luke 24:26, 46; Acts 3:18; 17:3. In Acts 26:22, 23 we are told that Paul testified (*μαρτυρούμενος*), saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses had said should come, how that the Christ must suffer. There is no sharp contrast between the pre-existent Christ and the historic Christ, and of "the ideal Christ" the writer knew nothing.

The conception was common that the Holy Spirit is the source of prophecy (Acts 1:16 and often). In Paul's thought the Spirit and Christ are very closely related, indeed at times used almost interchangeably (I Cor. 12:3; II Cor. 3:17, 18). In the period in which our writing arose there was no difficulty in considering Christ as the inspirer of prophecy, whether as pre-existent, historic, or glorified. The historic Christ was represented as the revealer (Matt. 11:27; characteristically in the Fourth Gospel, as 1:18), in whose name men prophesied (Matt. 7:22), and who sent forth prophets (23:34). The exalted Christ poured forth the spirit of prophecy from heaven (Acts 2:33). "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy" (Apoc. 19:10). Between Hebrew and Christian prophecy there is in this respect no distinction; in each instance Christ inspired the prophets. So Barnabas in chap. 5: "The prophets, who

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Kommentar*.

received grace from him, prophesied of him" (οἱ προφῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφῆτευσαν).

The prophetic searching for the time of messianic deliverance will be recognized as a characteristic of Jewish messianism. An instance of such inquiry is in Dan., chap. 9, where the seer discovers in the prophecy of Jeremiah (25:11, 12; 29:10) that the number of years for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem was seventy. But as the Jews were still being oppressed by the heathen and the temple was again desolated, he was perplexed by the prediction. While he was praying, the man Gabriel flew swiftly and caused him to understand the vision. He explained that the period was not seventy years, but seventy weeks of years, and that after the 490 years were ended reconciliation for iniquity would be made, the polluted temple reconstructed, and the messianic age introduced.

The service that the prophets were rendering a future age is also frequently brought out in apocalyptic literature. Daniel was to close and seal the book till the time of the end (12:4, 9). Our passage may even be a quotation from Enoch 1:2: "I understood what I saw, but not for this generation, but for the remote generations that are to come."<sup>1</sup> The interest of the angels in these matters may have been suggested by Enoch 9:1. The thought is closely akin to that of Eph. 3:10.

2. Our second special topic is set forth in the following passages:

"In the spirit also he went and preached to the spirits in prison, who had once been disobedient, when the patience of God waited, in the days of Noah, while the ark was being prepared; into which a few souls, that is eight, escaped through water" (3:19, 20).

"For this is why the good tidings were preached even to the dead, in order that they might be judged indeed as men in the flesh, but live according to God in spirit" (4:6).

The objection to the obvious sense of the passages before us has been principally the strangeness of the conception. Perhaps a closer acquaintance with the eschatology then current will remove this. Sheol, the dark underworld in which the ghosts of the dead flitted about, had become a definite and familiar region to the thought of late Judaism. In the older prophetic stage Jehovah's self-manifestations were mostly bound up with the nation's fortunes, although there were even then current among

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Harris (*Expositor*, VI, iv, 194-99) suggests an interesting emendation. Compare the following passages: Enoch 1:2; Matt. 13:17; Luke 10:24; I Pet. 1:12, 13. In the latter passage διηκόνουν is a textual error for διεννοῦντο, after διεννοῦμένην of Enoch 1:2. Then there should be no break in the paragraph, I Pet. 1:13 following naturally with διαβολας.

the people ideas regarding the abode of God and his angels and the region of the departed (Gen. 28:12; Exod. 24:10; I Kings 22:19; Isa., chap. 6; Ezek., chap. 1). Passages on Sheol are too numerous to cite. See also Gressmann (*Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*). The Old Testament Sheol is essentially the Homeric Hades. This conception prevailed till the second century B. C., though individual voices had been raised against it in favor of a more moral and religious view. Then it became a place where men are treated according to their deserts with separate divisions for the righteous and the wicked. The idea of an intermediate state also entered. Finally it was used of the abode of the wicked only, either as their preliminary or their final abode. Gehenna was the place of final condemnation.

In order to realize the change from the Old Testament Sheol, a place of a semi-conscious, non-moral state of existence, where family, national, and social distinctions of this world are in a way preserved, to a place of fully conscious existence, where distinctions are primarily moral, we should pass in review the Book of Enoch, the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, and the Testament of Levi. We note in this other-world the freedom with which spirits come and go and converse is held. A second instructive observation is the solicitude and sympathy now and then manifested for those whose lot is hard. This latter characteristic comes out most strikingly and most beautifully in the Apocalypse of Ezra. The writer's heart is not satisfied with contemplation of the messianic, eschatological programme according to which this evil world will be destroyed and a new world take its place, for "the world to come will bring delight to few, but torments unto many" (7:47). The fact is that his difficulties are never satisfactorily met. It is likely that there were others both in Judaism and Christianity who shared the same concern in regard to the destiny of sinful men after death.

The *descensus ad inferos* appears a number of times in the Christian literature of the New Testament period. It is a special form of the belief that is found in First Peter. Certain descriptions of Sheol by Old Testament prophets seem to have influenced the New Testament development of the conception, as Isa. 14:9, 10; 24:21, 22; 42:7; 49:9; 61:1, 2; Ezek. 32:17-32. Some significant New Testament passages are the following: I Cor. 15:29; Rom. 10:6, 7; 14:9; Phil. 2:5-11; Matt. 12:40; 27:52; Acts 2:27-31; Eph. 4:8-10; 5:14; Apoc. 1:18; 3:7; 5:13; 6:9-11; 20:7. To these may be added the Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians 9:3 and Hermas, *Sim.* 9:16:5, 6. In the Gospel of Peter it is related that a voice from the heavens was heard on the morning of the resurrection: "Hast thou



preached to those that sleep?" And an answer was heard from the cross: "Yes."

It would be easy to show how congenial the conception was to the larger world into which Christianity was entering, which had its own stories of how divine beings had gone down into the kingdom of the dead and returned victoriously, but the form in which the conception appears in First Peter is explicable without resorting to foreign influences.<sup>1</sup>

We see, then, that belief in the descent of Christ into Sheol or Hades after death was natural and necessary in the light of the ancient view of the world, and that it appears again and again. We find suggestions that in connection with his presence there divine power was exercised. We know that among Jews and Christians there was concern for those who had died in their sins. A fundamental declaration in the Christian message was that salvation is possible only in Christ (Acts 4:12). So far as regards the present generation Paul had applied to Christian preaching the words of Ps. 19:4:

Their sound went forth into all lands,  
And their words into all the world. (Rom. 10:18.)

They had had and would have their chance. But to former generations had not been granted the opportunity of believing on Christ. Now as Christ was once in Hades, he must have preached to them there.

There are other interpretations of these passages in First Peter, the most probable of which is that which identifies the spirits in prison with the fallen angels—the sons of God of Gen. 6:1-4, and the sinful angels of the Book of Enoch, who had seduced the daughters of men and whom God cast down to Tartarus (Jude 6; II Pet. 2:4). According to one view the text of I Pet. 3:19 may be emended so as to read that Enoch preached to the spirits; according to another view Christ after his death proclaimed their judgment. But *κηρύσσειν* is uniformly the preaching of salvation, and the proclamation of judgment to angels is not appropriate to the context.<sup>2</sup>

#### FIRST CLEMENT

Arising in all probability at about the same time and in the same place as First Peter and resembling it in thought and language, the First Epistle

<sup>1</sup> See Pfeiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, II, S. 181, 288, and Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, S. 153-56, with full reference to the literature in Clemen. The defect of Clemen's treatment is that he is afraid of making "an unnecessary concession to the religionsgeschichtliche Schule."

<sup>2</sup> A fuller treatment of "Christology in First Peter" may be found in an article by the present writer to appear in the *American Journal of Theology*, 1910.

of Clement to the Corinthians has for us further interest and value, in that it is the earliest non-canonical Christian writing that we possess, although many scholars continue to date the Epistle of Barnabas still earlier. The letter was evidently written about a generation after Nero and after the death of the apostles Paul and Peter (5:1; 44:2). The persecution experienced at the time of writing was more annoying than bloody (1:1; 7:1), and answers to that of Domitian, who vexed the Roman church during the last years of his reign. The name Clement does not occur in the letter, but according to tradition Clement, the third or fourth bishop of Rome, wrote it by order of the congregation. In the oldest Roman list Clement was bishop from 88 to 97 A. D. Africanus places him in the twelfth year of Domitian.<sup>1</sup>

First Clement is a letter from the Roman to the Corinthian church. Goodspeed<sup>2</sup> makes the ingenious conjecture that this Epistle of Clement was in some degree called forth by Hebrews, whose destination was Rome. The Roman church occupied an important position, had a long Christian experience behind it, had been especially privileged, and it ought to teach (Heb. 5:12). Now it proposes to discharge its responsibilities.

Unforeseen and successive misfortunes and reverses that had befallen the Christian community at Rome had prevented an earlier communication, but an unholy insurrection against the regular church authorities at Corinth had so injured the good name of that most steadfast and ancient body that a brotherly letter of admonition was called for (chaps. 1, 47, etc.). Accordingly the purpose of the letter is wholly practical; it is the restoration and maintenance of harmony, in view of the serious breach of discipline among factious Corinthians. These differences in the Corinthian church were not doctrinal, but consisted of personal rivalries. The emphasis of the letter is upon the ethical bearings of the Christian calling, and doctrine is effectively employed with a view to these ends.

In the course of his admonition, passing from ancient examples, the author comes to more recent champions, the noble examples of Peter and Paul, the greatest and most righteous pillars, the good apostles, who suffered martyrdom (chap. 5). Striking reference is made (chap. 47) to "the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle"—our First Corinthians. More especially does he draw upon the language and thought of the Epistle to the

<sup>1</sup> Pfleiderer is not impressed by these indications of a date about 95 A. D., and on considerations of a general character dates the letter in the period from 100 to 120 A. D. (*Das Urchristentum*, II, S. 585, 586).

<sup>2</sup> *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 23.

Hebrews. He knows and uses the evangelic tradition, but in a form that varies from our Synoptic Gospels.

The letter is characterized by moderation, sobriety, "sweet reasonableness" (*ἐπιείκεια*), resembling in this respect First Peter, and contrasting with the intensity of the letters of Paul, the Apocalypse of John, and the letters of Ignatius. Twice the almost paradoxical expression, "earnest moderation" (*ἐκτενὴς ἐπιείκεια*), is used (58:2; 62:2). A word characteristic of the Christian ideal as he conceives it is *παιδεύειν* with its cognates, the idea being that of training, education, instruction.

Taking up now the christological conceptions that emerge, we note:

1. *The mediatorial character of Christ.*—The words *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* occurring twice in the salutation are characteristic of the thought of the whole letter. In two passages God, Christ, and the Spirit are named in the order of the baptismal formula of Matt. 28:19 (46:6; 58:2). Through Jesus Christ "the eyes of our heart were opened; through him our foolish and darkened mind springs up toward (his wonderful) light; through him the Lord would have us taste of undying knowledge" (36:2). Through his beloved Servant Jesus Christ, God has called us from heathen darkness to light, from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of his name, to be numbered among his elect in the whole world; through Christ he has instructed, sanctified, honored us (59:2, 3).

2. *The pre-existence of Christ* is made use of in the spirit of II Cor. 8:9 and Phil. 2:5 ff., as in chap. 16: "For Christ is with the lowly-minded, not with those who exalt themselves over the flock. The scepter of the majesty of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though he might have done so, but in lowliness of mind, as the Holy Spirit spoke concerning him" (16:1, 2). Then follows appropriately a long quotation from Isa., chap. 53.

The pre-existent Christ, as in I Pet. 1:11, inspired the Old Testament writers: "Now all these things the faith which is in Christ confirms, for he himself through the Holy Spirit thus exhorts us" (22:1). Then is given an extended passage from Ps. 34:11-17, quoted also in another connection in I Pet. 3:10-12. Thus the Old Testament revelation and the Christian revelation have a common source.

3. *Rank and significant titles of Christ.*—Following the Epistle to the Hebrews the letter sets forth that being the effulgence of his majesty, Christ is as much greater than angels as he has inherited a more excellent name. To him have been given nations for his inheritance and the ends of the earth for his possession. He sits at the right hand of God with his enemies for a footstool (chap. 36).

In 2:1 the statement is made that "his sufferings were before your eyes," where, as the passage stands, the reference is to God himself—a form of expression common somewhat later, but probably the reference to God is not intended here. One is reminded of the loose reference in Heb. 1:8. As in Heb. 3:1 Christ is called "the Apostle," so here it is said that "Jesus Christ was sent forth from God," as the apostles were from Christ (42:1, 2). Through him God is glorified (chap. 64). As in Hebrews Christ is often spoken of as our High Priest (36:1; 61:3; chap. 64). There is also the title of Patron or Guardian (*προστάτης*), and he is the Helper of our weakness (36:1).

4. *His redemptive sufferings and death.*—The letter dwells upon the subjective effect of the death of Christ upon the mind and conscience of the believer. The thought is akin to that of Heb. 13:15, where it is said in connection with the priesthood and suffering of Jesus: "Through him then let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips that make confession to his name." But the stronger sacrificial idea more common in Hebrews is found here also: "Let us fix our attention on the blood of Christ and know how precious it is to God his Father, because, being shed for our salvation, it offered to the whole world the grace of repentance" (7:4). There is repeated mention of the blood of Christ (12:7; 21:6; 49:6), and frequent use of the conceptions of ransom and deliverance. The attitude toward the death of Christ is very near to that of First Peter.

5. *The Christ of faith.*—All our hopes are in God. Like the Old Testament saints, "we that have been called through his will in Jesus Christ are not justified through ourselves, nor through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, whereby Almighty God justified all men who were from the beginning; to whom be the glory unto the ages of the ages. Amen" (34:4). Here as in Paul we have a recognition that divine grace is the ground of holiness and Christian morality, but faith as the primary condition of acceptance with God and the mainspring of the Christian life is not insisted on as by Paul. Important as was the grace of hospitality for members of the Christian brotherhood, who were strangers and sojourners in the world, Paul would not have co-ordinated it with faith, as Clement does twice (10:7; 12:1); nor would he have written *ἐργοῖς δικαιοῦμενοι καὶ μὴ λόγοις* (30:3). For Clement grace is not in opposition to law, and faith is not set over against works of law. Yet there is no degeneration of Paulinism; only the presuppositions, the Pharisaic training, the experience of the curse of the law and longing for redemption from it, the polemical



demands of Paulinism, are absent. The letter is neither Pauline nor Jewish Christian, and even Pfeleiderer's term "Deutero-paulinism" is not altogether a happy one.<sup>1</sup>

Faith consists of a religious frame of mind involving love and obedience to the will of God; it is the mind directed toward God, trust in his promises, obedience to his will, seeking out those things that are well-pleasing and acceptable to him (35:5).

The phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ* occurs (1:2, etc.), but the Pauline doctrine of the mystical union of the believer with Christ, as in Rom., chap. 6, is not dwelt upon; our mystical and ethical participation in the resurrection of Christ does not appear. His resurrection is mentioned as a ground of assurance of the apostles who went forth with the tidings that the kingdom of God was about to come (42:3).

6. *Eschatology*.—Up to this point in our treatment the christological standpoint has been almost exactly that of First Peter, but it is striking how little use Clement makes of eschatological conceptions in comparison with the large part they play in First Peter. The *ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ* of First Peter is not so constantly before this author's mind. The future hope has been entirely transcendentalized (*ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ*, 35:2). A considerable section is given to the resurrection that is coming, of which the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ was made the first-fruit when he was raised from the dead (24:1), and of which nature offers many analogies (chaps. 24, 25).

7. *Ethical bearings of the Christology*.—Ethical precepts of Jesus are quoted (13:2; 46:8). The chief mark of Christian piety is love of the brethren (chaps. 48, 49, 50). Chap. 49 reminds us of I Cor., chap. 13.

<sup>1</sup> *Das Urchristentum*, II, S. 573-86.

## IX. APOCALYPTICAL CHRISTOLOGY

### (THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN)

No Christian literature of our period is entirely free from apocalyptic influence. The eschatological interpretation of Jesus that dominated the primitive Jewish-Christian community persisted even after he was interpreted in a larger way. But it was natural and inevitable that minds of a certain type and in certain situations should make larger use of the apocalyptic conceptions of Judaism in attempting to relate Jesus to the problems which they were facing. Among the Christians the same conditions obtained that fostered the growth of apocalypticism in Judaism: oppressive social convulsions and the messianic hope. Although the Christians did not constitute a nation, they inherited the religious-national feelings of the Jews and regarded themselves the true Israel. What the Israelite thought would take place in the day of Yahweh, the Christian looked forward to at the second advent of Christ. Several representatives of this type of literature may be specified.

1. *Second Thessalonians*.—This epistle may have been Pauline, but there are considerations that weigh against this view (cf. 1:6, 8; 2:11, 15; 3:6). It appears to lie out of the main line of development, having points of contact with the Pastoral Epistles, with the Apocalypse of John, and possibly with Second Peter. It has the appearance of an extract from First Thessalonians, the single original contribution being the apocalyptic section, 2:1-12, for the sake of which possibly the epistle was chiefly written.

As a consequence of the belief that the day of the Lord's coming was about to dawn, many had fanatically abandoned their employments. The epistle insists that Paul gave no teaching to justify such a course. The apostasy must first come and the man of lawlessness be revealed—the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself against everything called deity (*θεόν*) or an object of worship; he sits in the sanctuary of God, setting himself forth as deity (2:3, 4). The mystery of lawlessness is already at work, but is being held in check by a restraining power (*το κατέχον, ὁ κατέχων*, 2:6, 7). The Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth the lawless one, who deceives and works miracles (2:8-10). The Jewish belief in a final manifestation of the powers opposed to God and his Messiah under the lead of Antichrist here appears, but the specific reference, if there be one, is not so certain. Probably the Satanic power

was identified with Jewish anti-Christian fanaticism and the restraining power with the Roman empire. According to the representation in Acts the Roman power protected the church from Jewish enemies. If this be correct, the situation is very different from that of the Apocalypse of John, where the writer's attitude is wholly hostile to the Roman empire.

2. *Apocalypse of Peter*.—This work, of which only a fragment is extant, probably falls somewhere in the first half of the second century. It contains detailed descriptions of the redeemed in heaven and the lost in hell. What is of special interest to us is that its sources appear to be Greek and not Jewish: namely, the Orphic cult, which in turn drew from oriental sources.

3. *Papias*.—Attention is called to the millennial passage in Papias, ascribed to the teaching of the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

4. *Shepherd of Hermas*.—This is somewhat distinct in character, and will receive special treatment later.

5. *The Apocalypse of John*.—Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who died about A. D. 264, held on sound critical grounds that the Apocalypse of John was not written by the apostle and was not written by the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine epistles.<sup>2</sup> The parallels between it and the Fourth Gospel are superficial, such as the characterization of Christ as the Lamb of God (John 1:29, 36) and the occurrence of the term Logos in the Apocalypse (19:13). The author does not claim to be an apostle but a Christian prophet, and he calls his book a prophecy (1:1-3, 9; 22:7, 9, 10, 18, 19). The Hebraistic style and the Jewish conceptions mark him as a Jew by birth. He probably wrote in Asia Minor, but used Palestinian materials. Irenaeus correctly fixed the date "toward the end of the reign of Domitian."<sup>3</sup> The persecutions of Nero and Domitian are distinguished by the author (6:9-11; 17:11). Apparent indications of some other date of composition are due to the use of earlier material (11:1, 2; 13:18).

Like the Jewish apocalypses, it is written to encourage believers to endure trial and death if necessary in view of the speedy coming of God for judgment and salvation, only in this apocalypse both are mediated by Christ. It is a violent protest against the fanatical hatred of the Jews and the cruel persecution of the Romans, over against which it affirms a confident faith that destruction must overtake these hostile elements and bring in the messianic deliverance. The troublous times are the signs that herald the

<sup>1</sup> Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5:32.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb., *H. E.* 7:25.

<sup>3</sup> *Haer.* 5:30:3; Euseb., *H. E.* 5:8:5, 6.

coming of the messianic age. Domitian's enmity to both Jews and Christians was due to their unwillingness to pay him the honors he demanded.<sup>1</sup> Refusal to worship the image of the emperor was punished with death (13:15; 20:4), though not many martyrdoms had yet taken place. By this means there was engendered a sense of irreconcilable opposition between the church and the empire. The war was to be fought to the bitter end, but it was a spiritual conflict. Behind the world-empire are spiritual powers of darkness. The older expectation of Christ's speedy return to establish his kingdom was revived with intensity. Leading the armies of heaven against the hosts of Satan, he will finally triumph over every foe.

The main sources are Jewish. It is not, however, like the Jewish apocalypses written in the name of ancient patriarch or prophet, and does not cover stretches of past history. Christians did not need to go back to find prophetic names, for there were ever in the church Christian prophets, who were held in high honor. The work does not then seem to be pseudonymous, though we have such a book in the Apocalypse of Peter. It became common to re-edit Jewish apocalypses in a Christian sense. In some instances our author appears to have done little more than this. The picture of the Messiah is taken from Jewish sources; he is a Warrior-Messiah (19:11-16). The artificial interweaving of imagery from various sources produced all sorts of anomalies. A passage representing Jewish particularism stands side by side with the broadest universalism (7:1-10). Also, we have a passage written before the destruction of the temple (11:1, 2). The seven letters seem to be an altogether original and unique feature. The conception of Christ's setting up an earthly kingdom at the time of his return, of the reign of the saints with Christ a thousand years, of the loosing of Satan out of his prison, and finally of the last judgment, is decidedly Jewish (20:1-10). The presence of Jewish elements did not trouble the author of the book, for he believed that the Christians were the true Jews. But some of his combinations would appear to us grotesque, were we not already familiar with them: the Lamb's book of life (13:8; 21:27), the marriage of the Lamb (19:7), the bride, the wife of the Lamb (21:9), the lamp is the Lamb (21:23), the throne of the Lamb (22:3).

The older apocalypstists did not exhaust the material of which use could be made. Babylonia was still rich in mythological lore. Doubtless from Jewish sources our author drew new material whose origin was Babylonia. Events originally related of the beginnings of things are told again of the

<sup>1</sup> The enforcement of emperor-worship in Asia Minor was introduced for the sake of unifying and Romanizing the diverse elements of the empire. It was offensive only to monotheistic faiths.



last days. Creation arose out of chaos through the conquest of the gods of the underworld by the gods of heaven, and again we see Christ as the heaven-god leading the angelic host against hostile powers. The old serpent or dragon of the ancient chaos becomes Satan and the Roman power (chaps. 12, 13). In chap. 5 there seems to be the introduction and enthroning of a new deity into the pantheon, his superiority being demonstrated by his ability to open the magical book.

Since the book consists chiefly of Jewish apocalyptic and Babylonian myth, what is the Christian element? One fails to find in the picture of God the fatherly traits taught by Jesus, and yet by the identification of Jesus with this Jewish Messiah in a Jewish kingdom, God is brought nearer to men, and as we shall see in a moment, the Jewish limitations are really swept away. He is frequently designated by the personal name Jesus (1:9; 12:17; 22:16); sometimes is called the Christ (11:15). He is of the tribe of Judah and the family of David (5:5; 22:16). The number of his apostles, his crucifixion in Jerusalem, his resurrection, his exaltation, are mentioned (1:5, 18; 2:8; 3:21; 11:8; 12:5; 21:14). Most characteristic is the designation "Lamb of God." It is probably connected with Isa. 53:7 and the Passover, and is a symbol of obedient and self-denying love, though, as we have seen, it has come to be applied without any reference to its original signification. As in First Peter, Hebrews, and First John, the death of Christ is presented as a means of purification from sin: he loosed (λύω not λούω) us from our sins by his blood (1:5), and the saints have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb (7:14; 22:14). The figure of purchase is used (ἀγοράζω, 5:9; 14:3, 4). He is the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, but the seer saw a Lamb standing as slain (5:5, 6). The inevitable Daniel-passage (7:13) appears, but in 14:14 the one like unto a son of man does not appear to be Christ at all but an angel who takes directions from another angel.

The Christology is not that of Jewish Christianity, although a mass of non-Christian material has been incorporated without being thoroughly assimilated. The author believed in the salvation of uncircumcised gentiles and did not think of the Jewish ceremonial law as binding on any Christian (5:9, 10; 7:9). There is here no pre-Pauline Christology, rather a high conception of Christ, a broad universality, and freedom from Jewish particularism. As with Paul, it is only the redeeming death of the earthly Jesus that is dwelt upon, and chap. 5 reminds us of Phil. 2:5-11: through his redemptive death Jesus gained a place of glory and power above the highest angels (5:9). The dignity, glory, and authority of Christ and

the greatness of his redeeming work are set forth in exalted terms and the strongest imagery is employed (1:5). He is a priest (1:13), is Lord of the church (1:12-16), is pre-existent and eternal, and determines who shall enter and who be released from the realms of the dead (1:8, 17, 18; 21:6; 22:13), is King of kings and Lord of lords (17:14; 19:16), is the bright, the morning-star that will rise upon the world to usher in the consummation (22:16). When he is described as ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ (3:14), we are reminded of Col. 1:15, 18: πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, . . . ὃς ἐστίν[ῃ] ἀρχή. He is the Logos of God (19:13), though this passage looks like an interpolation in view of the fact that in the preceding verse it was stated as a mark of his transcendence that no one knows his name. His name is constantly associated with that of God (7:10; 20:6; 21:22; 22:1, 3). Given titles that belong to God, and worshiped by men and angels, Christ reigns not only during the earthly millennium, but sits with God in the final consummation.

## X. CHRISTOLOGY IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

The pastoral epistles arose in the first or second decade of the second Christian century, possibly somewhat later. The doctrinal situation is similar to that found in the letters of Polycarp and Ignatius. It is likely, but not quite certain, that these epistles were known to Polycarp and Ignatius.<sup>1</sup> They were not improbably based on genuine letters or notes of Paul to Timothy and Titus. There are Pauline passages and personal notices that bear marks of genuineness, especially in Second Timothy and Titus. Yet the attempt to distinguish the authentic passages is hazardous, and hypothetical reconstructions are not here attempted.

One who regarded himself a loyal follower of Paul proposed to safeguard the church against error in life and doctrine, and to this end he urged good and pious living and warned against novelties and vagaries of faith. Like Ignatius, he saw in church organization a defense against evil tendencies. The false teachings attacked were those of the incipient Gnosticism of the early second century. The notable reference in I Tim. 6:20 to "the antitheses of *gnosis* falsely so called" (*ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*), is, possibly a later addition and may refer to Marcion's *ἀντιθέσεις*, a voluminous work in which he attempted to show the contradiction between the Old Testament and the gospel. If it be noted that the writer failed to distinguish between tendencies of an opposite character, the false teachers being now antinomian and now ascetic (I Tim. 4:3-5), now legalistic (Tit. 1:10, 14) and now spiritualistic (II Tim. 2:18), we may not forget that these various elements are to be found also in Gnosticism. The dualism combated in I Tim. 4:3 and Tit. 1:5 lay at the foundation of Gnosticism. When the life of flesh and sense is regarded as wholly evil, two courses are possible: the flesh may be either repressed or indulged without restraint, and history furnishes abundant examples of both courses. For those who despised the flesh a literal resurrection was out of the question; the resurrection had already come in a spiritual rising from the dead—an error possibly due also to a misunderstanding of Paul's doctrine of the resurrection of believers at baptism to the new life in the Spirit. But it is evident that our author understood by the resurrection only that of the fleshly body. Reference is frequent to intermediate divine beings: the "endless genealogies" (I Tim. 1:4; Tit. 3:9) are hierarchies of acons and archons, Christ being the center of these angelic powers. If the

<sup>1</sup> Pfleiderer makes too little of the evidence.

author is content with indiscriminate denunciations in place of a demonstration of the fallacy of the heretical positions, it is because he is convinced that the deposit of the faith—the true *gnosis*—has been handed down by the apostles against all sorts of error. We are reminded of Polycarp. The gnostic position is further met by placing the emphasis on obedience and ethical activities instead of on knowledge and speculation. Christianity is an ethical religion and not an esoteric philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

There are some striking Pauline ideas and passages, but for the most part characteristic Pauline truths are absent. Instead of the doctrines of death to the flesh and life in the spirit, of union with Christ so that Christ lives in the believer, our author emphasizes piety and good works. Faith appears as the means of salvation in I Tim. 1:16 and II Tim. 3:15; elsewhere *πίστις* is mentioned among other virtues, is used of correct belief, or stands for an objective system of accepted truth. Answering to Paul's idea of faith is piety (*εὐσέβεια*, *θεοσέβεια*) manifesting itself in good works.

Savior (*σωτήρ*), used elsewhere of Christ, is here (in First Timothy exclusively) applied to God, as in Luke 1:47 and Jude, vs. 25. The unity of God is emphasized, it may be in opposition to the Gnostic distinction between the God of creation, of the Old Testament, of the flesh, on the one hand, and the good God of love and redemption, revealed in Christ, on the other.

In I Tim. 3:16 we find a liturgical confession set over against gnostic docetism—"the mystery of the religion" (*τῆς εὐσεβείας*):

He was revealed in flesh,  
He was attested by the Spirit,  
He was beheld by angels,  
He was proclaimed among nations,  
He was believed on in the world,  
He was taken up in glory.

The union of the human and spiritual sides of Christ, suggested also in I Pet. 3:18, is developed with greater fulness in the letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians (7:2): "There is one physician, both sarkical and spiritual, made and not made, God coming in flesh, true life in death, both of Mary and of God, first passible and then impassible—Jesus Christ our Lord"—a passage quoted by Athanasius. As in Ignatius and the Johannine theology, the higher nature and origin of Christ is fundamental: he came into the world (I Tim. 1:15). Over against the many divine principles and intermediate beings of gnostic mythology we read: "For there is one God,

<sup>1</sup> Scott, *Apologetic of the New Testament*, p. 181.



also one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, the testimony in its own times" (I Tim. 2:5, 6), where special emphasis is upon his true manhood. In the notable passage, Tit. 2:13—in the reference to the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Savior Christ Jesus—by the "great God" is probably meant Christ himself. He made an end of death and brought life and immortality to light through the good news (II Tim. 1:10). The Pauline doctrine of the significance of the death of Christ finds echoes, as in I Tim. 2:6 (*ἀντίλυτρον*); but as in First Peter it is the ethical side that is dwelt upon (Tit. 2:14). Our God and Savior Christ Jesus has appeared primarily to redeem us, not from the curse of the law, as in Paul, but from lawlessness, from an immoral life. Against gnostic exclusiveness the universality of salvation through Christ is set forth (Tit. 2:11; I Tim. 2:4; 5:6).

## XI. THE JOHANNINE CHRISTOLOGY

The author of the Fourth Gospel was after Paul the most profound religious genius of our period, and in originality and spiritual insight he does not suffer even in comparison with the great apostle to the gentiles. And yet we know nothing further of him. Since the latter part of the second century he has been identified with the apostle John. Internal evidence does not tend to confirm this tradition. The book does not appear to have been written by one who had been a personal disciple of the Lord throughout his public career. To cite a single illustration, the son of Zebedee was a Galilean, but for this writer Galilee has little interest, while in Jerusalem—in his account the main scene of the Lord's ministry—he is at home. From external evidence a strong case can be made for apostolic authorship, but John the apostle has evidently been confused with John the Elder—a great personality who arises vaguely out of the darkness of the times. Irenaeus says that as a boy he used to hear the blessed Polycarp describe his intercourse with John, who published the gospel while dwelling in Ephesus.<sup>1</sup> Now Papias distinguishes between the apostle John and the elder John, but Irenaeus seems to have misunderstood him. In this instance Eusebius detected the confusion of Irenaeus.<sup>2</sup> The age was one liable to such mistakes. The fact that Irenaeus ascribes not only the gospel but also the apocalypse to the apostle John suggests caution in accepting his testimony. It is a question whether the apostle John ever worked in Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> Writing to the Ephesian church Ignatius addresses them as those who have been initiated into the sacred mysteries with Paul (*Παύλου συμμύσται*, 12:2), but mentions no such relationship with John, one of the Twelve, as would have been likely had he had a long Ephesian residence.

There is little reason to doubt the ancient tradition that the Johannine writings rose on Asian ground. The Christian communities of Asia Minor played a leading rôle in the history of the primitive church, and the Fourth Gospel is their most valuable gift to the world. The time was probably that of Trajan. We have to allow for the use of the Synoptic Gospels, and the general situation is such as to make extremely improbable any time before the second century. In the letter of Polycarp (7:1) there appears to be a reminiscence of the Johannine epistles (I John 4:2, 3;

<sup>1</sup> *Haer.* 3:11; Euseb., *H. E.* 5:20, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb., *H. E.* 3:39.

<sup>3</sup> See Bousset in the Meyer *Kommentar*, "Die Offenbarung des Johannis," and *Encyclopædia Biblica*, article "Apocalypse."

II John, vs. 7), but this should not be pressed. The year A. D. 110 may be given as an approximate date for the Fourth Gospel. The Johannine epistles may have either preceded or followed. But we must leave open the possibility of a still later date for the Fourth Gospel. Identity of authorship cannot be established for the gospel and the epistles. They belong to the same school and are closely related in language and thought. The resemblances make all the more striking the strong divergences, in view of which it is best to treat them apart. The Apocalypse of John has already been treated, as belonging to an earlier period and to a different class of literature.

These writings then proceeded from an Asian school which seems to have originated with John the elder. It is generally assumed that the author of the Fourth Gospel was a Jew by birth, on account of the Hebraic cast of his language and his knowledge of contemporary Palestinian Judaism. But the fact that the work furnishes the most extreme case of dejudaising in the New Testament suggests that the author may not have been a Jew. Personal relationship to Jesus and direct witness to the events recorded appear to be claimed in gospel and epistle (John 1:14; I John 1:1-3), but the consciousness of an immediate relation with the spiritual Christ and such passages as I John 3:6 and III John, vs. 11, suggest a different interpretation.

#### THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The Fourth Gospel has no parallel in the history of primitive Christianity. In the author are combined receptivity and rare creative power. Gentile-Christian thought takes the form of gospel literature. The interest is not historical but theological. Indeed, we do not look for purely historical interest among the writers of the ancient East. History was employed as a means of conveying the writer's own ideas. Men composed poetry with its legends and myths before they wrote history. The Synoptic Gospels are primarily pure history; they were written for the purpose of evangelization and indoctrination, and not mere chronicling; the adoption of the gospel-form was the authors' way of preaching Jesus Christ, and the popularity and influence of the gospels proved a justification of their effort. But in spite of the theological aims and idealizing tendencies of the synoptists, they were interested in the facts. In his preface Luke proposes to give an orderly narrative of the facts of the life of Jesus. John is after the meaning of the facts. Now Matthew's purpose is certainly similar, but he reproduces his sources with more fidelity. John has transformed everything. He gives us not a photograph but a painting, an interpretation, such as Plato gives of Socrates. Facts are related because of their

revealing power. For this purpose the traditions of Jesus' life current in the church are drawn upon. It seems that the most important sources were our Synoptic Gospels, but to some extent they are supplemented—at some points possibly even corrected. The impressive story of the interpolated passage, 7:53—8:11, proves that there were elements in the evangelic tradition that the synoptists had not incorporated in their books.

What now was the writer's controlling purpose? It is perhaps an editor who has added 20:30, 31, where the purpose is said to be that the readers might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and believing have life in his name; but in any case it well sets forth the character of the gospel. The author presents in the form of a record of the works and words of Jesus his own idea of the significance of his person. The historical life has abiding meaning. All facts are read in the light of his conception of Christ's person. The messianic title and office are absorbed and lost in his larger and higher view of the eternal Son of God. The great figure around which all else revolves, he treads the earth but is not of it. Historical development, adaptation answering to changing environment, are mostly wanting. From the beginning Jesus knows that he is to die at the hands of the Jews, is aware of the character of Judas, foresees the future, and is indeed omniscient (1:48; 2:24, 25; 4:16-19; 6:64; 13:18; 16:30; 18:4; 19:28). Under these circumstances there is no need to mention the Baptism, the Temptation, the scene in Gethsemane, or prayer except for the sake of his hearers (11:42; 12:30). The discourses are about the nature of the Christ, what lies back of his manifestation in humanity, his relation to God, his pre-existence, his risen life and work as Spirit; and in it all Jesus speaks beyond those immediately addressed to the readers of the book. From beginning to end, and whatever the situation, the content of the teaching is largely the same. Taken up as the book is with discourses, there is not a parable of the kind familiar to us in the Synoptic Gospels; instead there are allegories, as of the good shepherd and the true vine.

There were specific historical circumstances that called forth a work of just this character, and we may discover reasons even for his remarkable contrasts and contradictions. There is for instance the controversy with "the Jews." It does not concern messiahship or theocratic hopes or the law in the older sense, but the divine claims of Jesus and the problem of reconciling them with monotheism (5:18; 10:36).<sup>1</sup> The break with the Jews had become irreparable; synagogue and church stand apart,

<sup>1</sup> The difficulties that present themselves to Jewish opponents are like those of the Talmud and those Celsus derived from the Jews.



but there is recognition of the historical relation of Christianity to Judaism (4:22; 5:46; 12:41). We hear echoes of a controversy with the sect that still held to John the Baptist, with which Paul also is represented to have come into contact at Ephesus (Acts 18:25; 19:3, 4; see also the Clementine Recognitions 1:54, 60). Within the church there is the Eucharistic discussion (6:32-59). In a word there was a new situation to be faced, there were new ideas and interests of which to take account, old forms and arguments were outgrown, a reinterpretation of Christianity was demanded; and within the church there was one man whose nature and outlook were sufficiently large and catholic, whose hold upon the essential element in Christianity and whose understanding of the abiding meaning of the historical life of Jesus were so true, that his religious genius proved adequate for the crisis. Three of the determining influences in the construction of his Christology will receive special consideration.

1. *Paulinism*.—A half-century had elapsed since the death of Paul. But Paul had made a deep impression on Asia Minor, his influence being manifest in Ignatius and in gnostic circles, all of which adopted certain of his conceptions. Perhaps the Epistle to the Ephesians took its name from the place of its origin; it carries forward the development on strictly Pauline lines. One more powerful witness to his influence is furnished by the Johannine literature. But we must not suppose for a moment that John was a man who would take over anything directly and literally from Paul. He made no such use even of the Synoptic Gospels. Every Pauline doctrine that he holds has been transformed and correlated with his own religious experience.

Both Paul and John proceeded in their christological thinking from their experience of the risen, spiritual Christ, whom they knew not after the flesh. Paul claimed that his vision and knowledge of the risen Lord was as real and valid as that of those who had seen and known him in the flesh. John is possessed of the same conviction regarding himself. Indeed it is his consciousness of communion with the living, eternal Savior, who still reveals himself to those who believe in him, that justifies his free use of his materials, in the spirit of I Cor. 2:9, 10 (John 14:26; 15:26; 16:12-15). But there is a difference: John values as Paul did not the life lived in the flesh. He did not think of it as a kenosis or humiliation, though it was a condescension. He sees the glory of the exalted Christ resting upon the earthly life, as indeed the disciples were disposed to do from the beginning. Paul and John make somewhat the same use of pre-existence in connection with Christ's redemptive work: Christ is able to reveal the Father and to save because he came down from heaven, but

for John he did not as for Paul divest himself of his glory and divine prerogatives.<sup>1</sup>

The universalism of the gospel of Christ is common to Paul and John. Our author was a world-Christian to whom Jewish law and prerogative meant nothing and to whom the requiring of circumcision and the observance of Jewish law of gentile converts would have been repugnant. In his hostility to the Jews he goes far beyond Paul, holding out no such hope of the ultimate salvation of Israel. Christ brings freedom from sin (8:34-36), but not freedom from all law; John does not scruple to represent the Christian life as the keeping of Christ's commandments. Yet in general he reproduces Paul's idea of spiritual freedom, employing even the figures of servant and son (8:33-39). And where could be found a more excellent statement of Paul's doctrine of faith and works than in 6:29: "This is the work of God, that you believe on him whom God has sent"? Nevertheless the view of faith is not exactly the same. In John faith is an attitude toward Christ as the supreme manifestation of God, fixing primarily not upon Christ in his redemptive work for the sinner but upon him in his relation to God. Instead of trust it tends to become belief, just as in First John the recognition of the divine Sonship of Jesus and the reality of his incarnation is made the test of the Christian's standing before God.

A fundamental difference between Paul and John in their conception of Christ in his relation to men is that Paul thinks of him primarily as the Redeemer from sin and the flesh, and John as the Revealer of the Father and of truth. The redemption wrought by Christ is for Paul release from the flesh and means entrance upon a new and holy life in the Spirit. In John likewise there is the contrast between flesh and spirit, but the new birth is into a world of light and redemption, a transfer from darkness to light. Christ came to take away sin, but his central work was the revelation of the Father. Sin is not so much moral evil as limitation, incapacity for the higher life, and unbelief in Christ (15:22; 16:9).

While some of Paul's controlling ideas were taken up by the church, others just as essential to his thought were not appropriated. His conception of the believer's oneness with Christ was too much out of line with the ordinary experience of the Christian man to mean much to the church, even when Paul's phraseology was retained. But in one form or another the abiding presence of the spiritual Christ continued a matter of conscious experience, and great mystic souls like John and Ignatius could not dispense with bold, vital expressions of their sense of union with the Lord. The union as conceived by Paul was not only ethical but somehow

<sup>1</sup> Therefore there is no occasion to introduce the Transfiguration.

ontological; so John thought of the life communicated through personal union with Christ as a kind of transmitted essence, though he often describes it in ethical terms. In this connection belongs the Eucharistic discussion of chap. 6. So also Ignatius writes to the Ephesians that they break one bread, which is medicine of immortality, an antidote against dying, causing them to live forever in Jesus Christ (20:2). Although Paul was still looking for the coming of Christ, practically he could realize his presence in the Spirit, and it was a real presence. John was able to make it still more real (if possible) by his spiritual understanding of the *parousia*; for him Christ had already come and was realized as an invisible and abiding presence. The coming of the Paraclete was that of Christ himself (14:16, 18).

We recall that Paul fixes upon the death of Christ as the crowning act of divine love, in which Christ's character, revealing the character of God, is summed up. John too sees in his death an expression of love (15:13), but with him it is chiefly the life that is revelatory. Overwhelmed with consciousness of sin and the law, Paul found peace in the grace of God revealed through the cross, which was an expression of the mind of Christ and God. For him it was enough to know Christ crucified; the death furnished the key to the purpose and meaning of the life. In John the life as a whole occupies the place assigned by Paul to the death. There seems to be logically no need for the doctrine of the expiatory death in the Johannine Christology, but at this point John makes no formal break with the current church doctrine. He appears to dissociate the Christian sacrament from the Jewish Passover by placing the Supper on the 13th of Nisan instead of the 14th, and making it the prototype of the Agape, so that the crucifixion coincides with the killing of the Paschal lamb (I Cor. 5:7). An explicit connection of the death with sin occurs in 1:29—by no means a characteristic manner of speaking with him and most likely a reminiscence of the church doctrine. The death is an act deliberately accomplished and necessary to his entrance into glory and return to his disciples.

Paul's idea of the Son of God was not only the religious and the apocalyptic but the gentile and literal, the title expressing the essential relation of Christ to God; Christ was God's own Son (Rom. 8:32), pre-existing in the form of God (Phil. 2:6). John pushes this conception of the nature of the Son and his relation to God a step farther, employing the name "Son of God" in the full sense it would convey to the Greek mind—one who was of the same nature with the Father and was always Son. He does not go as far as Ignatius and without scruple call Christ God; the



Logos is *θεός*, not *ὁ Θεός* (1:1). The exclamation of Thomas is not to be taken as our author's characteristic way of speaking (20:28), though it is of great significance for his thought.

2. *Alexandrianism*.—Alexandrian ideas early gained a foothold in Asia Minor. In Acts 18:24 we are told that a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, mighty in the Scriptures, came to Ephesus. The epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians, and the Hebrews, all of which probably rose in Asia Minor, bear witness to the extent to which Alexandrian thought and method had already entered the Christian movement when the Fourth Gospel was written. In his masterly and penetrating work on the Fourth Gospel, to which this treatment is under heavy obligations, Scott expresses more than once his conviction that John was directly acquainted with the works of Philo and was conscious of his indebtedness to them.<sup>1</sup> This does not seem probable. We have seen that Philonic ideas had already gained currency and entered Christian thought. The case is altogether different in Hebrews, where the author shows himself to be a thoroughgoing literary Hellenist. John's undertaking was, like Philo's, that of naturalizing in the Hellenic world religious ideas originating among the Jews of Palestine; but he had no such philosophical interest and equipment as the Alexandrian thinker. What Philo and his school found in the Logos, he found in Christ. As Philo used allegory to read Greek philosophy in the Old Testament, so by means of allegory John was enabled to see through facts to their true import. Allegory had been employed in the rabbinical schools of Palestine, but the allegorical character of the Fourth Gospel is due to Alexandrian influence. Outward facts are symbolical. Persons are types. The use of the temple, the brazen serpent, the manna, and the passover-lamb (2:21; 3:14; 6:31, 32; 19:36) is after the manner of Hebrews.

Plato had elaborated the theory of ideas which separated the material world from the world of higher reality—a conception of which Hebrews made much. The Stoics brought the worlds into correlation by the hypothesis of Heraclitus that a *λόγος*, a principle of reason, pervades the universe. The Logos is both reason and activity, inward and declared (*λόγος ἐνδιάθετος καὶ προφορικός*). Now Jewish thinkers, confronted by the same dualism in view of the growing impression of God's transcendence, bridged the gulf by hypostatizing Wisdom and the Word (*Memra*), by the mediation of angels that filled the space between earth and heaven, and by increased reliance on their law. In the spirit of Plato, Philo looked upon visible things as the types and shadows of reality, and with the Stoics saw

<sup>1</sup> *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 55, 154.



in the Logos reason and uttered speech, divine energy and self-revelation. True to his Hebrew monotheism, he subordinated the Logos to the supreme, self-existing God. In his thought man is by virtue of his intelligence akin to the divine Logos, and men who know one Creator and Father of all things are sons of God.<sup>1</sup> The Father of the universe brought the Logos into being as his eldest son, his firstborn, who imitates the ways of his Father.<sup>2</sup> The Logos distributes to all the true manna, the heavenly food and nourishment of the soul.<sup>3</sup> John's prologue contains distinctive Philonic conceptions: the eternity of the Logos, the relation to God (*πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*), his creative activity, and his function in the illumination of men (1:1-4). After the prologue the term is used only in the sense of spoken discourse. John's interest is not in the abstract Logos but in the personal Logos made flesh, not in his cosmic but in his saving significance. Philo's cosmology falls into the background. It is possible but not likely that along with a number of alterations in the text of the Johannine literature the prologue also was affixed. The Logos-doctrine is in a way assumed throughout.

We have then a truth of religious experience stated in terms of Alexandrian speculation. The fact was that Jesus had revealed God. Therefore he is identified with the divine reason and essence on the one hand, and on the other with God's principle of activity and revelation, which manifests itself in creation and the soul of man. Thus Jesus was different in nature from the men around him. A mysterious halo is about his person. In all his words and deeds a glory shines out. He manifests his glory by miracles, which are signs (*σημεῖα*, 2:12; 9:3; 12:4)—exhibitions primarily not of compassion but of power, designed to inspire belief in his claims (4:48; 9:3; 11:40). Where there is dependence on the synoptists, the marvelous is chosen and heightened. About his presence there is an overawing majesty (7:46; 18:6). It is one who came forth from God and returns to God that washes the disciples' feet (13:3). By nature they were his servants, but in his divine love and condescension he calls them friends (16:15). He is self-determining, independent of outward circumstances and compulsion, master of his own fate (7:30; 8:20; 10:18). His words are divine (6:63, 68; 15:3). With the Logos-hypothesis there is no need of adducing the tradition of the virgin-birth (cf. 1:45; 6:42; 7:27).

3. *Gnosticism*.—The presence of incipient Gnostics in Asia Minor in the first century is witnessed by the epistles to the Colossians and the

<sup>1</sup> *De Mundi Opif.* 51; *Conf. Ling.* 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Conf. Ling.* 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Quid Rer. Div.* 39; *De Profug.* 25.

Ephesians. Their large influence there early in the second century is testified to by the zeal of Ignatius. The Fourth Gospel makes no express mention of Gnosticism, but there is reason to believe that it was present to the mind of the author. Emphasis on certain physical details which prove the reality of Christ's life and especially of his death; the avoidance of the substantives *γνῶσις* and *πίστις*, though the ideas and the verbal forms ever recur, *σοφία* also being replaced by *ἀλήθεια*; the comparative absence of angels; the honor paid the Old Testament as foreshadowing the revelation in Jesus; the exclusion from a part in creation of the mediating aeons of gnostic mythology (1:3); special mention that Jesus "went out bearing the cross for himself" (19:17), the gnostic legend being that Simon of Cyrene was crucified in place of Jesus—these facts taken all together point toward a conscious opposition to Gnosticism on the part of the writer. Loyal to the church's evangelic tradition, he insists that Christianity be not detached from its original and vital connection with the person of the historical Jesus. He is satisfied with no Logos of bare speculation, but with one known in personal human form.

But like every wise apologete for the faith, John is sympathetic and receptive toward the deeper thought-currents of the time, and careful to appropriate and conserve what is true and helpful. On this account his work became a favorite gospel of gnostic schools. At the close of the second century it was even said that Cerinthus was its author. The docetic Gospel of Peter follows it in preference to the Synoptics. It cannot be denied that in tendency it is at times almost docetic. The doctrine of a present resurrection is close to gnostic thought (5:24). The antitheses of the lower and the higher worlds, darkness and light, earthly men and spiritual men, are fundamental. The religious life is one of knowing, though knowledge always includes ethical elements. It is evident that the distinction between orthodox and gnostic had not become marked. Later Christians often combated only special fantastic forms of Gnosticism, not understanding its real spirit. But John and the Gnostics drew in part from a common source—the general religious culture of the age. The saving work of Christ must be brought into relation with the needs of the Greek world; hence he is conceived as one who brings illumination and eternal life. To know God is all-important, but this is to know his character and will. Christ reveals the Father by the manifestation of himself. He was more than a messenger come to bear witness of the light; he was the light (1:7-9, 18). The acceptance of this revelation brings eternal life and its rejection eternal death. Christianity is new knowledge. The Fourth Gospel thus fostered the tendency in the church toward an intel-

lectual apprehension of Christianity. Faith, however, is still an act of the soul—not yet “the faith,” but approaching that.

*Eschatology.*—Perhaps there is no feature of the Johannine reinterpretation of Christ more remarkable than the transformation of the current eschatology. Most vital to John was his consciousness of the presence of the living Christ. For this he reads history symbolically and finds in it prophetic allusions. Expectation of the *parousia*, a cardinal article of faith in the primitive church, had through all these years undergone a severe strain. Some clung to the hope almost frantically, staking everything, as it were, upon it;<sup>1</sup> but all in some degree maintained the hope. John holds, on the other hand, that it has already taken place. Christ comes to the believer inwardly and spiritually (14:21-23). He said he would come in a little while, and he fulfilled his promise immediately after the ascension to the Father. And so the discourses at the Supper take the place of the apocalyptic discourses of the Synoptics, and the coming of Christ in the Spirit is substituted for the *parousia*. This seems very simple, but there is confessedly some confusion. The future advent of 21:22 (“till I come”) belongs to the appendix. The future coming of 5:25, 28, 29 seems to be a contradiction of the context, and the last two verses look like an interpolation. The meaning of 14:3 seems to be a coming at death to take the believer to a heavenly abode. Possibly there is reference to the appearances after the resurrection in 16:16, 22. But the prevailing reference to his coming in the Spirit is unmistakable (14:18, 23, 28).

The resurrection of Jesus effected the confirmation of the disciples' faith in him (20:8, 28), and the possibility of his return to the Father to send the Spirit. His resurrection secured to believers a universal, inward, permanent divine presence. There was no clear place for the ascension, such as is described in Acts, but as belonging to the tradition it is referred to in 20:17.

Paul taught that the Christian man has already experienced a spiritual resurrection. This is with John a cardinal conviction; Christ imparts spiritual life, and the believer in him has already passed out of death into life (5:21, 24). Martha's idea of the resurrection was eschatological and physical; Jesus transfers the emphasis to the present (11:24-26). But the traditional belief in a final resurrection which is to include those that have done evil is not excluded (5:28, 29; 6:39, 40, 44, 54).

In the traditional messianism Christ was to be judge (II Cor. 5:10). John carries the messianic judgment back into the earthly life of Jesus

<sup>1</sup> Apoc. of John; Apoc. of Peter; Papias (Iren., *Haer.* 5:33); II Peter, “Where is the promise of his *parousia*?” (3:4).



(5:22, 27, 30; 8:16; 9:39; 12:31). Again it is said that he does not judge; he came to save (3:17; 5:45; 8:15; 12:47). His judgment is not formal; he has come into the world as the light, the revelation of God, and light brings all things to the test (3:18-21). Men choose for or against him. The word he speaks judges (12:47, 48). As a matter of course the judgment "in the last day" also appears (5:28, 29; 12:48).

Summing up, we may view the Christology of the Fourth Gospel in Christ's relation to God, to the Holy Spirit, and to men.

The title "the Christ" has for the most part lost its original significance in connection with the national Israelitish history and hope, and like "the Son of God" has come to stand for the supramundane nature and dignity of Jesus (11:27; 20:31). "Son of man" occurs in twelve passages, but in most cases it takes strained exegesis to find special significance in its use, as for instance the emphatic acknowledgment on the part of Jesus of a human nature. The distinctive name is "Son of God," sometimes with the Philonic epithet of "only-begotten" (1:14, 18; 3:16, 18). This sonship is literal and essential; Christ is a heavenly being, different in kind from men. He shared the glory of the Father before the world was, and by his own act entered the world as man; hence there is no need to introduce the tradition of the virgin-birth. As pictured by the synoptists Jesus fixed his thought on God's fatherliness, his own sonship being a correlative, to be sure, but in the background. Father and Son implied a reciprocal fellowship; as in Hebrew thought, the son was the object of the Father's favor, and the name was more personal than official. In the Fourth Gospel, however, both Fatherhood and Sonship approach a literal relationship. Of course sonship implies a distinction and a subordination (5:19; 12:50; 14:28). J. Weiss is in error when he says of John that "he does not even hesitate not only to say of the premundane Logos: he was God (1:1), but also lets the bodily risen one be addressed by Thomas as his God (20:28)."<sup>1</sup> These are isolated instances, and the first is not correctly translated, while the second is an exclamation, found in reverse order in Ps. 35:23.

Nevertheless there is an equally vital ethical and religious side to John's Christology. He does not entirely forget that Jesus was a man with genuinely human and moral traits. Jesus revealed God perfectly to men because in him was realized an ideal communion with the Father (14:9, 10). His life and character made known God to men. He is Son of God by virtue of his inner life of fellowship, his obedience to the will of God, his love and devotion expressing itself in self-sacrifice (4:34; 5:30; 8:29; 10:

<sup>1</sup> *Christus: Die Anfänge des Dogmas*, S. 85, 86.



17, 37). The communion of the disciples with Jesus and of Jesus with the Father are placed side by side as though they were of the same kind. Even for Jesus, fellowship with God is conditioned; he is assured of the love of the Father only so long as he does his will. By this apprehension of the historical Jesus the moral element that was threatened under the influence of the doctrine of an abstract Logos is restored.

The death of Jesus made possible his return to the disciples as an all-pervading presence for the larger task of gathering together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad (7:39; 10:16; 11:52; 17:20, 21). Bereft of his bodily presence, the disciples will have the Spirit. Now the conception of the Holy Spirit was a phase of primitive Christian thought of which John found it convenient to make special use. In certain passages the Spirit is expressly distinguished from Jesus (ἄλλος παράκλητος, 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7, 14, 15), while in others the reference is to the presence of the glorified Redeemer (14:18; 16:16). After his resurrection Jesus breathed on the disciples and said: "Receive the Holy Spirit" (20:22). The confusion at this point is paralleled in every phase of the Johannine thought we have taken up, and is dissolved when we recall the varying influences and interests with which our many-sided author had to reckon.

In relation to men it is the function of Jesus to disclose the mystery of the unseen God (1:18; 14:9), to bring grace and truth (1:14, 17), and to impart eternal life. He is the Water and Bread of life, the Light, the Way, the Shepherd, the Vine. It is not to his message but to himself that men are to look for salvation. In his discourses he does not teach, but asserts his divine character—his self-consciousness—his relation to God and men. The eternal life which he imparts is thought of in its essence after the manner of the Greeks, and in its ethical quality in the Hebrew spirit. The means by which men come to partake of eternal life is union with Christ, so intimate that prayer may be addressed immediately to God (16:23, 24), mystically grounded on an almost ontological relationship, ethically based on spiritual fellowship. The continuity of this divine life is such that death—the dissolution of the body—is but an incident.

The Fourth Gospel is then an interpretation of Jesus—a setting-forth of his significance for the world. It is not to be taken as historical in form and detail. As an interpretation, however, its main contentions are not without support in the synoptic tradition. Love as the distinguishing mark of discipleship finds even larger expression in the synoptic account, while love as the central trait in the character of God in his relation to men finds place in the message of Jesus as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (John 3:16; 13:34, 35; Mark 12:30, 31; Matt. 5:43-48). The total impression

of his life and character, his words and deeds, gained from the Synoptic Gospels, is that of one who reveals God, and that Christ manifests God is the fundamental conviction of the author of the Fourth Gospel. In the synoptic account the person of Jesus does not stand out so prominently as the source of salvation, but Jesus does invite the weary and heavy laden to come to him for refreshment and does represent his body and blood as given for his followers. He does not in the Synoptics ask for belief that he is the Son of God, who has come from heaven, but he does say: "Follow me" (Mark 1:17). Now what kind of a being must he be of whom such things can be said? It is with this problem that the Fourth Gospel deals. John's conviction of the divine sonship of Jesus finds support in the synoptic tradition (Mark 1:11; 9:7; Matt. 11:27). From the beginning his followers had attempted to answer the question, but former categories and interpretations did not fully satisfy John's experience and view of the world. The profound answer he himself has given is not surpassed by any thinker of the primitive Christian period.

#### THE JOHANNINE EPISTLES

There is little reference in these epistles to the historical Jesus—his message that God is light, his command to love, the mention of water and blood and of "the teaching of the Christ" (1:5; 3:11, 23; 5:6; II John, vs. 9) being the possible allusions.

As in the gospel, Christ is primarily the Revealer of the Father, and the Christian character corresponds with God's character ("which thing is true in him and in you," 2:8; 4:11, etc.). There is the same strange combination of opposites: the teaching is now mystical, now intellectualistic, and yet so ethical that Christianity appears to be only a fulfilment of the law of love. J. Weiss<sup>1</sup> says that Jesus Christ is "without hesitation" called "the true God" in 5:20, but the case is not so clear; further, it is possible that the closing verses are a later amplification.

The explicit connection of the death of Christ with sin is more prominent than in the gospel. "The blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin" (1:7). "And he is a propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the whole world" (*ἱλασμός*, 2:2). Their sins are forgiven for his name's sake—an expression not frequent in the New Testament (2:12). "He was manifested to take away sins and in him is no sin" (3:5). "In this is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us and sent his Son as a propitiation for our sins" (4:10).

As in the gospel, the expectation of a final bodily resurrection is subordinated to the present spiritual resurrection of believers (2:29; 3:14;

<sup>1</sup> *Christus*, S. 84.

5:12). But the coming manifestation of Christ occupies a place that is not given it in the gospel (2:28; 3:2). The "last hour," which has already arrived, as is witnessed by the rise of many antichrists, and "the day of judgment," are mentioned (2:18; 4:17). Paul's doctrine of Christ as an ever-living Intercessor (Rom. 8:34), elaborated in Hebrews (7:25), is here continued in the thought of an Advocate with the Father (*παράκλητος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*, 2:1), Jesus Christ the righteous.

Of special interest is the explicit reference to gnostic teachers, who were only implicitly present in the gospel. We learn that they are numerous, are itinerant preachers; they originally went out from the Christian community; the separation now between them and the churches is an open one, and its initiation was not from the side of the false leaders but the churches (2:18, 19; 4:4; II John, vss. 7, 10). They have met with a measure of success: "the world hears them" (4:5). The author sees in them the expected antichrists (2:18, 22; 4:3; II John, vs. 7). They are not to be received into the house or greeted, for greeting would mean participation in their evil works (II John, vss. 10, 11).

Their chief offense is their false Christology: the denial that Jesus is the Christ and the denial of the Father and the Son (2:22; 4:2, 3; 5:1, 5-8; II John, vss. 7-9). The docetic error is apparent enough. There is also the contention on their part that the union between the Christ and the man Jesus was only transitory and external, beginning with the baptism and closing with the sufferings.<sup>1</sup> In opposition to this the author asserts that Jesus Christ came not only with the water but with the water and the blood, that is to say, not only in baptism but in suffering (5:6, 8). With this interpretation agree the opening words to the effect that the Word of life was heard, seen, and handled (1:1-3). The textual reading of *λύει* in 4:3 instead of *μὴ ὁμολογῇ* is significant: whoever divides the historical person of Jesus is not of God. The denial that Christ has suffered with and for men robs his death of significance (1:7; 2:2; 4:10). Another error is that of antinomianism—the contention that the Christian man is bound by no law (1:8, 10; 2:4).

Our author is not content to denounce and condemn, like Jude, Second Peter, and the Pastoral Epistles, but he exhibits the true gospel in opposition to the false *gnosis*. With the gospel of the same school he insists upon the reality of Christ's appearance in the flesh, demands obedience as well as knowledge, and employs the categories of light, life, and love. It is a striking fact that there is no direct allusion to the Old Testament.

<sup>1</sup> It is this docetic interpretation of Jesus that appears in the Gospel of Peter: "And the Lord cried out and said: My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said it, he was taken up."

## XII. THE IGNATIAN CHRISTOLOGY

The seven genuine letters of Ignatius<sup>1</sup> and the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians were written either during the latter part of Trajan's reign,<sup>2</sup> or during that of Hadrian (117-38 A. D.).<sup>3</sup> These letters present an interesting contrast from a christological standpoint, and those of Ignatius mark the beginnings of a new type of Christology.

### I. POLYCARP

The epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians was occasioned by a communication from the Philippian church to Polycarp, requesting that he convey to Syria a letter they had written at Ignatius' suggestion, and asking also that he send them any of Ignatius' letters he might have, as well as a letter from himself for their edification (3:1, 13). Polycarp wrote to them simply, practically, and temperately. Most striking is his large use of the New Testament books. The repeated use of First Peter attracted the attention of Eusebius.<sup>4</sup> Great value attached to the words of Jesus, which are introduced as in First Clement with the formula: "The Lord said" (2:3; 7:2). Paul is referred to by name, especially in connection with the fact that in person he taught the Philippians carefully and surely and when absent wrote them a letter (or "letters," *ἐπιστολάς*). In one instance the words of Paul are quoted as from sacred Scriptures (12:1: "sacris literis . . . his scripturis"), but part of the quotation is from the Old Testament (Ps. 4:5; Eph. 4:26), which Polycarp probably had in mind.

Although he is not animated with the dogmatic spirit of the fiery Ignatius, yet he takes occasion to warn against prevailing false doctrine. Ever prone to regard matter as the source of evil, gnostic teachers denied that Christ entered into actual contact with earthly things; his coming in the flesh and his suffering and death were illusory. The resurrection of believers was spiritual only. Turning from these false teachings to the word delivered from the beginning, Polycarp declares: "For everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is Antichrist, and

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that Pfeiderer (*Urchristentum*, II, S. 227), although he had, along with the Tübingen critics, opposed the genuineness of these letters, later acknowledged that Lightfoot had convinced him of their genuineness.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb., *H. E.* 3:36.

<sup>3</sup> The traditional date is 107; Lightfoot gives 110, Harnack 117, Pfeiderer 130.

<sup>4</sup> *H. E.* 4:15: *κέχρηται τισι μαρτυρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς.*



whoever confesses not the testimony of the cross is of the devil, and whoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own desires and says that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the firstborn of Satan" (7:1).

The language used of Christ is in general that of the traditional Christology (2:1, 2). As in First Peter and Clement, the example of the Lord is appealed to in an ethical manner (2:2, 3). Christ is most frequently called "our Lord;" once, as in Hebrews, "the eternal high priest" (12:2: *sempiternus pontifex* for *ὁ αἰώνιος ἀρχιερεὺς*). If we follow the quotations in Timotheus and Severus instead of the Latin there is a reference to the "God Jesus Christ" in 12:2, after the style of Ignatius; and farther on in the same passage there is similar language according to a not improbable Latin reading.

It is in line with a tendency of the time that the Christian prophets are ignored, and appeal is made to the Lord himself who gave commandment, the apostles who preached the gospel, and the prophets who proclaimed beforehand the coming of our Lord (6:3).

## II. IGNATIUS

Circumstances connected with his approaching martyrdom occasioned the seven genuine letters of Ignatius that we possess. He has been condemned to the wild beasts, on what definite charge is not known to us, and the Flavian amphitheater is the appointed place of execution. At the time of his departure for Rome the peace of his Antiochene church is disturbed. On his Romeward journey he is in the custody of ten soldiers, "leopards," who treat him with harshness. On reaching Smyrna he receives delegates from churches of Asia Minor. Four of his letters written from this place are extant. Those addressed to the Ephesians, Magnesians, and Trallians, who had sent delegates to him at Smyrna, have to do with doctrine and ecclesiastical order. The fourth, that to the Romans, written on the twenty-fourth of August, is occupied with the thought of his coming martyrdom. He fears that his friends will interpose in his behalf, and thereby inflict a wound upon him. Here his fierce enthusiasm reaches its highest point. He longs for the honor of discipleship which martyrdom will confer upon him. He is wheat of God, and is ground by the teeth of wild beasts, so as to be found pure bread of the Christ (4:1). From Troas he writes three letters. The first and second are addressed to the churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna, which he had visited personally on the route; the third is to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. Having heard that peace has been restored in the church at Antioch, he desires that the churches with

which he communicates and Polycarp send delegates or letters to Syria to congratulate and exhort the Antiochene brotherhood.

Ignatius is tremendously impressed with the fact that the churches are confronted with a real danger from false doctrine. Doctrinal purity, the unity of the faith, is to be secured by strict ecclesiastical order, of which the bishop is the center; this is urged in every letter. Everywhere it is apparent that it is a thoroughgoing docetism against which his teaching is directed, such as is dealt with in the epistle to the Colossians, the Johanne epistles and gospel, and the Pastoral Epistles. Before the mind of Ignatius is a particular form of Judaistic Gnosticism. Now we know that Antioch was a center of gnostic syncretism. Saturninus, a native of Antioch who flourished 100-120 A. D., taught that Christ was without birth, body, or figure, appearing in semblance as a man. Basilides flourished during the reign of Hadrian; he was educated in Syria and the East, and taught in Alexandria. It was his contention that Simon the Cyrenian was crucified, by a trick or magic, instead of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

A few passages from Ignatius will suffice to show how he meets these errors. Against phantasmal conceptions he urges the word *ἀληθῶς*. The birth, passion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ truly and assuredly took place in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate.<sup>2</sup>

Be deaf, therefore, when any man speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, the son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth; who was also truly raised from the dead, his Father having raised him; and he will in like manner raise us who believe on him—that is, his Father will raise us in Christ Jesus, apart from whom we have no true life. But if it were as certain persons who are godless, that is unbelievers, say, that he seemed to suffer, being themselves the seeming, why am I bound, and why also do I desire to fight with wild beasts? So I die in vain; accordingly then I lie against the Lord.<sup>3</sup>

To the Smyrnaeans he writes:

I glorify Jesus Christ the God who bestowed such wisdom upon you; for I have perceived that you are established in immovable faith, nailed as it were on the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ both in flesh and spirit, settled in love in the blood of Christ, fully persuaded with reference to our Lord that he is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, Son of God according to the will and power of God, born truly of a virgin, baptized by John that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him, truly nailed up in the flesh for our sakes under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch—of which fruit are we, of his most blessed passion—that

<sup>1</sup> Iren., *Haer.* 1:24:4.

<sup>2</sup> Mag. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Tral. 9, 10.

he might raise a signal unto the ages through the resurrection for his saints and faithful ones, whether among Jews or among gentiles, in one body of his church. For he suffered all these things for our sakes, that we might be saved; and he suffered truly, as he also truly raised himself (an unusual expression), not as some unbelievers say, that he seemed to suffer, being themselves the seeming; and as they think, it shall also happen to them, because they are bodyless and demoniacal. For I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the resurrection. And when he came to those who were about Peter, he said to them: Take, handle me and see that I am not a bodyless demon. And instantly they touched him and believed, holding to his flesh and spirit. Wherefore they also despised death, moreover were found superior to death. And after the resurrection he ate with them and drank with them as sarkical, though he was spiritually united with the Father (1-3).

We are constantly coming upon the most striking and startling expressions. He delights in speaking of "Jesus Christ our God." He mentions "the blood of God" (Eph., chap. 1) and "the passion of my God" (Rom. 6:3). "Our God Jesus the Christ was conceived in the womb by Mary" (18:2). "Even the heavenly beings and the glory of the angels and the rulers both visible and invisible" are under the necessity of believing in Christ's blood for salvation.<sup>1</sup> False teachers appealed to the archives—doubtless chiefly the Old Testament scriptures. Ignatius is willing to quote what is written, but adds: "But as for me, my archives are Jesus Christ; the inviolable archives are his cross and death and his resurrection and the faith which is through him" (Phil. 8:2). Jesus Christ is the "door of the Father," through which prophets and apostles and the church enter (Phil. 9:1). "There is one God who manifested himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his word proceeding from silence, who in all things pleased him that sent him."<sup>2</sup>

The prophets in whom Ignatius believes are those of the Old Testament. "For the divine prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. For this cause also they were persecuted, being inspired by his grace. . . . Even the prophets, being his disciples in the spirit, were expecting him as their teacher; and on this account he whom they rightly awaited, when he came, raised them from the dead."<sup>3</sup>

"Wherever the bishop appears, there let the multitude be; just as wherever Christ Jesus is, there is the universal church."<sup>4</sup>

The contrast between these two contemporaries and friends, Polycarp and Ignatius, is striking throughout. In Polycarp there is no mention of

<sup>1</sup> Smyr. 6:1.

<sup>2</sup> Mag. 8:2.

<sup>3</sup> Mag. 8:2; 9:3.

<sup>4</sup> Smyr. 8:2: ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

the episcopate, though in Ignatius it constitutes the guarantee of orthodoxy and unity. In Polycarp there is no word about the unity of the church, the only occurrence of *ἐκκλησία* being in the address. Ignatius turned to large practical use the Pauline thought of the oneness of the church as the body of Christ.

Ignatius is akin to Paul on the mystical side, especially in his emphasis upon the union of the believer with Christ. Polycarp's likeness to Paul is on the practical and ethical side; his letter resembles First Peter, Clement, and the Pastoral Epistles. Ignatius speaks of Jesus Christ and Christ Jesus; Polycarp of the Lord and our Lord, with and without the addition of Jesus Christ. Three times in Polycarp we read of "God and Christ" (3:3; 5:2, 3); not at all in Ignatius. There is in Polycarp nothing of the blood and suffering of God. He mentions the cross of Christ twice (7:1; 12:2) in referring to enemies of the true faith, and the blood of Christ once (2:1), as a crime demanding vengeance. On the other hand Ignatius lays the greatest stress on the passion and death of Christ, though he does not develop its theological significance, as Paul attempted to do.

Polycarp, the younger man, is the sane and conservative representative of the apostolic tradition; Ignatius, the elder, realizing present dangers and looking toward the future, is the passionate champion of the new, the pioneer in doctrine and polity, masterful in personality and pre-eminent in originality, surpassed only in his generation by that profound religious genius of the same part of the world whose spiritual insight into the character of Jesus and prevailing religious tendencies brought to the interpretation of the person of Christ more enduring expression in the Fourth Gospel.



### XIII. CHRISTOLOGY IN THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS AND IN LATER WORKS

#### I. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

The Epistle of Barnabas is a monument of Alexandrian Christianity. The earliest notices of it are found in the Alexandrian Fathers. The closing chapters (18-21; *ἑτέρα γνώσις*) constitute a manual of Christian conduct to be viewed apart from the rest of the book, both internal and manuscript evidence weighing against original unity. On the basis of chap. 4 Lightfoot would date the work in Vespasian's reign (70-79 A. D.), but the allusion to the Roman emperors is too uncertain and elastic for the fixing of the date. Harnack finds in chap. 16 a reference to the proposed building of the heathen temple at Jerusalem under Hadrian in 130 or 131. The allusion is doubtful, but this later date comes nearer corresponding to the general course of thought in the epistle.

The most striking characteristic of the epistle is the author's peculiar attitude toward Judaism and the Old Testament. In his rejection of Judaism and his Christianizing of the Old Testament he stands on familiar orthodox ground. But he does not hold with the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews that historical Judaism was a divinely ordained and preparatory stage of revelation. For Barnabas it was a perversion of true religion due to an entire misunderstanding. He is likewise removed from the gnostic opposition between the Old Testament and the New, as though the Old Testament were the work of another and lower God than the God of Christianity. Yet he approaches that position more nearly than orthodox Christian writers would have dared in a later time, when the lines were closely drawn; for he represents that the practice of circumcision was due to the suggestion of an evil angel (9:4). Nevertheless the Old Testament is still for him divine revelation and is quoted throughout as authoritative. Only it is so thoroughly Christianized by the allegorical method familiar to Alexandrians that the spiritual meaning alone is left. The Jews misunderstood the law and the prophets from beginning to end. Sacrifice, circumcision, the distinction of clean and unclean meats, the Sabbath, and worship in a material temple were not originally intended to be literally observed. Commands for such ordinances were uttered in a spiritual sense.

The same world of gnostic thought is probably presupposed, as stands out prominently in the passionate exhortations and denunciations of

Ignatius. But however vigorously they might protest against the new ideas, most of the writers who came in contact with them were influenced by them and in a measure appropriated them. An example is found in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and a still better example in the Fourth Gospel. Now the same is true of Barnabas. He too can protest: note the polemics against esoteric customs and other errors (4:10; 3:6; 4:6). He is certainly not a docetist. The Son of God really came and suffered in the flesh (chap. 5). But some of his language is so close to docetism that it would not have been kindly received by the church at a somewhat later period, as the following: "See again Jesus, not Son of man but Son of God, yet in type (τύπη) manifested in flesh. Since then they are going to say that Christ is son of David, David himself, fearing and understanding the error of sinners, prophesies: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit on my right hand till I set thine enemies a footstool of thy feet. . . . See how David calls him Lord and does not call him son."<sup>1</sup>

The passage, "As it is written, Many called but few chosen," is supposed to mark the words of Jesus as Holy Scripture (4:14), but it is possible the quotation is from another source, and *ὡς γέγραπται* may be employed in a more general sense. The thought of the inspiration of Old Testament prophets by Christ, occurring in First Peter, Clement, and Ignatius, appears here: "The prophets, receiving grace from him, prophesied concerning him" (5:6). As Lord of all the world he was consulted by God in the creation of man (5:5).

With First Peter and Ignatius, following Paul, he emphasizes the death of Christ as a means of redemption: "For to this end the Lord endured to deliver his flesh to corruption, that by the forgiveness of sins we might be cleansed, which is by the blood of his sprinkling. . . . Now he himself endured that he might destroy death and show the resurrection from the dead, because it was necessary that he be manifested in flesh, that he might also redeem the promise made to the fathers and by preparing the new people for himself might show, while he was on the earth, that having himself brought about the resurrection he will judge" (5:1, 6, 7). He came also for judgment upon those who slew his prophets (5:11)—not only a familiar messianic thought, but also in another way a prominent Johannine conception. The doctrine of regeneration appearing in First Peter and the Johannine writings is here set forth repeatedly: "Since then he renewed us in the remission of sins, he made us another type, so as to have the soul of children, as if he were creating us anew" (6:11). The abode of our heart is a holy temple to the Lord (6:15). "If then the Son of God,

<sup>1</sup> 12:10, 11; Pfeleiderer, *Urchr.*, II, S. 560, 562, pushes the author's words too far.

being Lord and about to judge living and dead, suffered, that his wound might make us alive, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes" (7:2).

The connection between faith and hope is similar to that in First Peter, with the added element of *γνώσις*. The author writes in order that with their faith the readers may have their *γνώσις* perfect. The three dogmas of the Lord are hope of life, righteousness, and love. Hope of life is the beginning and end of our faith (1:5, 6). The new law of our Lord Jesus Christ is without a yoke of constraint (2:6). The covenant of the beloved Jesus is sealed unto our hearts in the hope of faith in him (4:8).

## II. THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

The Epistle of James is singularly misunderstood when taken to represent pre-Pauline Christianity. It is a practical homily arising probably in the second quarter of the second century, possibly somewhat earlier; but neither external attestation nor the conditions reflected favor an early date. The author was probably a Hellenistic Jew, but the wall between Jewish and gentile Christianity had long been broken down, and the homily betrays no reminiscence of the old issues. The address "to the twelve tribes which are of the Diaspora," in imitation it would seem of I Pet. 1:1, possibly attached by a later hand, is as in First Peter figuratively applied to Christians in general. Hermas makes the same kind of use of "the twelve tribes."<sup>1</sup> Christians had entered into the heritage of the Jews as God's chosen people; Paul's doctrine of Christ's people as the true Israel passed over into the consciousness of the church.<sup>2</sup> Such election was ever conditioned on men's conduct.<sup>3</sup> The mention of the synagogue in 2:2 need not surprise us; Hermas uses the word in the same way.<sup>4</sup> The likeness to Hermas suggests Rome as the place of composition. Both are protests of popular piety against the secularization of the church through wealth and intellectual pride. The apocalyptic element of Hermas is wanting in the straightforward Epistle of James; otherwise the general conceptions and the conditions to which they are addressed are the same. James makes the larger use of other literature; his mind is well furnished with the Old Testament and later Jewish and Christian literature, but he does not make direct quotations. The epistle is a good specimen of the Jewish Wisdom-literature as it was carried over into the Christian church, and we are reminded of the Sermon on the Mount.

Admonitions against erroneous teachers are like those of Hermas.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sim. 9:17:1.

<sup>2</sup> As in II Clem. 2:3.

<sup>3</sup> II Pet. 1:10; Her. Sim. 8:6:2.

<sup>4</sup> Man. 11:9, 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Ja. 3:13-18; Her. Man. 11; Sim. 8:9.



His characterization of pseudo-wisdom as psychical (3:15) reminds us of Jude, vs. 19. The intimation that some claim to be tempted of God (1:13) recalls the murmurers and complainers of Jude, vs. 16. Against an ultra-Pauline *gnosis* he appeals for a practical Christianity.

The conception of Christ as the revealer of a new and higher law for the government of human life—a view common to nearly all writings of the latter part of the first Christian century and of the second—here finds striking expression. Outside of the Ebionitic communities of Palestine, whose members were the successors of the Judaizers, the name of the apostle Paul was ever held in high honor, and his influence had entered permanently into the Christian movement. But the Christianity of the latter part of the first century and of the second century was of quite another type. Paul's teachings had grown out of his own experience, and it could not be expected that gentiles and Hellenistic Jews who had not undergone the same discipline of conscience and never possessed natures of such religious depth should appreciate or understand his profound way of putting things. Other missionaries had their own way of seeing things, and the easiest and most natural way was that of thinking of their religion as God's law revealed in Jesus Christ. The freedom of the Christian, whether gentile or Jew, from all obligation to observe the Jewish ceremonial law was no longer questioned; the old controversy was well-nigh forgotten. Among non-Christian Hellenistic Jews and proselytes there were many to whom the observance of ceremonial rites meant almost nothing; their religion consisted of faith in one God, his moral law, and a final judgment. When they became Christians, righteousness still consisted in obedience to the revealed law of God; but it was a "perfect law which is of freedom," a "royal law" (1:25; 2:8, 12); as Barnabas has so happily put it, "the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ which is without a yoke of constraint."<sup>1</sup> It really meant a new standard of living, and practically just that kind advocated by Paul. But Paul's bold principle was that the Christian is free from all external law; the very presence of Christ in the heart of the believer makes him a free child of God. For Jesus likewise, religion consisted in the filial relation to God expressing itself in unselfish love.

For James the law of Christ was not a burden, but a blessing, a part of the gospel, opening to men the way of life, as in *Hermas*.<sup>2</sup> The man who stands firm under temptation will, when he has endured the test, receive the crown of life (1:12). God chose the poor as to the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to those who love him

<sup>1</sup> Bar. 2:6.

<sup>2</sup> Sim. 6:11:1.



(2:5). The *parousia* of the Lord, which is at hand, is awaited with joy (5:7, 8).

Paul thought of faith as a spiritual act in which we identify ourselves with Christ in his death and resurrection. For James it is the opposite of doubt and doublemindedness (1:6, 8; 2:22), as in *Hermas* (Man., chap. 9) and *Second Clement* (chap. 11), or it is bare belief.

There is no further reference to the redemptive work of Christ. James calls himself "a bondservant of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1:1), and calls him "the Lord of glory" (2:1). The Lord's teachings as recorded in the synoptic gospels are drawn upon. He is the Judge standing before the doors.<sup>1</sup> To him is probably the reference in 4:12: "One is lawgiver and judge, he who is able to save and to destroy."

With the conception of Jesus as a lawgiver which prevailed in the church at this time it will be interesting to compare the view of Marcion, which rested on a Pauline basis and excluded everything that did not harmonize with the gospel preached by Paul. Marcion was a man of sincerity, energy, and deep religious faith, though in the eyes of church writers he was demon, firstborn of Satan, Jew, heathen, heretic, and wolf. Writing in the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr says that Marcion's preaching had already spread *κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων*<sup>2</sup>—that is, in a period of about ten years. Unfortunately we are dependent on anti-heretical writings for his views.

Marcion was opposed to all statutory religion, and believed that the prevailing form of Christianity had been corrupted by Judaism; accordingly he sought to sever Christianity from the Old Testament. We are not here concerned with his gnostic views—enough that he popularized and simplified Gnosticism, making it no longer the secret doctrine of a school but the faith of a church appealing to the masses. What now interests us is that he was able to discern the religious peculiarity of Christianity in distinction from Judaism—to grasp the Pauline idea of Christ's relation to the law. His disciple Apelles held that those who hoped in the Crucified would be saved, if only they were found doing good works.<sup>3</sup> Tertullian<sup>4</sup> reveals Marcion's point of view: "Sufficit unicum opus deo nostro, quod hominem liberavit summa et praecipua bonitate sua." Tertullian complains that the Marcionites do not fear God at all, claiming that only a bad man is to be feared, while a good man is to be loved. If they were asked why then they did not sin, they answered, "God forbid!" (Rom. 6:1, 2).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 5:9; see Apoc. 3:20.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb., *H. E.* 5:13:5.

<sup>2</sup> Apol. 150.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Marc.* 1:27.

<sup>5</sup> On Marcion see especially Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, I, S. 254-71 (*History of Dogma*, I, pp. 266-86).

III. THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

This work is the most extensive that comes before us for consideration in our period. The author was a slave by birth, probably originally from Arcadia but sold by his master to a Roman lady.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have become a freedman and to have engaged in commercial pursuits. His parables are mostly taken from country life. He was a humble, simple-minded, devout man, who was deeply sensible of evil within himself and in the church. His characteristic message is that of repentance. He delivers his message in apocalyptic fashion as from divine messengers. The Muratorian Fragment of the end of the second century says that he was brother of Pius, bishop of Rome (140-55 A. D.). Internal evidence confirms this dating of the book. The church had experienced "scourges, prisons, great tribulations, crosses, wild beasts, for the sake of the Name."<sup>2</sup> The work was not produced at one time, but probably stretches over a period of at least ten years.<sup>3</sup> Something of a difficulty is raised by the command to Hermas to write two copies of his book and to send one to Clement and one to Grapte, whereupon Clement would send his to foreign cities and Grapte would admonish the widows and orphans; he himself is to read it in Rome along with the presbyters who preside over the church.<sup>4</sup> One thinks at once of Clement of Rome, the author of the letter written to the Corinthian church about 95 A. D., but it is difficult to get this work back that far. The name was a common one in Rome.

The work consists of five Visions, twelve Commandments, and ten Parables (unhappily called Similitudes). The book takes its name from the prominent part played in it by the angel of repentance, who appeared to Hermas in the guise of a shepherd and bade him write down the commandments and parables he would declare to him (Vis. 5).

Perhaps we ought not to look too closely for Christology in Hermas. There are whole sections much longer than the Epistle of James which contain just as little Christology as James. The conception of Christ is about that of the church writings of the period, but it is not always set forth in the current terms. Christianity is the new law and Christ the Lawgiver: "Having then purged away the sins of the people he showed them the paths of life, giving them the law which he received from his Father."<sup>5</sup> He is also the Judge, who decides which stones should be accepted or rejected in the building of his church. He is the Councilor of God, the holy, pre-existent Spirit, who created every creature, and

<sup>1</sup> Vis. 1:1:1; Sim. 9:1:4.

<sup>2</sup> Vis. 3:2:1.

<sup>3</sup> Vis. 2:1:1; 5:5; Sim. 9:1.

<sup>4</sup> Vis. 2:4:3.

<sup>5</sup> Sim. 5:6:3.

whom God made to dwell in flesh. The Spirit of God was united with the *σάρξ*, which was nobly subject to the Holy Spirit. He lived excellently, purely, vigorously, and courageously, co-operating with the Spirit (Sim. 5:6). The universality of Christ's saving mission is everywhere recognized. Even Old Testament characters in Hades stood in need that apostles and teachers should preach to them the name of the Son of God and administer to them Christian baptism (Sim. 9:16, 17).

His favorite title for Christ is "the Son of God." There is no mention of "Jesus" and "Christ." *Κύριος* is used of God. In the eighth parable the angel shows Hermas a great willow tree overshadowing plains and mountains and all the earth, and under its shade have come all that are called by the name of the Lord. This mighty tree is the Law of God given to go forth into all the world; and the Law is the Son of God proclaimed to the ends of the earth, and the peoples under the shade are they that hear the proclamation and believe on him. In the ninth parable the rock and the gate of the tower are the Son of God. The rock is old and the gate is new. The rock is old because the Son of God is older than his creatures; he was Fellow-councilor with the Father in the work of creation. The gate is new because he became manifest in the days of the consummation, that those who are to be saved may enter by the gate into the kingdom of God (Sim. 9:12).

A peculiarity is that he is prevailingly identified with the Holy Spirit: the Spirit is the Son of God (Sim. 9:1:1). We recall that this usage was not unknown to Paul and John. Nor should we be surprised that he is associated with six angels as their head. Hermas knew nothing of the Logos-doctrine. Before that took possession of the field there were those in the church who expressed their conception of the nature and office of Christ by designating him an angel.

There is no mention of the birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus; nothing is said of his priestly mediation and the atoning quality of his death. In his whole life and activity he saves, preserving and purifying God's people, and pointing out the path of life by promulgating the divine law (Sim. 5:6:2). It would of course be rash to conclude that because in general the Pauline conception of redemption is wanting, the author actually excludes the expiatory death.

Harnack<sup>1</sup> reduces the christological conceptions of our period to two, which are, strictly speaking, mutually exclusive: the Adoptian and the Pneumatic. According to the Adoptian Christology, Jesus is to be regarded as the man chosen by God, in whom the Spirit of God dwells; after being

<sup>1</sup> *Dogmengeschichte*, I, S. 181-90 (*History of Dogma*, I, pp. 190-99).



tested he was adopted by God and invested with dominion. In the Pneumatic Christology Jesus is a heavenly, spiritual being who took flesh and returned to heaven after the completion of his work on earth. Here are certainly two conceptions: a man who has become a God, and a divine being who has appeared in human form. But if Harnack is right in saying that "only one work has been preserved entire which gives clear expression to the Adoptian Christology, viz., the Shepherd of Hermas," then we ought to raise its Christology to the rank of an independent, distinctive type to be co-ordinated with the great original types, and to call it "Adoptian Christology." But this classification confuses more than it helps. Harnack says that the Pneumatic Christology may be traced back to the Pauline, but hardly had its point of departure in Paul alone, being found also in Hebrews and the Johannine writings including the Apocalypse, and it is represented by Barnabas, First and Second Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Pastoral Epistles. He might with equal right have added Hermas and all the other Christian writings we have considered.

#### IV. THE DIDACHE

The Didache is a composite work, reflecting accordingly several stand-points. In its present form it dates from about the middle of the second Christian century, finding its closest ethical and theological parallels in Hermas, James, and Second Clement. It has also relationship at more than one point with Barnabas. The proper title is: "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations." The original document is doubtless the Greek lying behind a Latin manuscript discovered by Schlecht in 1899, entitled *De Doctrina Apostolorum*. This sets aside the older supposition of an original "Two-Ways Document." Schlecht's Latin covers the first six chapters of the "Teaching" as we have it now in the fuller form, omitting certain gospel-quotations and other amplifications. To this was added a church manual and an apocalyptic chapter. The rural atmosphere of the work in its expanded form would indicate that it originated not in Alexandria but in Upper Egypt. However, in spite of the great mass of Egyptian papyri from the second century now known to us, very little of the papyri shows Christian influence.

The author regards Christianity in the aspect presented in Second Clement, as the truth made known to us by Christ. The point of view is brought out in the beautiful eucharistic prayers: "We give thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant" (9:3). "We give thee thanks, holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the



knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant. . . . On us thou hast bestowed spiritual food and drink and life everlasting through thy Servant. . . . Remember, Lord, thy church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in thy love, and to gather her from the four winds, sanctified, into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for her. For thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come and this world pass away! Hosanna to the God of David!" (chap. 10).

Baptism is, after preparatory fasting, to be administered in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit (chap. 7). The eucharist is spiritual food and drink, securing eternal life, as we have seen (10:3); it is also the offering of the church, answering to the Old Testament sacrifice, valid only as accompanied by confession of sin and brotherly love (chap. 14). Its Pauline connection with the death of Christ for the forgiveness of sins is not here indicated. However, the broken bread which was scattered over the hills and brought together and made one, symbolizing the church gathered from the ends of the earth into the kingdom (9:4), reminds one of 1 Cor. 10:16, 17.

The closing chapter is a bit of apocalyptic, drawn in part from the Synoptic Gospels, and in part, it would seem, from Barnabas (4:9). We have the last time, the false prophets, the world-seducer like a son of God, an apostasy on the part of some, an opening in heaven, the voice of a trumpet, the resurrection of the saints, the coming of the Lord upon the clouds of heaven (chap. 16).

#### V. SECOND CLEMENT

Second Clement appears to be in the strict sense a homily or sermon (17:3; 19:1), whether actually preached or not. Harnack, however, identifies it with the long-lost letter which the Roman Christians under Bishop Soter (165-75 A. D.) sent to the Corinthians, and which was by them to be preserved along with the genuine letter of Clement.<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot thinks that it was an anonymous Corinthian sermon, chap. 7 breathing the atmosphere of the stadium. Its traditional connection with First Clement and the kinship in thought to Hermas point toward Rome as its source. On the other hand the points of contact in thought with the Didache and with Second Peter and its use of an apocryphal gospel, probably that to the Egyptians, suggest Egypt. The word of the Lord cited in 12:2 is, according to Clement of Alexandria,<sup>2</sup> from the Gospel according to the Egyptians,

<sup>1</sup> Euseb., *H. E.* 4:23:11.

<sup>2</sup> Strom. 3:13.

and presumably other gospel quotations that are not otherwise known to us are from the same source (4:5; 5:3; 8:5). At any rate it is a typical Christian writing from about the middle of the second century. The Pauline coloring of First Clement is wanting.

The christological standpoint is indicated in the opening words and in the closing doxology. "Brethren, we ought to think of Jesus Christ as of a God—as of a Judge of living and dead" (1:1). For, he goes on to say, to think meanly of him would be to place a low estimate upon our Christian salvation. Faith in the deity of Christ meant a corresponding estimate of the Christian religion, which as compared with Judaism and paganism was the absolute religion—a position emphasized in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel. Of course the relation of Christ to the Father and to the Holy Spirit is not yet defined as it was later. A passage from Isaiah is quoted as the word of Christ (3:4), and a saying of Jesus in the gospels is ascribed to God (13:4). The ascription of salvation now to God and now to Christ is common in Ignatius and the Johannine theology. So also Christ is identified with the Spirit: "If Christ the Lord who saved us, though he was first Spirit, became flesh and thus called us, then we also shall receive the reward in this flesh" (9:5). In 14:4 Christ is again said to be the Spirit. So in Hermas the pre-existent Christ is pre-eminently the Spirit, to whom other spirits are subordinate. The Johannine writings were apparently not known to either Clement or Hermas.

The connection of Christ with truth and immortality is brought out in the final doxology: "To the only invisible God, Father of the truth, who sent us the Savior and Prince of incorruption, through whom also he revealed to us the truth and the heavenly life, to him be the glory unto the ages. Amen" (20:5). Christ's revelation of God, immortality, and the way of life forms the very center of this writer's Christology. Through Christ, who has displayed so great mercy toward us, we know the Father of truth (3:1). "He has graciously given us light; as a father he has addressed us as sons; he has saved us when we were perishing" (1:4). "Thus also did the Christ desire to save the things which were perishing, and saved many by his coming and calling us when we were already perishing" (2:7). The Pauline use of the death of Christ in this connection is almost wholly absent; in 1:2 we read: "he submitted to suffer for our sakes."

Gradually the Greek spirit displaced the Jewish. The Jewish idea of the visible kingdom to be established on earth in the new age at Christ's second coming was practically supplanted by the hope of the heavenly, eternal life in the presence of God and Christ and the saints. In some

circles the Jewish idea of the earthly messianic kingdom persisted. Yet the transition from the dualism of Jewish apocalypticism to the gentile dualism of matter and spirit was not difficult. "This age and the coming age are two enemies" (6:3). The corollary to the older messianic idea was the resurrection of the body. Even Paul placed emphasis on the spiritual side; the resurrection was a part of redemption from the flesh. But it is the resurrection of the flesh of which Second Clement speaks (9:1-5), as is also true of First Clement.

Another aspect of his Christology is found in the relation between Christ and the church. Those who do the will of God are of the first, the spiritual church, which was created before sun and moon—the church of the life, the living church which is the body of Christ. God made man male and female; the male is Christ, the female the church (14:1-3). Likewise Hermas teaches that the church was created before all things, and the world was formed for her sake.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. THE EPISTLES OF JUDE AND SECOND PETER

### I. *Jude*

This short and vigorous epistle probably dates from near the middle of the second century, though it may be much earlier. It is possible that the words ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου did not stand in the original, in which case the work is not pseudonymous. The use of the Book of Enoch and of the Assumption of Moses and the writer's possible knowledge of the Carpocratian heresy suggest Alexandria as the place of composition.

The aim and spirit of the letter are seen in the opening exhortation to contend for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints (vs. 3). As in the Pastoral Epistles, faith is the deposit handed down from apostolic days (vs. 20). The occasion for the epistle is the existence of a presumptuous and aggressive gnostic libertinism. It is evident that they were libertines on principle; that their libertinism was bound up with their gnostic system and justified by it: they turned the grace of God into lasciviousness (vs. 4), in their dreamings they defiled the flesh (vs. 8), their mouth spoke pompous words (vs. 16), and they made divisions, being themselves psychical, having not the Spirit, though as implied they claimed the contrary (vs. 19). They perverted Paul's doctrine of grace and freedom: for them all things were lawful and they continued in sin (I Cor. 6:12; Rom. 6:1). It was just this that the followers of Carpocrates and his son Epiphanes did. The Gnostics also recognized two classes of men: the spiritual, capable of the higher wisdom, who separated themselves from the mass of

<sup>1</sup> Vis. 2:4:1.



Christians; and the inferior, psychical natures. Against the pernicious teaching and living of these antinomians the author appeals to the words spoken beforehand by the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ, who foretold that in the last time such scoffers would appear (vss. 17, 18)—an apparent reference to the Pastoral Epistles.

The writer calls himself "a bondservant of Jesus Christ" and addresses his letter to "the called, beloved in God the Father and kept for Jesus Christ" (vs. 1). The false teachers denounced, who appear still to have met with the Christians in their love feasts (vs. 12), not only set at nought dominion (κυριότητα) and blasphemed glories (δόξας, perhaps angels, vs. 8), but even "denied our only Master (Δεσπότην) and Lord, Jesus Christ" (vs. 4). Such denial may have been the docetic denial of his true humanity, combated by Ignatius, or the denial that the man Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, referred to in I John 2:22. The readers are to keep themselves in the love of God, "awaiting the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto life eternal," and putting forth efforts to reclaim these false teachers (vss. 21, 22). The epistle closes with a Pauline doxology, like that subjoined to Romans.

## II. *Second Peter*

Nearly the whole of Jude is incorporated substantially, but not very happily, in II Pet. 2:1—3:3. Second Peter is a pseudonymous work in the strictest sense, arising probably in the second half of the second century. The use of the name of Peter suggests Rome for its origin; the use of Jude points toward Egypt. The reference to Peter's approaching death seems to recall the chapter added to the Fourth Gospel (1:14; John 21:18, 19). The author lacks the culture and depth of the writer of First Peter. The differences between the two epistles are fundamental throughout. The Paulinism, the use made of the example, the sufferings and the resurrection of Christ in First Peter are wanting in Second Peter.

The key-word of First Peter is hope; that of Second Peter is knowledge (γνῶσις, ἐπίγνωσις, 1:2, 3, 6, 8; 2:20, 21; 3:18). The writer is an opponent of the Gnostics, and yet betrays an unconscious sympathy with their way of thinking.<sup>1</sup> Yet knowledge is for him of a practical and

<sup>1</sup> The type of Gnosticism represented by Marcion and Apelles cannot justly be charged with identifying Christianity and knowledge; indeed, if such identification is Gnosticism, then their opponents were the Gnostics. Apelles said that he was persuaded that there was one principle (μία ἀρχή), but *how* he did not know; he believed there was one unbegotten God, but he did not know the *how* of it. Rhodon laughed and reproved him because, though calling himself a teacher, he knew not how to confirm what he taught (Euseb., *H. E.* 5:13:7).



religious character, including all things that belong to life and piety (1:3). A Greek idea of which the Gnostics made much—participation in the divine nature and liberation from the corruption of the world—is here appropriated (1:4). The authorities for Christian truth are the words spoken by the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Savior through the apostles (3:2). Paul's epistles are ranked high, being associated with "the other scriptures" (*τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς*), which the unlearned and unsteadfast twist to their own destruction, as encouraging to license (3:15, 16).

Faith in the second coming of Christ for salvation and judgment had been growing faint in some quarters on account of the long delay (3:4). The Gnostics rejected early Christian eschatology, including the second coming of Christ and the establishment of his kingdom on earth and the resurrection of the body. The fact is that this very tendency is apparent in general Christian literature at the time. But our author assures them that the day of the Lord is to come suddenly, the world is to be destroyed by fire, and from the wreck shall emerge new heavens and a new earth, in which dwells righteousness (3:10-13). The glory of the Transfiguration is pledge of a greater glory to be revealed in the *parousia* (1:16-18). At the second advent is to be ushered in "the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" (1:11).

False teachers who introduce destructive divisions (*αἵρέσεις*) deny the Master who bought them (*τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην*, 2:1).

Second Peter marks chronologically the close of the New Testament period.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

When we in our modern world interpret Jesus anew in the light of our new experiences, we are but doing what men of the first and second Christian centuries did, and what men have been doing ever since. In the reconstruction of our theological thinking that is now taking place, a new Christology is demanded; or, if we prefer not to use the word Christology in this connection, a new estimate of him whose life is the light of men, brought into relation with the rest of our knowledge. Many factors are entering into the situation. One of them must be an understanding of the way in which men have thought about Jesus in other ages. We have undertaken a study of the first period, which we are accustomed to think of as the richest and most creative that has yet been witnessed. It has been thought that a study of this character, designed in a purely historical spirit, might contribute toward the construction of the new Christology. There may be found in the foregoing pages no suggestion as to what use the theologian shall make of the material offered. We have been dealing largely with time-forms and symbols, content to leave to others an interpretation of the larger meanings.

A genetic study of this character is now for the first time possible. A glance at the selected bibliography will suggest how recent is the literature dealing with the subject. The larger part falls within the present century. Biblical theology has already accomplished much in the discovery and presentation of the religious thought of persons and books in the New Testament, but until recently has not undertaken the more comprehensive task of presenting that thought in its genetic relations and development. Now that New Testament study has entered upon this new phase, it is hoped that there may be found in these pages a helpful presentation in outline of the rise and development of primitive Christology as reflected in the Christian literature of the New Testament period.



The Sources of Luke's  
Perean Section





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## CHAPTER I

### USE BY MATTHEW OF MATERIAL FOUND ALSO IN LUKE'S PEREAN SECTION

The portion of Luke's Gospel from 9:51 to 18:14 has been noticed as a separate section from at least as early as the time of Eichhorn. In 1794 he published<sup>1</sup> the hypothesis that it had constituted a document simply inserted by Luke in making his gospel. The fact has come to be recognized that its material either has no parallel whatever in another gospel or has its only parallels in parts of the gospels dealing with other periods of the life of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> There has also come to be associated with this extended portion of the gospel the first twenty-eight verses of Luke's nineteenth chapter, the whole being called "Luke's Perean section," and described as "that portion of his record of the Perean ministry of which there are no parallels in Mark's record of this period," 9:51—18:14; 19:1—28.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that considerable portions of this material are closely paralleled in Matthew, while other important portions apparently germane to Matthew's purpose are not paralleled at all, suggests the possibility that a part and only a part of it was in Matthew's possession.<sup>4</sup>

According to their relation to Matthew's use we may group the portions of Luke's Perean section as follows: (1) those in which the similarity of Matthew and Luke is so close that the use of a common source may be said to be almost self-evident; (2) those less closely paralleled in Matthew, (*a*) some of which we may consider as from a common source, and (*b*) some of which we may decide probably came to the two from different sources; (3) portions which, if known to Matthew, he might easily have omitted; and (4) portions which it seems probable Matthew would have used if he had had them.

1. The first group of passages may be enumerated as follows: Luke 9:57-60; 10:2-3, 12-15, 21-22, 23-24; 11:9-13, 19-20, 23, 24-26, 29-32, 34-35; 12:2, 10, 22-31, 34, 39-40, 42-46; 13:20-21, 34-35; 14:11;

<sup>1</sup> *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur*, 5. Band, S. 991-92, 995.

<sup>2</sup> Burton, *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem*, 1904, pp. 29 and 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 42 f.

16:13; 17:1, 26-27. Difference of opinion is possible in some cases, and this list differs slightly from Harnack's selection,<sup>1</sup> but it seems clear that in these passages there was a literary connection between the two gospels; that is, that both made use of the same written material.

2. Of the material less closely paralleled in Matthew (*a*) we may consider that a source common to the two gospels is indicated also in the following passages: Luke 10:4-11, 16; 11:2-4, 14-18, 21-22, 33, 39b-52; 12:3-9, 11-12, 33, 49, 51-53, 58-59; 13:18-19, 28-29, 30; 14:26-27, 34-35(?); 16:16, 17-18; 17:2, 3-4, 6b, 23-24, 31, 33, 34-35, 37; 19:12-27. Combination or conflation with material from Mark by Matthew in his use of them appears in the case of Luke 10:4-11; 11:14-23; 12:11-12; 13:18-19; 17:2, 31. The agreement of Matthew with Luke 17:31 against Mark is indeed confined to a preposition and its case, but the closeness of the correspondence of all three and the fact that Matthew in the same discourse uses much material closely preceding and following Luke 17:31 lead to the conclusion that the source of this also was in Matthew's possession. While Mark in 9:42 has as close a parallel to Luke 17:2 as Matthew in 18:6, the fact that Matthew, who apparently used Mark as a source for this saying, has with it that found in Luke 17:1 shows that Matthew had the former in the source of Luke's section as well as in Mark. While the differences from Luke 19:12-27 in Matt. 25:14-30 seem to indicate that he was using another source than that of Luke, the correspondences, especially in the latter part, would seem to be best accounted for by supposing that Matthew had for this parable the source used by Luke, and thus he probably combined material from the two sources. Evidence that Matthew was not unused to making combinations of material from different sources may be found in Matt. 13:31-33; 12:25-30; 10:11-15; 23:1-36, when each is compared with its parallels.

(*b*) There are other passages in Luke's Perean section, however, which while they have partial parallels in Matthew differ so from those parallels that it seems probable the two gospels did not take them from a common source. Such are 10:25-29; 13:23-24, 27; 14:15-24; 15:3-7. The probable use of an additional source by Matthew in his parallel to Luke 19:12-27 has just been noticed. Luke 10:25-29 differs from the other passages grouped here in that its partial parallel in Matthew is derived from Mark. If there is any evidence that Matthew had this passage before him, it is to be found in certain verbal agreements with

<sup>1</sup> *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 1-40, which includes 10:7b; 11:26; 19:26; and omits 17:26-27.

it in 22:35-40 against Mark 12:28-34. These are in the use of the words "lawyer," "trying," "teacher," "in the law," the conjunction  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , and in the Old Testament quotation the omission of "Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God, the Lord is one," and the use of the preposition  $\epsilon\nu$  with the dative in the last two phrases. But Matthew's quotation differs from both Luke's and Mark's in having only three prepositional phrases, and in using  $\epsilon\nu$  with the first of them, showing that it was not Luke's form but probably as elsewhere<sup>1</sup> the Hebrew Old Testament that led to the changes.

That Matthew should omit the first part given in his primary source under the influence of a subsidiary source would seem hardly probable. Matthew may have preferred the more specific term "lawyer" to "scribe," as the question here was one of the law. "Trying" is interpretation on the part of Matthew, justified by the commendatory answer of the scribe in Mark 12:32, which he omitted. Matthew had recently, in 22:18, taken the same verb from Mark, and at other times the same expression (16:1 and 19:3). "Teacher," a common word for address to Jesus, Matthew might have taken from Mark, vs. 32. Matthew's "in the law" seems a natural further defining of Mark's "commandment," and the use of the conjunction is characteristic of Matthew's changing of the style of Mark. The partial agreement in order of the common words seems almost inevitable and to have little weight for a common source. Thus while it is not impossible that Matthew knew the source of Luke 10:25-29, the evidence for it is hardly decisive.

The lack of close agreement with Luke 13:23-24 and 27 in Matt. 7:13-14 and 23, together with the fact that Matthew is pretty clearly using material from another source in the immediate context, seems to indicate that Matthew was not there using the source of these passages in Luke. The wide differences both in content and in form between Luke 14:15-24 and Matt. 22:1-10 seem to indicate pretty clearly that in general they are following different sources. Moreover, the agreements in details are not sufficiently close to lead us to the conclusion that as with Luke 19:12-27 the source of Luke's parable influenced Matthew's presentation. Luke 15:3-7 is partly paralleled in Matt. 18:12-13, but vss. 3, 6, and the principal part of 5 have no parallel in Matthew, and there are notable differences in the rest. This, together with the fact that the differences in form are not all to be accounted for either by stylistic changes or by the adapting of the parable to different uses, seems to indicate that the two forms were not derived from the same document.

<sup>1</sup> Burton, *A Short Introduction to the Gospels*, p. 6.



As we approach the third group of passages, portions which, if known to Matthew, it seems he might easily have omitted, we may notice that there appear to be certain more or less well-defined principles according to which Matthew has omitted material that presumably lay before him in a source that he was using, the Gospel of Mark. Similar considerations, it would seem, would be likely to result in his omission of material from other documentary sources. Such principles, suggested by Hawkins in his *Horae Synopticae*<sup>1</sup> may be stated as follows: (1) "To omit or condense Mark's subsidiary and pleonastic details" (Hawkins, pp. 160, 125-31). (2) To omit or alter "passages [in Mark] seeming (a) to limit the power of Jesus Christ, or (b) to be otherwise derogatory to, or unworthy of, him" (Hawkins, pp. 117 ff.). (3) To omit or alter "passages [in Mark] seeming to disparage the attainments or character of the apostles" (Hawkins, pp. 121 f., cf. p. 116). (4) To omit or alter "other passages [in Mark] which might cause offense or difficulty" (Hawkins, pp. 122 ff.). (5) To adapt the whole work "for the purposes of catechetical or other teaching" (Hawkins, pp. 218, 158 ff., 163-67). In this last other sources than Mark are in view.

With these principles in mind we proceed to a notice of the portions in Luke's Perea section which, if known to Matthew, he might easily have omitted. Luke 9:51-56 might well have been omitted by Matthew as not furthering his purpose, especially as (1) he shows no interest in the Samaritans, not mentioning them or their city except in a saying (10:5) forbidding the disciples to enter into a city of theirs; and (2) the culmination of this section is a rebuke of James and John the disciples (apostles) by Jesus for a saying of theirs (principle 3). Cf. especially Matt. 20:20, with Mark 10:35, where the request of James and John is transferred to their mother. Matthew might have omitted vs. 51, which is separable from the rest, because he had its substance in Mark 10:1 and 32, which he used in Matt. 19:1 and 20:17-19.

Luke 9:61-62 might have been omitted by Matthew as not, like the two preceding incidents and those among which he used them, well adapted to illustrate Jesus' personal authority, and also as perhaps likely to cause difficulty (principle 4).

As evidence that Matthew might easily have omitted Luke 10:17 if it were in his source may be cited his omission of Mark 6:12-13, which likewise stands at the end of material that he embodied in his missionary discourse. The saying in 10:18 is bold and highly figurative, and Matthew might have omitted it as likely to cause difficulty, or at

<sup>1</sup> 2d ed., Oxford, 1909.

any rate, not likely to be especially helpful to his readers (principles 4 and 5). The same principles for a different reason might have led him to omit 10:19-20, for the phenomena there spoken of were probably not generally known at the time when Matthew was written.<sup>1</sup>

Though Matthew is not in general careful to avoid including two incidents similar to each other, his use of a partial parallel to Luke 10:25-28 derived from Mark in 22:34-40 might have led him to omit it. We have already noticed the possible evidence that Matthew was there influenced by the language of this passage.

Luke 10:38-42 consists of a saying of Jesus and a narrative leading up to it, either of which is pointless without the other. That the saying early caused offense or difficulty in Christian circles seems evidenced by the change and omission found in quotations, early versions, and texts of it. The indication that Jesus preferred the hearing of his word to active ministry to his physical needs might seemingly have been thought somewhat dangerous to the Christian circle for which Matthew wrote. For notice Jas. 1:22: "Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only," and Paul's urging of useful work on members of the Christian community:<sup>2</sup> "If any will not work, neither shall he eat"; "Work with your hands," and especially the scene given by Matthew only, in 25:31-46, in which the eternal fate of those of "all the nations" is decided according to their ministry or lack of it to Christ in the person of his "brethren." That is, Matthew might have feared the danger of his readers' misinterpreting the saying, as it was actually misinterpreted, to mean that hearing Jesus' word was the one thing needful (principle 4). The omission of the saying would carry with it that of the whole section.

Luke 11:1 might easily have been omitted by Matthew as not especially significant and not fitting into his plan of grouping the material into long "discourses" (principle 5), even if he did not feel the hint of Jesus' following John's example undesirable (principle 2b).

Luke 11:5-8 might easily have been thought by Matthew to be not especially helpful. Neither of the characters in the parable is made attractive: it is the refusal of help by the friend that is the only speech quoted from him, and the act of the one asking is called *ἀναιδία*, "shamelessness," "impudence" (Thayer, *s.v.*). Such a parable might easily cause difficulty, as seeming not only to imply that Christians should bring impudent or shameless requests to God, but that God was in some way to be compared to a man who gives not from friendship but because

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sharman, *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, pp. 341 f.

<sup>2</sup> II Thess. 3:10 ff. and I Thess. 4:11.

of the importunity of the one who asks. Many people today find difficulty rather than help in the parable for similar reasons. It may very well be, therefore, that Matthew had this parable in his source, and omitted it for some such reason. It might easily be felt to be opposed to the spirit of the insertion probably made by Matthew in 6:7-8: "When ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking; be not therefore like them; for your Father knows what things ye need before ye ask him" (principle 4).

Luke 11:27-28 as a repudiation by Jesus of personal honor to himself might have been somewhat distasteful to early Christians and so have been left out by Matthew from his gospel (principle 2*b*).

Luke 11:36 Matthew might easily have omitted as obscure and pleonastic, seeming to add nothing to the ideas already presented in vss. 33-35 (principle 1).

The introduction to the discourse against Pharisaism in Luke 11:37-39*a* would naturally fall out in Matthew's use of the material, and as showing apparent courtesy to Jesus from a Pharisee would be little to his purpose. It seems to give a strange occasion for such words from Jesus as follow it, and would fit still less well the more extended denunciation given in Matt., chap 23.

Luke 11:53-54 reminds us of Mark 12:13 and Matthew's parallel, 22:15. Matthew might have omitted it as included in the other passage which he had shortly before used (principle 1).

Matthew had taken from Mark (8:15) a parallel to the saying in Luke 12:1, in Matt. 16:6. Moreover, he had from Mark the notice of great crowds coming to Jesus and thronging him (Matt. 4:25; 12:15; 13:2; and 19:2), and so would not need any of this verse (principle 1).

Luke 12:35-38 has a number of points of similarity with the parable of the Ten Virgins which Matthew has placed in connection with the two parables that follow in Luke in Matt. 25:1-13. Matthew might have omitted this passage because he had in the other from another source what he considered a better version of the same parable,<sup>1</sup> or else a better substitute.

Luke 12:41-42*a* would not have fitted here in Matthew's long discourse, and so might have been omitted even if they were in his source. The omission of Mark 5:30 f. after Matt. 9:21 may also be considered in point (principle 1).

Matthew seems to have inserted the last clause of 24:51 as a sub-

<sup>1</sup> So Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-90, 195 f.



stitute for Luke 12:47-48, and perhaps omitted the latter because it seemed to him an anticlimax here and he found no other good place to insert it.

That Matthew might have purposely omitted Luke 12:50 is seen to be probable in the light of his omission of the references to baptism in taking over Mark's report as Matt. 20:22-23.<sup>1</sup>

As the partial parallel to Luke 12:54-56 in Matt. 16:2-3 is absent from the best manuscripts and other important textual witnesses, it can give us no assurance that this passage was known to the author of that gospel. But its omission had he known it is not difficult to account for, for it would not have been useful to him in the connection in which he has used the material either before or after it, and he might likely have found no other occasion to use it, especially as it is somewhat obscure and its helpfulness to Christians in Matthew's time would seemingly not be very apparent (principle 5).

Luke 12:57 could likewise easily have fallen out in Matthew's transfer of the material that follows to a different context, its shortness and a quality of difficulty (principle 4) perhaps aiding in the result.

Luke 13:10-17 might perhaps have been omitted by Matthew because he already had from Mark as many incidents of this kind as he wished to include, in the two Sabbath incidents from Mark 2:23-3:6 (Matt. 12:1-14) and the healing of the woman twelve years with an issue of blood, Matt. 9:20-22 from Mark 5:25-34.

Matthew might easily have omitted Luke 13:22, as he had its substance from Mark (Matt. 9:35 from Mark 6:6, and Matt. 20:17 from Mark 10:32) and was not using the material to which it is an introduction.

Matthew's possession of the parallel sayings that he uses in 7:13-14 and 22-23<sup>2</sup> and of the more complete parable of the Ten Virgins, all probably from another source, may well have led him to omit Luke 13:23-27.

The incident of Luke 13:31-33 hardly lends itself to the upbuilding process of Matthew, besides being opposed to his tendency to accentuate the hostility<sup>3</sup> between the Pharisees and Jesus. The saying is rugged and obscure (principles 4 and 5).

Matthew might omit Luke 14:1-6 for the same reason as Luke 13:10-17. Moreover, as in the incident just noticed the friendly relation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 and 203.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.



with a Pharisee indicated in the first verse would hardly attract him. The partial parallels with Matt. 12:10-11 and 22:46a are incidental, and do not demand an immediate common source.

Matthew might have considered that Luke 14:7-10 would not be especially helpful to his readers. For as a rebuke to certain particular people it might have been very effective, but one would have to consider it ironical to get a high spiritual teaching from it, for on the face of it, it is an appeal to prudence for the attaining of worldly glory, the aim which in fact it is rebuking (principle 4). Matthew might well have been satisfied to take the concluding saying (vs. 11) and leave out the rest, especially as he probably found no very fitting place for it.

Matthew might have omitted Luke 14:12-14 as a hard saying, likely, if taken too literally, to cause difficulty (principle 4). A similar motive may be surmised for the omission of the second clause of Luke 6:30 from Matt 5:42, and for the changes from Luke 14:26-27 in Matt. 10:37-38.

In Matthew's embodying of the following material in a long discourse the introduction in Luke 14:25 would drop out if it were in his source, but it may perhaps be questioned whether Matthew would have placed in the charge to the twelve apostles material presented in his source as addressed to "many crowds."

For Luke 14:28-33 Matthew might easily have found no appropriate place, especially as the sayings are hard and for the most part as parables are not susceptible of the softening process apparent in Matthew's form of the verses preceding (principle 4).

Luke 16:1-8 gives a parable in which a shrewd man's dishonest acts are held up as an example for emulation in some way. Its difficulty could thus easily have led Matthew to omit it, it would seem. Vs. 8 especially seems to have been liable to misunderstanding which would make it say that Jesus commended the unrighteous steward (principle 4). Vss. 9-12 seem to be sayings added as interpretative of the parable in various ways. They might have been omitted by Matthew as going with the parable and not especially valuable apart from it, and yet not sufficient to make the parable suitable for his purposes.

On the supposition that Matthew had Luke 16:27-31, he might have omitted it as not readily to be fitted with the rest of the Lazarus parable into his gospel (dealing as it does with a very different subject) and as not well adapted to use apart from it.

Luke 17:5-6a might readily have dropped out through Matthew's separate use of the material before and after it if it were in his source.

It would seem that Matthew might readily have omitted Luke 17: 7-10 according to principle 4 or possibly principle 3. It seems to teach that the disciples, however faithful, can claim no reward and are to look for none. Moreover, the expression *δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοι*, which the apostles (cf. vs. 5) are here told to apply to themselves, meaning *good-for-nothing slaves*, seems harsh and hard for them. In the only other use of the latter word in the New Testament Matthew gives the command to cast out the *ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον* "into the outer darkness," where, he says, "shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth" (25:30). Moreover, there are a number of other passages in Matthew that promise reward to the faithful and punishment to others,<sup>1</sup> which taken with the one just cited seem to indicate an attitude of mind among a part of the early church to which Matthew belonged, which might easily make this section a source of considerable difficulty as seeming to call on the apostles and the most faithful to assert themselves worthy, not of reward, but of exclusion from the kingdom and of punishment in the age to come.

Luke 17:20-21 would seem to be opposed to Matthew's idea of Jesus' eschatological views, and so might easily have been omitted by him. The same is true of vs. 22, the contradiction here being to the idea of the speedy coming of the Son of man, reflected in Matt. 10:23; 24:34, 42, 44; 25:13, and elsewhere.

Matthew had from Mark a closer chronological datum than Luke 17:25 for the events of this section, and apparently employed it in 24:29-36, making Luke's superfluous. The forecast itself of the suffering and rejection of the Son of man Matthew had from Mark 8:31, and in strikingly similar language (Matt. 16:21) (principle 1).

Luke 17:28-29 may have been omitted by Matthew on principle 1, as adding nothing material to vss. 26-27. Vs. 32 might easily have dropped out in Matthew's separation of the material, as he omitted the preceding reference to Sodom, took the parallel to vs. 31 from Mark and continued to follow him for some space after, and put vs. 33 into another discourse, where vs. 32 would not have fitted with it.

Luke 17:37a, b, would easily drop out in any rearrangement of the material, and would be out of place with either of the adjacent sayings as Matthew has placed them.

On principles 5 and 4 it would seem that Matthew might easily have omitted the parable part of Luke 18:1-8, which presents a bad man, "fearing not God and regarding not man," and his unjust action as indicating what God may be expected to do. Then the form of the part

<sup>1</sup> Note Matt. 24:45-51; 22:11-14; 8:11-12; 13:40-43, 49-50.

after the parable is largely dependent on the parable, and would render the sayings unintelligible apart from it. Thus the whole might rather easily have been omitted by Matthew.

Possibly Matthew might have omitted Luke 19:1-10, thinking that difficulty might be caused by Jesus' declaring that salvation had come to this house without any express declaration of faith in him on the part of Zacchaeus. If he had wished to include it, it would seem that he could well have done so between 20:28 and 29, making a geographical connection as Luke has done and according to his principle<sup>1</sup> of rearranging incidents from Mark, or between 20:16 and 17, with both logical and geographical connection. The reasons discoverable for Matthew's omission of it do not seem as cogent as with most of the portions from the Perean section that he has omitted.

4. So far as their relation to Matthew's use is concerned there would be little difficulty in considering that all the passages so far noted might have stood in a document used by Matthew. But there remains a fourth group, of portions concerning which it seems on the whole probable that, if Matthew had had them, he would have used them.

The first of these is Luke 10:30-37, the parable of the Good Samaritan. That Matthew was jealous of the reputation of the priest and Levite seems improbable in view of his peculiarly strong presentation of the part of the high priests in the plot against Jesus (26:3, 57 ff., and chap. 27, especially vss. 3-10). If Matthew had for any reason disliked the giving of honor to a Samaritan, that word could simply have been omitted, with little impairment of the strong teaching of the parable. But just as it stands the parable is in line with Matthew's teaching of the rejection of the Jewish leaders and nation (cf. Matt. 21:28-45). And the teaching of this parable seems such as would have fitted well into Matthew's work, e.g., in the Sermon on the Mount, in connection with 5:43-48, and its relation to Matt. 6:1-4 on alms is surely as close as that of Matt. 6:7-15 is to 6:5-6 on prayer. It might also have been included in his series of passages from Luke's Perean section in the latter part of the sermon, 6:19 ff., to the spirit and thought of which it is by no means unakin. Matthew's "Golden Rule," 7:12, finds a striking illustration in it. It is true that no long parables are there included, but there are a number of shorter ones, and Matthew may have had no others that seemed to fit there particularly well. It could, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> Sharman, *op. cit.*, p. 9: "Within those narrative portions of his documents where chronological or geographical data were absent or were vague, to group those events that were related through having a common geographical center."



very appropriately have stood after 22:40, where Matthew has omitted Mark 12:32-34a. Its germaneness to Matthew's thought is further confirmed by the use in two places by Matthew alone of the sentence, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice," which well expresses the teaching of the parable.<sup>1</sup> On the whole then it seems distinctly improbable that Matthew would have omitted it entirely from his gospel if it had stood in one of his principal or other sources. The fact that Matthew included so many parables (eight at least are found in Matthew alone) would further support this view.

Luke 12:15-21, the parable of the Foolish Rich Man, forcefully emphasizes a truth otherwise presented in material that Matthew used in 6:19-21, 25-33, and that appears in Luke in the immediate context of this parable. It would seem that Matthew as well as Luke might have used it in that connection had it been present in his source, or he might have placed it between Matt. 19:22 and 23. If his document had the order of the material in Luke, this would be the first of the material on this subject to which he would come; and it seems rather probable that he would have used it had he found it there.

While one might argue that the national outlook and anti-Zealot tone discoverable in Luke 12:54-13:9 shows that they must have stood together before the document came into Matthew's hands, and Matthew pretty clearly had 12:58-59, yet on that supposition it is hard to find a good reason for Matthew's omission of 13:1-5. For the strong call to repentance is characteristic of Jesus as well as of John the Baptist according to Matthew (cf 4:17; 3:2, 7-8; 21:41; 22:7; 23:36). The parable of the Barren Fig Tree also, Luke 13:6-9, if it were applied especially to the Jewish nation, would be found in line with the parables used by Matthew in 21:28-22:13, though the indication of another chance being given would perhaps require for it a location earlier in the gospel, which might have been found after 12:38-45. If not so applied, it would teach the need of productiveness in Christians, which is brought out by Matthew in 3:8, 10b, and 7:16-20 under a somewhat similar figure though not in such circumstantial parabolic form. The slight similarity to the incident of the fig tree, 21:18-22, would hardly cause Matthew to omit it.

That Matthew should have interpreted the parables in Luke 15:8-10 and 11-32, if he had them, as referring to the church and those outside seems improbable if the introduction in vss. 1-3 were then with them as the parable in vss. 4-7 doubtless must have been. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> So Wernle, *Synoptische Frage*, S. 95.



those passages in the Gospel of Matthew that show the strongest ecclesiastical interest may well be considered to have been inserted by another hand than that of the author of the gospel; so that objection to the parables by him on the ground of such an interpretation is not seen to have been probable.<sup>1</sup> Both parables fit very well with the teaching reported by Matthew in 9:10-13, where a similar situation is presented to that reported in Luke 15:1-2 which introduces them. It would seem that Matthew might very well have used them after this paragraph, especially as they would have furnished further examples of authoritative teaching by Jesus, which Matthew here and elsewhere seems to have been especially concerned to present. Moreover the parable of the Prodigal Son might well, it seems, have been used by Matthew between 5:43-47 and 48, as it is a strong enforcement of the truth he there presented. It seems very hard to discover a motive for its entire omission by Matthew if he had it in his source.

Luke 16:15 might seemingly have well been used by Matthew in the discourse against the Pharisees in chap. 23, in which vs. 12, from a source used in Luke's Perean section, and vss. 27-28 are close to it in thought. The address of this verse to the Pharisees is recorded in Luke 16:14. If vs. 15 seemed obscure enough to cause difficulty to his readers, Matthew might have omitted it on that ground, but this seems hardly likely, and otherwise a probable reason for its omission if it were in his source does not appear.

The main part of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, i.e. Luke 16:19-26, from its similarities in thought and teaching with the judgment scene given in Matt. 25:31-46 and with the parable of the Unmerciful Servant as interpreted in Matt. 18:35, as well as with other characteristic expressions in Matthew,<sup>2</sup> might well, it seems, have been used by him if he had had it in his source. A place for it might have been found in chap. 18, either at the end or after vs. 9. The parable to vs. 26 is complete in itself, and the use of it without the remaining verses, if they were not wanted, would, it seems, have caused no difficulty.

Why should Matthew have omitted Luke 17:11-19 if he had it? Prejudice against Samaritans could have been satisfied by the omission of the references to race without spoiling the narrative, as of a notable miracle which had an added lesson of the duty of thankfulness and the

<sup>1</sup> See Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 329 ff., 335-39, 356.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., "There shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth"; Matt. 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30.

power of faith. None of these things seems foreign to Matthew's thought.

To be sure, Matthew had from Mark the account of the cure by Jesus of a single leper (8:1-4) who also was told to show himself to the priest, but Matthew in other cases includes narratives much more similar to one another than are those of the lepers.<sup>1</sup> If Matthew was careful not to represent Jesus as opposing the Mosaic law,<sup>2</sup> no such opposition is indicated here.

Incidents and ideas akin to those found in and suggested by this section are found in Matt. 8:10-13; 12:15-21; 12:41-45. And if a place is sought for this incident in Matthew, why should it not have followed 9:32-34, or if he wished to have only ten miracles there, have replaced it? That seems a repetition of material used elsewhere with no particular suitability to this place. Hawkins says of that miracle and the one preceding it that "the suggestion naturally occurs that Matthew inserted this anticipatory mention of them in order to make up the conventional number of ten miracles." Our story here has ten men healed, and would have made a climax to the series of ten miracles had Matthew had it to use.

Finally, it seems difficult to find a reason for Matthew's omitting Luke 18:9-14 if it stood in his source. It is closely akin in thought with the parable and other teachings peculiar to Matthew in 21:28-32, and its teaching is not unlike that of Matt. 9:11-13, taken from Mark 2:16-17. It might seemingly have found a place after this latter, or possibly in the discourse on humility and forgiveness, Matt., chap. 18, or that against the Pharisees, Matt. 23:1-36, in which indeed the last sentence of this section is found (vs. 12), though probably taken rather from the source of Luke 14:11, where its connection is somewhat better.

The facts then in regard to the material of Luke's Perean section as regards its relation to use by Matthew make it appear distinctly probable that this material at one time existed in at least two separate bodies, one of which was known to Matthew and largely used by him in the composition of his gospel, the other not known to him when he composed his gospel, and therefore not used by him in it. The facts thus far adduced may not amount to proof of such distinctness of sources behind Luke's Perean section. But the argument for this is also cumulative. And further evidence supporting it from the inner characteristics of the sections themselves is to be presented in the following chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 9:27-31 with 20:30-34, and 9:32-34 with 12:22-24.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. Matt. 5:38 ff.

## CHAPTER II

### INNER EVIDENCE FOR DISTINCTNESS OF SOURCES BEHIND LUKE'S PEREAN SECTION

The previous chapter, dealing with a matter going outside of the material as it stands in Luke, namely its relation to use in another gospel, has resulted in the suggestion that two distinct and separate sources lay behind the material now found in Luke's Perean section. The task of the present chapter is to present evidence from within the material itself that tends to confirm this probability.

The looseness of connection and lack of orderly arrangement that appear in many places throughout this section have long ago been noticed.<sup>1</sup> We can hardly consider it probable that the arrangement of its material is governed in detail by the time or place of the incidents and teachings. For indications both of time and place are exceedingly scanty, only one place indeed being mentioned by name as the scene of an incident or saying, Jericho, 19:1, the phrase "a certain place," "a certain village" being repeatedly used, and indications of time being equally scanty and indefinite.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Sharman has pointed out<sup>3</sup> the difficulty of finding a relationship in thought between the portions Luke 11:33-36; 12:10; 12:11-12; 12:57-59; 13:18-21; 14:34-35; 16:16; 16:18; 17:7-10 and the material which precedes or follows each of these.

Now it may be noticed that in a considerable number of cases there appears to be a closer connection in thought between passages in this section now separated by intervening material than exists between these passages and their more immediate context. Thus 10:2-16 is closely connected with 10:21-22 by the thought of those who receive and those who fail to receive Jesus' message. Vs. 17 is indeed connected with 10:1, but the ideas presented in vss. 18-20 seem widely separated from those of the sections on each side of them. Again 10:21-24 and 38-42

<sup>1</sup> So Friedrich Bleek, *Einleitung in das N.T.*, 1862. English ed., 1869, p. 279: "Want of due connection and arrangement is very apparent in that long section peculiar to Luke, chaps. 9:51-18:14."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f.; Michaelis-Marsh, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Bundes*, 2 Aufl., 1803, III, 1, S. 39; Priestley, *Harmony of the Evangelists*, p. 95; Burton and Mathews, *Life of Christ*, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 4.



are closely connected by the idea of the importance of receiving what Jesus has to reveal, the word "hear" (vss. 24 and 39) serving also as a verbal connection. Nothing like so close a connection appears between either portion and the intervening material. But close connection may be found between that material, 10:25-37, and another isolated section, 17:12-19, Jesus in the latter carrying out his teaching in the former by a notable act of mercy to the unfortunate, a verbal connection appearing in vss. 37 and 13 ("mercy"), and the one held up for emulation in each case being a Samaritan. The passages 12:4-12 and 22 ff. are closely connected as encouragements to confidence in God and devotion to his work. There is verbal connection in "be not anxious," vss. 11, 22, etc. The intervening passage interrupts this course of thought, though it has a connection with 12:22 ff. The requirements of humility and renunciation found in 14:7-11 and 25-35 seem to connect these passages somewhat more closely than either is connected with the intervening material if we ignore the (probably editorial) first clause of vs. 12.

The thought of rejection of the chosen ones and bringing-in of the unfortunate in 14:16-24 is closely connected with that of chap. 15, God's special joy at the finding of the lost, especially as introduced by the murmuring of the Pharisees and scribes. Moreover, the parable of 14:16-24 appears better suited to attract "the publicans and sinners," 15:1, than what intervenes, which appears like a decided interruption.

The tone of strenuous requirement for discipleship found in 14:25-35 reappears decidedly in 16:13, but to a considerable extent the idea is found also in the entire section 16:1-13, the connection with either being considerably closer than of any of them with chap. 15. But 16:14-15 seems more closely connected with chapter 15 than either is with the intervening section, especially if we may regard it as probable that the phrase "being lovers of money" is due to an editor.<sup>1</sup> The thought of uncompromising requirements for the member of the new order is continued from 16:1-13 in vss. 16-17, the connections with vss. 14-15 seeming less close except perhaps for the (possibly editorial) reference to money connecting 14 with 1-13. Moreover, 16:14-15 seems an excellent introduction for 16:19-31, the contrast between human and divine estimates of worth being strong in each. Neither seems to be at all closely connected with what comes between. Luke 17:1-2 may be considered as connected with 16:18 as a warning as to offense particularly

<sup>1</sup> Of the two Greek words in this phrase *φιλάργυρος* appears in the New Testament only here and once in I Tim., and *ὑπάρχω* is listed by Hawkins as especially characteristic of Luke.



in matters of divorce and marriage. In any case both portions seem to indicate requirements of the disciple, and to be more nearly allied to each other than either is with the intervening parable, which has no obvious connection with either. Finally, the promise of vindication of the faithful ones and punishment of adversaries at the coming of the Lord closely connects Luke 18:1-8 and 19:12-27, much more closely than either is connected with its more immediate context.

The mere fact that in such a large number of cases coherence would be improved by the putting-together of portions now separated tends to strengthen the argument for the existence of more than one document behind this section, though one might conceive it to be the result of a rearrangement or disarrangement of material from a single source. But the evidence for the first supposition is made more clear and greatly strengthened by noting that from the passages we have just been considering two coherent groups appear. Thus, rearranging the order of our list, we have noted the close connection of (1) 14:7-11 with 14:25-35; of 14:25-35 with 16:1-13; of 16:1-13 with 16:16-17; of 16:16-18 with 17:1-2; and of (2) 14:16-24 with 15:1-32; of 15:1-32 with 16:14-15; of 16:14-15 with 16:19-31. It will be noticed that the passages of list (2) in every case fit between those of list (1), alternating with them in the present arrangement in Luke. This looks very much as though material from two documents had been here put together by taking a portion alternately from each, preserving the order of the original documents.

Moreover, we may now extend the second of these lists by noting the close connection between 16:19-31 and 10:25-37, which leads to our first and only suggestion of a change in order in the process of combining documents. The former passage ends with a presentation of the thought that the instructions of the Old Testament Scriptures should be amply sufficient to prevent a life that leads to torment after death, while the latter, beginning with a question as to what to do to inherit eternal life, answers it by reference to the Old Testament Scriptures and the assertion that obedience to their instructions will bring life, and then illustrates the meaning of such obedience. The lawyer of 10:25 might readily have been found among the group of 15:2-3, some of whom are apparently mentioned again in 16:14. If then we place the passage 10:25-37 after 16:19-31, at the end of our list (2), we may add to it still another passage besides, 17:12-19, the close connection of which with 10:25-37 we have already noted. These facts point to the supposition that in the combining of material from two documents the order of one was not completely

adhered to, but one portion of it was selected out and placed before others that had originally preceded it. This is only what one might expect would be done in such a combination.

As to the group of list (1) we may also suspect that there belonged with it the shorter coherent group, 10:2-16, 21-24, and 38-42, when we observe that the chief interruption in it is by material assigned to the group of list (2), 10:25-37.

We have thus by the study of coherence alone established apparently a considerable probability that at some point in the history of the body of material we now call Luke's Perean section portions from two documents were put together, those from one being inserted between those of the other, and the order of both being largely, but of one not entirely, retained. We have also thus determined the likelihood that in general there belonged to one of these documents (1) the material found in Luke 10:2-16, 21-24, 38-42; 14:7-11, 25-35; 16:1-13, 16-18; 17:1-2, and to the other (2) that of 10:25-37; 14:16-24; 15:1-32; 16:14-15, 19-31; 17:12-19.

It may be instructive to compare these results with those of our first chapter, so far as they concern these particular passages. Of the list (1) given above we find that there was assigned to group (1), of passages "in which the similarity of Matthew and Luke is so close that the use of a common source may be said to be almost self-evident," 10:2-3, 12-15, 21-24; 14:11; 16:13; 17:1; to group (2a), of passages "less closely paralleled in Matthew" but "which we may consider as from a common source," 10:4-11, 16; 14:26-27; 14:34-35(?); 16:16-18; 17:2; to group (3), of passages which, if known to Matthew, he might easily have omitted, 10:38-42; 14:7-10, 25(?), 28-33; 16:1-12. To groups (2b) and (4) nothing of the material in list (1) was assigned. Taking now the list (2) given above we find that of its material there was assigned in chap. I to group (2b), of passages partially paralleled in Matthew but which we decided probably came to Matthew and Luke from different sources, 10:25-29; 14:16-24; 15:3-7; and to group (4), of "portions which it seems probable Matthew would have used if he had had them," 10:30-37; 15:8-32; 16:15, 19-26; 17:12-19. That is, we find that the passages indicated by coherence to have belonged to one of the documents are found without exception in those groups which we concluded indicate a body of material known to and largely used by Matthew.<sup>1</sup> While of the passages indicated by coherence to have belonged to the other document, most of the material, fifty verses, is

<sup>1</sup> P. 19.

found in the group which we considered as indicating another body of material not known to Matthew,<sup>1</sup> and all but eight verses of the rest, that is, nineteen verses, in that group concerning which we considered that different sources lay behind the material in Matthew and Luke. The eight other verses are 15:1-2 and 16:14, 27-31, for none of which is there any evidence for believing that it was used by Matthew. A more complete correspondence of the two lines of evidence one could hardly hope to find.

Proceeding now in our study of inner characteristics we turn to the matter of vocabulary. For the study of this we select two groups of material somewhat larger than those we have just seen to be indicated by the facts of coherence and relation to Matthew's use to be derived from different documents, but including the greater part of one and almost all of the other respectively. The first group includes the material in Luke's Perean section that has close parallel in Matthew only, and is substantially equal to the sum of groups (1) and (2a) in chap. i. For convenience of reference it may be arranged in sections thus: § 1, 9:57-60; § 2, 10:2-16a; § 3, 10:21-24; § 4, 11:2-4; § 5, 11:9-13; § 6, 11:14, 16-17b, 18b, 19-20, 23-26; § 7, 11:29-32; § 8, 11:33-35; § 9, 11:39, 42-52; § 10, 12:2-10; § 11, 12:22b-31, 33-34; § 12, 12:39-40, 42b-46; § 13, 12:51-53; § 14, 12:58-59; § 15, 13:18-21; § 16, 13:28-29; § 17, 13:34-35; § 18, 14:11; § 19, 14:26-27; § 20, 16:13; § 21, 16:16-17; § 22, 16:18; § 23, 17:1; § 24, 17:3-4; § 25, 17:6; § 26, 17:23-24, 26-27, 30, 33-35, 37c. The second group includes besides almost<sup>2</sup> the whole of the list (2) of portions indicated by coherence and relation to Matthew's use as coming from a separate document, four others connected with them in thought,<sup>3</sup> and all but one of them<sup>4</sup> belonging to the fourth group of the first chapter, and thus indicated as from a source Matthew did not have. This second group may be arranged as follows: § 1, Luke 12:13-20; § 2, 13:1-9; § 3, 14:16-24; § 4, 15:1-32; § 5, 16:15, 19-31; § 6, 10:30-37; § 7, 17:12-19; § 8, 18:9-14a; § 9, 19:1-10.

In each of these groups we find a very considerable number of words, 105 in one and 76 in the other, which occur in more than one of its sections and at least twice as many times in it as in the other group of mate-

<sup>1</sup> P. 19.

<sup>2</sup> There are omitted from it only 10:25-29, concerning which one might doubt if it were unknown to Matthew, and 16:14, perhaps largely an editorial insertion.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 44 f.

<sup>4</sup> 19:1-10; see p. 16.



rial, in many cases not occurring at all there. A list of these words for each group follows, with the number of times and the number of different sections in which each occurs in each group of material. The figures are given in this order after each word: (1) the number of occurrences of the word in the group noted at the beginning of the list; (2) the number of different sections in which it occurs in that group; (3) the number of its occurrences in the other group; and (4) the number of sections, if any, in which it occurs in the other group.

## FIRST GROUP

ἀγαπάω, 2, 2: 0; ἅγιος, 3, 3: 0; ἄν, 10, 6: 2, 2; ἀντί, 2, 2: 0; ἀπέρχομαι, 4, 2: 1, 1; ἀποκτείνω, 6, 3: 1, 1; ἀποστέλλω, 3, 3: 1, 1; ἄρα, 3, 3: 0; αὐξάνω, 2, 2: 0; ἀφίγημι, 11, 7: 2, 2; βαλλάντιον, 2, 2: 0; βασιλεία, 12, 8: 0; βαστάζω, 2, 2: 0; βλέπω, 4, 2: 0; γαμέω, 3, 2: 1, 1; γάρ, 12, 10: 4, 3; γενεά, 7, 2: 0; γῆ, 4, 4: 1, 1; γινώσκω, 5, 4: 1, 1; δάκτυλος, 2, 2: 1, 1; διά, 5, 4: 1, 1; διαμερίζω, 3, 2: 0; διαφέρω, 2, 2: 0; διώκω, 2, 2: 0; δύναμαι, 6, 3: 3, 3; δύο, 6, 4: 3, 3; ἐμοῦ, 4, 2: 2, 2; ἡμῖν, 4, 2: 0; εἰ,<sup>1</sup> 13, 9: 4, 4; εἰ μή, 4, 3: 2, 2; οἶδα, 5, 5: 0; εἰρήνη, 4, 2: 0; ἐκβάλλω, 6, 3: 1, 1; ἐκεῖ, 6, 5: 2, 2; ἔμπροσθεν, 3, 2: 1, 1; ἐπισυνάγω, 2, 2: 0; ἐσθίω, 6, 4: 2, 2; ἔσχατος, 2, 2: 0; ἕτερος, 7, 5: 3, 2; ἕως, 6, 5: 3, 2; ἦκου, 2, 2: 1, 1; ἡμέρα, 8, 5: 2, 2; θεός, 18, 10: 8, 5; καθώς, 2, 2: 0; καρδία, 2, 2: 1, 1; κεφαλὴ, 2, 2: 0; κλέπτῃς, 2, 2: 0; κόκκος, 2, 2: 0; κόσμος, 2, 2: 0; κρίσις, 4, 3: 0; κριτής, 3, 2: 1, 1; λαλέω, 2, 2: 0; λαμβάνω, 4, 2: 0; μαθητής, 4, 2: 0; μακάριος, 2, 2: 0; μᾶλλον, 3, 2: 0; μέν, 2, 2: 1, 1; μή, 28, 14: 4, 2; μηδέ, 2, 2: 1, 1; μήτηρ, 3, 2: 0; μισέω, 2, 2: 0; ναί, 3, 3: 0; νότος, 2, 2: 0; νῦν, 2, 2: 1, 1; ὁλος, 2, 2: 0; ὅπου, 4, 3: 0; ὅς, ἧ, ὅ, 21, 9: 9, 5; ὅταν, 4, 4: 0; οὐαί, 9, 3: 0; οὐδέ, 7, 2: 2, 2; οὖν, 5, 5: 1, 1; οὐρανός, 10, 9: 4, 2; οὕτως, 6, 5: 1, 1; παραδίδωμι, 2, 2: 0; παραλαμβάνω, 3, 2: 0; παρέρχομαι, 2, 2: 1, 1; πετεινόν, 3, 3: 0; πίνω, 4, 4: 1, 1; πλείων, 3, 2: 0; πλὴν, 4, 3: 0; πνεῦμα, 5, 4: 0; πονηρός, 4, 4: 0; πόσος, 3, 2: 1, 1; προφήτης, 7, 5: 2, 1; πρῶτον, 2, 2: 0; πωλέω, 2, 2: 0; πῶς, 2, 2: 0; σημεῖον, 5, 2: 0; σίναπι,<sup>2</sup> 2, 2: 0; Σολομών, 3, 2: 0; σοφία, 2, 2: 0; ὑμεῖς, 7, 5: 1, 1; ὑμῶν, 19, 7: 3, 2; ὑμῖν, 30, 11: 6, 4; ὑμᾶς, 8, 4: 2, 2; σῶμα, 7, 4: 0; ταμεῖον, 2, 2: 0; τε, 2, 2: 1, 1; τίθημι, 2, 2: 0; τότε, 3, 2: 1, 1; ὑπάγω, 2, 2: 1, 1; ὑπό, 5, 4: 1, 1; ὑπόω, 3, 2: 0; φῶς, 3, 2: 0; ὥρα, 4, 2: 1, 1.

<sup>1</sup> These figures include those of εἰ μή below.

<sup>2</sup> Not classical; in the New Testament occurs only here, in the parallels in Matthew, and once in Mark.



## SECOND GROUP

Ἀβραάμ, 7, 2: 1, 1; ἀγαθά (τὰ),<sup>1</sup> 3, 2: 0; ἀγρός, 3, 2: 1, 1; ἀδελφός, 4, 3: 2, 2; ἀμαρτωλός, 7, 4: 0; ἀναβαίνω, 2, 2: 0; ἀνίστημι, 5, 3: 1, 1; ἀπαγγέλλω, 2, 2: 0; ἀποδίδωμι, 2, 2: 1, 1; ἀποκρίνομαι, 4, 3: 1, 1; ἀπολαμβάνω, 2, 2: 0; ἀπόλλυμι, 11, 3: 4, 2; δεῖ, 2, 2: 1, 1; δέκα, 4, 3: 0; διαγογγύζω,<sup>2</sup> 2, 2: 0; δικαιοῶ, 2, 2: 0; δίκαιος, 2, 2: 0; δοῦλος, 6, 2: 3, 1; μέ, 8, 6: 3, 3; εἶδον, 11, 5: 3, 2; εἶπον, 41, 10: 19, 12; ἐλέεω, 2, 2: 0; ἐννέα, 3, 2: 0; ἐπαίρω, 2, 2: 0; ἐπιθυμέω,<sup>3</sup> 2, 2: 0; ἐπιτίθημι, 2, 2: 0; ἐρωτάω, 3, 2: 0; ἔτι, 2, 2: 1, 1; ἔτος, 4, 3: 0; εὐρίσκω, 11, 3: 5, 3; εὐφραίνω,<sup>4</sup> 6, 3: 0; εὐχαριστέω, 2, 2: 0; ἔχω, 12, 5: 5, 3; ζώή, 2, 2: 0; Ἱερειχώ, 2, 2: 0; ἱερεὺς, 2, 2: 0; Ἰησοῦς, 7, 3: 1, 1; ἴνα, 7, 5: 2, 2; ἴστημι, 3, 3: 1, 1; καλέω, 5, 2: 0; καρπὸν, 4, 2: 0; καταβαίνω, 5, 3: 1, 1; μακρόθεν, 2, 2: 0; μέγας, 3, 3: 0; μέλλω, 2, 2: 0; νεκρός, 4, 2: 2, 1; ὁμοίως, 4, 3: 0; ὁράω, 2, 2: 1, 1; ὀργίζομαι,<sup>5</sup> 2, 2: 0; ὅστις, 3, 3: 1, 1; οὐχί, 4, 3: 2, 2; παρά, 5, 4: 2, 2; παραβολή, 4, 4: 0; παραιτέομαι, 3, 2: 0; παρακαλέω, 2, 2: 0; πείθω, 2, 2: 0; πέμπω, 3, 2: 0; περισσεύω, 2, 2: 0; πίπτω, 3, 3: 1, 1; πλούσιος, 5, 3: 0; ποιέω, 8, 5: 4, 4; πορεύομαι, 8, 5: 1, 1; πού, 2, 2: 1, 1; πούς, 2, 2: 1, 1; πρώτος, 2, 2: 1, 1; πτωχός, 4, 3: 0; Σαμαρείτης, 2, 2: 0; σπλαγχνίζομαι, 2, 2: 0; συνάγω, 3, 2: 1, 1; σώζω, 2, 2: 0; τελώνης, 4, 2: 0; τις (indef.), 17, 8: 4, 4; τόπος, 4, 4: 1, 1; χαίρω, 3, 2: 0; χορτάζω, 2, 2: 0; χώρα, 4, 2: 0.

The number and extent of distribution of these words in the two groups of material seem to give further confirmation to the hypothesis that in these groups two different documents are represented.

Moreover, it appears that to a certain extent different words were prevailingly employed in the two groups to express the same or similar ideas. Thus for the verb of sending the first uses ἀποστέλλω in three sections, the second group only once but πέμπω instead, three times in two sections, the first group not having this at all. In the verbs of seeing used a marked difference appears. In the second group εἶδον is used prevailingly, eleven times, as against three times in the first group, and ὁράω twice in two sections as against once in the first group; ἀναβλέπω appears once, in the second group. But in the first group βλέπω, which

<sup>1</sup> Meaning "property," only here in the New Testament.

<sup>2</sup> Only here in the New Testament.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιθυμέω χορτασθῆναι *bis*, only here in the New Testament.

<sup>4</sup> Only here in the Gospels.

<sup>5</sup> Only here in Luke or Acts.

does not appear at all in the second group, is the most frequent, being used four times in two sections. Verbs of speaking and reporting also show a considerable difference in the two groups. In the first group λέγω is the one prevailing, occurring twenty-five times (in 17 sections), while εἶπον occurs nineteen times (in 12 sections). Λαλέω is used in two sections, not at all in the second group. The second group uses εἶπον prevailing, forty-one times (in 10 sections), as against eighteen occurrences of λέγω (in 8 sections). It uses ἀπαγγέλλω twice, which does not occur in the first group. Verbs of going also show differences in the two. The first group uses ὑπάγω and παρέρχομαι each twice, and ἀπέρχομαι four times, to the second group's once. While the second group uses πορεύομαι eight times (in 5 sections), καταβαίνω five times, and ἀναβαίνω twice, the first group having the first two each once and the last not at all. Further, of the synonymous verbs συνάγω and ἐπισυνάγω the second is found only in the first group of material, twice in two sections; and the first, three times in two sections of the second group and only once in the first. The satisfying of hunger is expressed twice in two sections of the second group by the passive of χορτάζω. This verb is not used in the first group, but ἐσθίω appears six times in four of its sections as against two occurrences in the second group of material. Finally, we may note the contrasting uses of the largely equivalent adverbs οὕτως and ὁμοίως. The first group uses οὕτως six times in five sections, ὁμοίως not at all; while the second group uses ὁμοίως four times in three sections and οὕτως only once. These facts still further confirm the hypothesis of the existence of two sources behind Luke's Perean section.

Notable differences between the same two groups of material are also to be found in matters of literary form. We may notice first the methods of tying together sentences. In the first group we find 147 sentences, in Westcott and Hort's text. Of these, 22, less than 15 per cent, are introduced by καί, 35, or less than 24 per cent, are introduced by δέ; 40, more than 27 per cent, are introduced by other particles, while 50, or more than 34 per cent, are introduced by no connective particle or device. But in the second group, of the 115 sentences 38, or more than 33 per cent, are introduced by καί, 50, or more than 43 per cent, by δέ; 11, less than 10 per cent, by other particles; and only 16, less than 14 per cent, are without a connective particle or device. Thus while in the second group of material καί is more than twice as frequent for sentence connection as in the first and δέ nearly twice as frequent, introduction by other particles is nearly three times as frequent in the

first group as in the second, and the absence of any connective much more than twice as frequent.

We may next observe that almost throughout the first group, in every section indeed and almost in every verse, is to be found a parallelism in the form or thought or both. In the variety of its forms it is similar to Hebrew poetry. In part it consists of (1) the restatement of a thought or (2) the statement of a similar thought or (3) the statement of its converse or (4) of a contrasted thought. For example: (1) "Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I liken it?" 13:18; (2) "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven nests," 9:58; (3) "For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted," 14:11; and (4) "The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few," 10:2. With this parallelism of thought goes in almost every case some parallelism of form. This may consist in the use of similar grammatical forms in corresponding places in two or more neighboring clauses. So in 11:2:

ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου ·  
ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου ·

and in 11:9-10:

αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν ·  
ζητεῖτε, καὶ εὕρησέτε ·  
κρούετε, καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν ·  
πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει,  
καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρισκει,  
καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται.

Or it may involve the use of the same words, in the same or different forms, as in 17:34-35:

ἔσονται δύο ἐπὶ κλίνης μιᾶς,  
ὁ εἰς παραλημφθήσεται καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται ·  
ἔσονται δύο ἀλήθουσai ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό,  
ἡ μία παραλημφθήσεται ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἀφεθήσεται.

or as in 14:11:

ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται  
καὶ ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται.

Even in a passage that seems at first to lack anything of the kind a sort of parallelism in the arrangement of thought may be found:

The unclean spirit when he is gone out of the man  
 Passeth through waterless places seeking rest,  
 And finding none, he saith,  
 I will turn back unto my house whence I came out.

And when he is come, he findeth it swept and garnished.  
 Then goeth he and taketh to him seven other spirits more evil  
 than himself;  
 And they enter in and dwell there:  
 And the last state of that man becometh worse than the first [11:  
 24-26].

When we search the material of the second group, however, for any such parallelism it appears to be remarkably scanty. Repetition of the same or similar clauses and expressions in different contexts we do find, as in 13:2-5, 6-7; 14:18-20, 21-23; 15:3-10, and in a few places a balancing of thought which somewhat suggests the characteristic method of expression in the first group (16:25, 26; 18:12). But in none of these last is there close parallelism of form, and in 16:25 there is none at all. And the repetition is not as in the first group in adjacent or nearly adjacent clauses. In many places there seems to be an avoidance of any close parallelism in expression. Thus a decided variety is found in the relating of the three similar occurrences in 10:31-33, and the treatment of contrasts in 18:9-14a and 17:17-18 seems remarkably free from parallelism. Note the Greek of the latter: *Οὐχ οἱ δέκα ἐκαθαρίσθησαν; οἱ [δὲ] ἐννέα ποῦ; οὐχ εὗρέθησαν ὑποστρέψαντες δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀλλογενὴς οὗτος;* Much more parallelism might have been expected here in view of sayings like 10:41-42. Thus a further notable contrast is found in the literary structure of the two groups of passages.

There are still others, which involve the general form of the material. While the number of parables in the two groups is about the same, eleven in the first and nine in the second, those in the second group are in general so much longer that they comprise  $68\frac{1}{2}$  out of the total of  $93\frac{1}{2}$  verses, considerably more than two-thirds of the whole, while those of the first group cover only 22 out of approximately 118 verses, or less than one-fifth of the total number. Moreover, of the eleven parables of the first group all but three are in effect statements of general laws or customs of human action or the course of nature rather than narrations of particular actions. But the parables of the second group are without exception narratives, not mere detached facts or even incidents used for comparison. In only two cases, 15:4 and 8, does the use of the ques-



tion form in the opening part suggest that a custom of human action is being there presented. Another feature which distinguishes the parables of the second group from those of the first is that in every case these possess an introduction, conversational or narrative in the case of all but one, and in that (18:9-14a) interpretative. The only case at all similar in the first group is that of 11:17b, for which vss. 14, 16-17a may perhaps be considered a narrative introduction, though the parable is but the beginning of an extended discourse all introduced by those verses. The parable of 12:42 ff. is given as in response to a question given in vs. 41, not paralleled in Matthew. Otherwise the parables of the first group of material, while they often illustrate a preceding saying, may be said to be entirely without narrative, conversational, or interpretative introductions.

A further contrast between the two groups of material is to be found in the prevailing length of the natural divisions according to thought. While it would be unnecessary, as well as somewhat difficult, to state this contrast accurately in detail, it may be indicated by the difference in length of the parables in the two, those of the first averaging only two verses apiece, and those of the second over seven and a half verses; and also roughly by the fact that after dividing the material into sections according to subject-matter (see p. 24) the average length of a section in the first group is found to be about four and a half verses, while that in the second group is nearly ten and a half.

The marked differences we have found in the literary characteristics of the two groups of material that we are considering tend strongly further to confirm the hypothesis of two sources lying behind Luke's Perean section.

Still further confirmation of this view is to be found in the facts which indicate different points of view in the two groups of material. We may first notice the geographical point of view. In the material of the first group indications of place are scanty, but the fact that Jerusalem and the sanctuary, though mentioned, are spoken of only as places of the rejection and slaying of God's messengers (11:51 and 13:34) seems to point away from that city for the place of origin of the collection. The other geographical references seem to give support to this indication, for the only other cities or towns named as places where Jesus had worked are three in Galilee (10:13, 15), and the only other places named at all are the heathen cities Sodom (10:12), Tyre, Sidon (10:13, 14), and Nineveh (11:30, 32), the last being spoken of as having repented at Jonah's preaching. We may also notice here as perhaps pointing in the same

direction that while Moses is not mentioned and Abraham is referred to only once (13:28), Abel (11:51) and Noah (17:26, 27), men not specifically of Jewish race but of the larger human family, appear as types of righteous men, Solomon, a character likely to have an appeal outside of Palestine and to others than Jews, appears in two passages (11:31 and 12:27), and Jonah, the great Old Testament foreign missionary, is presented in 11:29-30 and 32 as the successful preacher of repentance to the men of Nineveh, and a prototype of Christ himself. Nothing here suggests a Jerusalem origin, and the apparent adaptation to use in missions outside of Palestine and to gentiles confirms the indication of the references to places that this group of material did not originate in or near the Jewish capital.

On the other hand in the material of the second group the eight references to particular localities with possibly one unimportant exception are all either to some part of Jerusalem, to the city itself, or to some place not far from it. Jerusalem is mentioned by name in two sections: in the parable of the Good Samaritan (10:30) as the starting-point of the man who was robbed, and in the discourse on repentance (13:4) as a dwelling-place of men who must repent or perish. The latter mention is connected with mention of an accident, assumed as known to the hearers, in which eighteen men were killed by a falling tower in Siloam, which it seems to be assumed the hearers know as a place in Jerusalem (13:4). Just before this (13:1-2) Galileans are mentioned, but as they are mentioned as being killed while offering sacrifices it is evident that the thought about them centers in the temple at Jerusalem. Again in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican it is the temple, of course at Jerusalem, though the city is not mentioned in the context, that is made their place of prayer. Jericho, only a little over seventeen miles from Jerusalem, is the only other definite place that is mentioned save for the road connecting it with Jerusalem, the scene of the robbery and its sequel in the parable (10:30 ff.). Jericho is spoken of twice, in the parable as the place to which the man was going (10:30), and again as the scene of the incident of Jesus and Zacchaeus (19:1 ff.). Of the two Samaritans mentioned one was on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho (10:33 with 30), and the other (17:16), the possible exception spoken of, is not presented as being in his own country, though its borders were not many miles from Jerusalem, but, except in the probably Lukan editorial vs. 11, is located only at "a certain village" (17:12). However, in this narrative also the thought of Jerusalem and the temple seems to lie in the background, as shown in the words, "Go and show

yourselves unto the priests," and, "as they went" (17:14; cf. Lev. 14:2, 10-32).

This brings us to a notice of the persons mentioned in this material in their bearing on its geographical point of view. The priests as just now spoken of suggest Jerusalem and the temple (17:14), and so does the only other mention of a priest in Luke's Perea section, that of the one who was going down to Jericho (10:31). So does also the introduction of the Levite in the same parable. (Cf. the only other reference to Levites in the gospels, John 1:19.) The persons whose names appear in the material of this group are also nearly all connected with Judea. The personal names that appear are: Jesus, Pilate, Abraham, Lazarus, Moses, and Zacchaeus. The names of Moses (used here only for the books of Moses), Abraham, and Jesus give little geographical suggestion, but the other three are specially connected with Judea. Pilate was procurator of Judea, and in this case is mentioned as performing a deed which must have been done in Jerusalem, at the temple (13:1-2). Zacchaeus was evidently from the narrative (19:1-7) a resident of Jericho. Lazarus, the name of the poor man in the parable (16:19-31), is one known elsewhere in the New Testament only as that of a man who lived in Bethany, a village near Jerusalem (cf. John 11:1, 18).

Thus six out of the nine sections of the material of this group, and the only ones that contain proper names or definite geographical references, are connected by them more or less closely with Judea, especially the parts near Jerusalem. Of two of them J. Weiss says:<sup>1</sup> "The narrative [of the Good Samaritan] has Judean-Jerusalem local tone, like that of the Pharisee and the Publican; it is intended for hearers in Jerusalem"; and again: "They are hardly spoken in Galilee, but in Jerusalem." Taken all together these facts indicating the geographical standpoint of this second group of material seem to point strongly to Jerusalem or some place not far from it as the gathering-place of at least a considerable portion of it, with none to point elsewhere for the rest.

Another difference in point of view seems to be indicated by the contrast as to interest in the despised and hated and the poor and unfortunate which appears in the material of the two groups. In that of the first group this interest, though widely shown in Luke's Gospel as a whole, is not found at all. The nearest approach to it seems to be in the reference to revealing unto "babes" in 10:21, that to extortion in 11:39, and that to the grievous burdens of the law in 11:46. But in the second group in the first place publicans play a large part, and are always presented

<sup>1</sup> *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2. Aufl., I, S. 464 and 496.



favorably (15:1 ff.; 18:9-14a; 19:1-10).<sup>1</sup> With these are connected those called "sinners" in a special sense (15:1, 2), and the chief publican is called a "sinner" by the bystanders in 19:7. (Cf. also 18:13 in this group for a linking of the words.) Lepers, another class of social outcasts, appear as objects of Jesus' ministry in 17:11-19. Samaritans are singled out for honor and made examples for emulation here alone in the New Testament. (For the common Jewish attitude toward this people cf. John 4:9 and especially 8:48.) The "Good Samaritan" of the parable and the thankful Samaritan leper are notable figures in this material (10:30-37 and 17:12-19). A loathsome beggar is carried to blessedness after death, and is made the desirable figure in the parable of 16:19-31. Somewhat similarly the bringing-in of the poor and maimed and blind and lame and those from the highways and hedges to the great supper is a conspicuous though not the chief part in the parable given in 14:16-24. Such a point of view is suggested also in the saying of 16:15, which implies that God's estimates are often the reverse of men's. Possibly a suggestion of it may also be found in the references to Galileans in 13:1-5, a passage which from the order of presentation as well as the details given would appear to have been addressed to those whose standpoint was nearer to Jerusalem than to Galilee. Thus this point of view is found reflected in all but one or perhaps two of the nine sections of the material, and is a notable feature of it.

Further difference in the point of view of the two groups of material appears when we consider the matter of eschatology. The material of the first group contains a number of references to a future world-crisis. They are found in six of the sections, 2, 7, 9, 12, 16, 26, and §§12 and 26 are entirely devoted to this subject. These references take a number of different forms. In 12:40 it is said, "In an hour that ye think not *the Son of man cometh.*" 12:42-46 is a parable presenting *the coming of the Lord* and his rewarding and punishing his faithful and unfaithful servants. Luke 17:23-24 says: "And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away nor follow after: for as the lightning, when it lighteneth out of the one part under heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; *so shall the Son of man be.*" Before a description of the suddenness of the flood it is said in 17:26: "And as it came to pass in the days of Noah, even so shall it be also in *the days of the Son of man,*" and after it: "After the same manner shall it be in *the day that the Son of man is revealed*" (17:30). Very shortly after we find (17:34-35), "In *that night* there shall be two men on one bed; the one shall be taken,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also p. 47.



and the other shall be left. There shall be two women grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left." Luke 13:28-29 tells that some are to be "cast forth without" and others to come and "sit down in the kingdom of God." This does not perhaps necessarily refer to a particular crisis, but seems to be naturally so interpreted. Reference to a future world-crisis can be readily seen in the mention of "*that day*" and "*the judgment*" in 10:12, 14 though the words may be otherwise interpreted. More certainly in point are the references to "the judgment" in 11:31, 32, in which it appears as a wide-reaching event at a specific time. The statement in 11:50-51 that "the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, . . . shall be required of this generation" clearly implies some kind of a coming general crisis.

But the second group, though it largely deals with salvation, and presents a picture of blessedness and torment after death (16:19-31), gives no suggestion of a future world-crisis of any sort. Even the phrase "kingdom of God," βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, and the word "kingdom," βασιλεία, often associated in the New Testament with an idea of future change, are absent altogether from the material of this group.<sup>1</sup> Yet in the first group references to the kingdom of God are rather numerous, occurring in eight different sections. It is represented as the subject of preaching, 9:60; 10:9, 11; 16:16; as an object for which the disciples are to pray, 11:2, and work, 12:31; as having come upon those from whom Jesus casts out demons, 11:20; as being like a grain of mustard seed and like leaven, 13:18-21; as including the patriarchs and men who should come to it "from the east and west, and from the north and south," but excluding some to whom Jesus spoke, 13:28-29; and as being entered violently since the time of John, 16:16. (The sections thus bound together are those numbered 1, 2, 4, 6, 11, 15, 16, and 21.)

Further, we may note that the differences in the conception of Jesus presented in the two groups indicate further differences in point of view. In both he is presented as the authoritative teacher, but the strong interest in his commandments appears to be confined to the first group. In it the whole of §§ 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24 is taken up with them, and considerable parts of 1, 2, and 9. They are also to be found in §§ 8 and 26. In the material of the second group the passages that can be interpreted as such cover not more than perhaps half a dozen verses, (10:37; 12:15a; 16:29-31; 19:8-9), and 12:15a is the only clear example of a commandment given as from Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> The same is true of the words for "king" (βασιλεύς) and for "reigning as king" (βασιλεύω).

In the first group the thought of Jesus as authoritative leader harmonizes with the presentation of his commandments, just noted, and appears especially in a few passages, some not commandments. These are: 9:59, 60, "Follow me," "Leave the dead to bury their own dead; but go thou and publish abroad the kingdom of God"; 10:3, "I send you forth"; 11:2-4, "When ye pray, say . . ."; 11:23, "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth"; 12:51-53, "Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? . . ."; 13:34-35, "Jerusalem . . . ! how often would I have gathered thy children together . . . ! Behold, your house is left unto you . . ."; and 10:13-15, the woes on cities where he had worked. Jesus' requirement of unconditional devotion is strongly presented in 14:26-27. In a number of passages the thought of Jesus as in a special relation to God, and as bringing a revelation such as the world had not had, appears. Such are 10:22; 10:23-24; 11:16, apparently; 11:20; 11:31-32; 12:8; 12:10. In addition two sections deal particularly with the Son of man and the future. Section 12, after speaking of the unexpected coming of the thief, says: "Be ye also ready: for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh." This and the passages in chap. 17 cited on p. 27 seem clearly to indicate a view as to Jesus' future activity on the part of the collector of this material (§ 26 entire). In its context also the parable of the lord who comes and rewards and punishes his servants (12:42-46, § 12) seems to indicate a similar view, and a similar view is also indicated in 12:8, § 10. A strong interest in Jesus' future activity is thus revealed.

On the other hand, in the second group it is rather as a savior that Jesus is presented, one who in the present brings salvation to men or brings them to the attaining of it (17:11-19; 19:1-10). In one incident he directs ten lepers into the course in which they receive physical healing (17:12-14), and apparently proclaims the spiritual salvation of the thankful one who returns to him (17:19). In the last section it is apparently Jesus' influence on Zacchaeus, of the progress of which the account is a sketch, that leads to the generous announcement of the chief publican and makes possible Jesus' declaration to him that "Today is salvation come to this house" (19:8, 9). The final sentence (vs. 10): "For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost," is a direct statement of this conception, which must, it seems, have been in the mind of the collector of this material. In this connection it is suggestive that the name Jesus appears in the material of this group more frequently than in the rest of Luke's Perean section. It occurs seven times in that

we are now considering, three times more in sections perhaps belonging with it (13:12, 14; 14:2), and only twice elsewhere (9:58, 62). That special significance was seen by early Christians in this name is shown in Matt. 1:21, which has earlier usage behind it (cf. Sir. XLVI:1 and Philo, *Nom. mutal.* § 21, quoted by Thayer, *s.v.*). Philo says: "'Jesus' is interpreted 'the Lord's salvation'" (*loc. cit.*). Five of the occurrences of the name are in the two sections just mentioned as presenting Jesus as a savior. The other two in this material are in 10:30 and 37, in connection with the parable of the Good Samaritan, which is presented by Jesus as a direction concerning the way of life (cf. vss. 28 and 37).

Though the phrase "the Son of man" sometimes associated in the gospels with a thought of the future occurs once in the material of the second group (19:10), no such association is here evident, the salvation brought being explicitly present, "Today has salvation come." Moreover, throughout all this material nothing whatever is said of any future activity of Jesus. Though the fate of men after death appears in one of the parables (16:19-31), that Jesus is to have anything to do in determining that fate is not even hinted. Further, nothing is said of a Parousia or future coming of Christ, and nothing of any activity of Jesus to come in connection with a future world-crisis of any form.

Taken all together, the indications we have noted of differences in point of view, local, practical, eschatological, and christological, add distinctly to the force of the argument for the existence of two sources behind Luke's Perean section.

Finally as evidence for such distinctness of sources we may note the aim, and the type of expected readers that appear in each of the two groups that we have been considering. The material of the first group seems to be intended for instruction and encouragement of disciples, and to be adapted to those actively engaged in the mission. The furtherance of the mission seems to be its aim. One might almost venture to call it a manual for missionaries. While some parts, as 13:28 and those between 11:14 and 52, are not in form addressed to disciples, they could be used by them in meeting opponents. In general they would hardly have been prepared for non-Christian readers, it would seem.

But in the second group each part seems to bear on a central theme that may be stated as repentance, the change of one's life-purpose to one of love, as the way to salvation. The first two passages, 12:13-20 and 13:1-9, present men's need of such repentance. The next, 14:16-24, warns against neglecting the invitation to it. The next, chap. 15, presents the other side of repentance, God's seeking of sinners and his joy in their



repentance, and also indicates that men should take an attitude similar to God's. Luke 16:15, 19-26 warns against complacency with earthly honor or luxury, while 27-31 adds the assertion of the sufficiency of the Old Testament to direct men to repentance. The last is made more definite in 10:25-28 (for the present classed as doubtful as to whether it belonged to this group) by Jesus' saying of the laws of love to God and man, "This do, and thou shalt live," and in 30-37 Jesus illustrates and urges the love to man. In 17:12-19 an illustration, in Jesus' own act, of love and mercy to men is joined with the indication that gratitude to God and faith, shown in obedience to Jesus' direction, brought salvation to one of a race despised by Jews. The next passage, 18:9-14, assures that penitence rather than self-satisfaction brings justification; and the final one, 19:1-10, gives an example of repentance as the change of a life-purpose to one of love brought about by Jesus, and declared by him to mean the coming of salvation to the house of the changed man. The final sentence asserts that Jesus came to seek and save the lost. The passages from 16:27 on, including 10:25-37, point out the nature of the new life and the way it may be attained, previous parts having emphasized the need for a change to it, and the possibility (need, 12:13-20; 13:1-9; 14:16-24; 16:15, 19-26; possibility, 15:1-32). This unity of thought in the material seems to indicate as its purpose and aim the leading of men to repentance that they might be saved. Thus as a whole this group of material seems particularly adapted for those not yet disciples.

Thus evidence from within the material itself may be said, taking it all together, decisively to confirm the suggestion derived from the relation of the material to use in Matthew that two separate and distinct bodies of source material have gone into the making of Luke's Perean section. Whether each of these bodies was from a single source rather than from a number of sources is to be considered in the two following chapters.



## CHAPTER III

### HOMOGENEITY OF MATERIAL COMMON TO MATTHEW AND LUKE

The nature and extent of the resemblances between parts of Luke's Perean section and of the Gospel of Matthew may be said to make it practically certain that their relationship is documentary rather than oral.<sup>1</sup> That it was a single document rather than two or more that entered into the making of both Luke's Perean section and corresponding portions of the Gospel of Matthew may be regarded in advance of investigation as somewhat more probable. For the smaller the number of separate documents that we consider two independent workers both to have had, the easier is the supposition.

When we consider the matter in Luke's Perean section common to Matthew and Luke (the "first group" of the previous chapter) we do find characteristics binding it together, which thus support the idea that it was a single document rather than two or more from which it was derived. In noting these characteristics we have in mind not only this support, but also the furnishing of criteria for determining whether or not other material in this section, not found in Matthew, belonged to the same document.

One of the characteristics that appears most widely in this material common to Matthew and Luke is the presence of symbolic, enigmatical, compressed sayings, such as, "Where the body is, thither will the eagles also be gathered together," Luke 17:37, and "Leave the dead to bury their own dead," Luke 9:60. Such are to be found in Luke 9:60; 11:20, 23, 33-35, 47, 52; 12:2, 4-5, 6, 7, 10, 33<sup>b</sup>-34; 13:29, 34<sup>b</sup>, 35<sup>a, b</sup>; 14:11, 27; 16:13, 16, 17, 18; 17:1, 6, 24, 33, 37<sup>d</sup>. Similar sayings with some of the characteristics less marked are to be found also in 9:58; 10:15, 21<sup>b</sup>-22, 23<sup>b</sup>-24; 11:4, 9, 39; 12:25, 39, 42-46, 58-59; 13:19, 21; 14:26; 17:34, 35. Of the twenty-six sections into which this material has been divided, only three, 7, 13, and 24, including nine verses in all, lack one or more of these sayings. It is to be noted also that in general throughout this material there are many detached or readily detachable sayings and brief incidents. As examples may be cited Luke 10:16, 23-24; 11:1-4, 5-8, 9-10, 11-13, 19, 23, 24-26, 27-28, 33, 42.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 7 f.

As to the tying-together of sentences moreover, in every part, with the exception of two sections, 1 and 25, there is an unusually large proportion of sentences without any particle to connect them with what precedes. In only three of the twenty-six sections, §§ 1, 6, and 10, is the number of such sentences more than two less than that of those connected by *καί* or *δέ* with what precedes put together, and in only five is it more than one less, §§ 1, 6, 10, 12, 25.

The extensive use for connecting sentences of particles other than *καί* and *δέ* is also a notable trait in many of the sections. In nine of them, §§ 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 18, and 20, their number as so used exceeds that of either of the most common conjunctions, and in four more, §§ 8, 15, 17, and 26, it equals that of either. In only four, §§ 1, 4, 6, and 25, does it fall below that of both *καί* and *δέ*.<sup>1</sup> The facts as to each section may be noted as follows: the number of the section coming first in each case, then the number of sentences in it introduced by (1) *καί*, (2) *δέ*, (3) other particles, (4) no connective particle or device: 1, 2+3+0+0; 2, 3+5+6+7; 3, 1+0+2+2; 4, 2+1+0+2; 5, 1+1+3+2; 6, 3+5+1+2; 7, 0+0+3+3; 8, 0+1+1+3; 9, 0+4+3+5; 10, 2+6+4+2; 11, 1+3+4+6; 12, 1+3+1+2; 13, 0+0+2+1; 14, 0+0+1+1; 15, 1+0+1+2; 16, 1+0+0+1; 17, 0+1+1+1; 18, 0+0+1+0; 19, 0+0+0+1; 20, 0+0+1+2; 21, 0+1+0+2; 22, 0+0+0+1; 23, 0+1+0+1; 24, 1+0+0+0; 25, 1+1+0+0; 26, 2+0+2+5.

With perhaps two or three minor exceptions (13:18-19, 20-21; 12:39?) the eleven parables of the material closely paralleled in Matthew are, as we have already noted (p. 29), in effect statements of general laws or customs of human action or of the course of nature rather than narrations of particular actions. The form in some cases is made wholly or partly that of questions. As to the exceptions, the parable of the Mustard Seed, 13:18-19, is in Luke a genuine narrative parable, though very brief. In Mark, 4:30-32, it is not narrative, but a general statement of the course of nature. Matthew's version (13:31-32) is partly narrative and partly general statement. The allied parable of the Leaven, Luke 13:20-21 (= Matthew 13:33), is exceedingly brief, and

<sup>1</sup> The number of occurrences of different forms of sentence connection in the material of the second group may be noted for comparison; see p. 27.

For a series of supposedly representative passages taken from Luke, Vogel, *Zur Charakteristik des Lukas nach Sprache und Stil*, 1897, S. 26, gives the number of clause-beginnings with (1) *καί*, (2) *δέ*, (3) *τε*, (4) other particles, (5) without particles, as 50+36+1+6+7; and for a similar series in Acts as 16+51+9+16+8. The contrast with all of these of the group of sections we are considering is striking. (*τε* does not occur in either of our groups.)

is almost as much a simile as a parable. Luke 12:39 implies rather than presents a narrated incident. Noticeable in many of the parables of this material is a balancing of parts by the presentation of alternatives or additional examples. Cf. 12:41-46, § 12; 11:11, § 5; 16:13, § 20, for various instances of this trait. With this may be connected the pairing of similar parables, seen in 13:18-21, § 15, and 12:24, 27-28, § 11. The parables are distributed as follows: § 5, 11:11-13; § 6, 11:17; § 8, 11:33; § 10, 12:6; § 11, 12:24, 27-28; § 12, 12:39, 42-46; § 15, 13:18-19, 20-21; § 20, 16:13. Thus eight of the sections are bound together by the presence of parables, and all but one of these (§ 15) by that of parables of a distinct type, different from that most common in the material of the second group. (See pp. 29 f.)

More general than any of the traits heretofore noticed, perhaps, is the parallelism in form or thought or both which, as we have already noted,<sup>1</sup> is found in every one of the sections and in almost every verse of the material of the first group.

The absence of definite geographical references is another feature that binds together all the sections of this material. Not a saying or occurrence in the whole group is assigned to a place that is named. In four verses of § 2 six cities or towns are named, three as places where Jesus has worked, and three as heathen cities with which they are compared. Jerusalem is mentioned once (13:34, § 17) as the rejecter of prophets and of Jesus. The Ninevites to whom Jonah preached are spoken of in § 7. These are all the place-names that occur. In the reference to the place "between the altar and the sanctuary" (11:51, § 9), Jerusalem is again indicated as a place where prophets have been slain. The scarcity of personal names is also noteworthy, and the fact that almost all that do occur are from the Old Testament. The name of Jonah the prophet appears four times in one section (7), that of Solomon three times in two sections (11:31, § 7; 12:27, § 11), those of Abel and Zachariah (cf. II Chron. 24:20-21) in 11:51, those of "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," in 13:28, and that of Noah twice in 17:26-27, § 26. The name of Jesus appears only once, in the first section. This may be especially significant as indicating that when the name of Jesus had once been introduced at the beginning of the document, being assumed as understood it did not again appear in it. No other name of a contemporary of the events occurs. The only other personal name is that of Beelzebul (Βεελζεβούλ) in § 6, 11:19.

In the previous chapter a number of other characteristics have been

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 28 f.



brought out that bind together many of the sections of this group and so confirm the hypothesis that they belonged to a single document. Thus references to a future world-crisis are found in six sections, §§ 2, 7, 9, 12, 16, and 26; and §§ 12 and 26 are entirely devoted to this subject. Definite references to the kingdom of God are found in eight sections, §§ 1, 2, 4, 6, 11, 15, 16, and 21. As to the strong interest in commandments of Jesus, the whole of §§ 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 21, 22, and 24 is taken up with them, and so are considerable parts of §§ 1, 2, and 9. They are also to be found in §§ 8 and 26. The conception of Jesus as authoritative leader appears strongly in §§ 1 (9:59-60), 2 (10:3 and 13-15), 4 (11:2-4), 6 (11:23), 13 (12:51-53), and 19 (14:26-27). The thought of him as holding a special relation to God and bringing a new revelation such as the world had not seen appears in §§ 3 (10:22, 23-24), 6 (11:20 and apparently 11:16), 7 (11:31-32), and 10 (12:8 and 10). Two whole sections, 12 and 26, deal with the Son of man in the future, and, in 12:8, § 10 contains another clear promise of his future activity.

In different sections of the material, salvation is looked at from two points of view. In some, salvation or rejection is viewed as affecting individuals; in others, as shared in by large groups collectively, as cities, the Pharisees, and "this generation." The former point of view is seen in §§ 3, 10, 12, 13, and 26; the latter in §§ 2 (10:8-15), 7, 9, and 17. The two are not mutually exclusive, but supplementary, and could have been taken by the same compiler.

As to the attitude toward the Old Testament shown in the material, we may first notice that its events and characters are several times mentioned, in §§ 3, 7, 9, 11, 16, 17, and 26. That the law is held to be still binding is indicated in two sections, 9 and 21: "Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and every herb, and pass over justice and the love of God: but these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone" (11:42); and, "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall" (16:17). But the Old Testament is considered no longer the highest revelation according to six sections. For in the verse before the statement last quoted it is said: "The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached" (16:16, § 21). Jesus revealed what its prophets and kings did not see (10:23-24, § 3); and he is more than they were (11:31-32, § 7). And he restated and deepened some of its laws, §§ 22-24 (cf. Lev. 18:20; 19:14, 17-18).

Though no logical sequence is found running throughout this group of material, certain parts now separated do show coherence or natural



connection in thought. It is a remarkable fact that such connection seems to be traceable in nearly every case in which material of the second group comes between parts assigned to the first. Connection between §§ 3 and 4 may be found when the latter is considered an example of Jesus' revelation of the Father in words that the disciples were peculiarly blessed in hearing. The coherence of §§ 10 and 11 becomes clear when vss. 11 and 12 are added to the former. They were left out in the first place because of the close parallel to them in Mark, but it seems clear that in substance at least they stood in this other document used by Matthew and Luke. Thus the thought that knowledge of God's care for them should free the disciples from fear and anxiety is carried over from its application to confession in § 10 to a further application to their ordinary wants in § 11. Sections 18-24 seem to be all connected in thought as indicating various requirements of the disciple. Self-abasement in § 18 is followed by renunciation in § 19, and that by completeness of devotion in § 20. After this follows obedience to the law in § 21. A statement of offenses against the marriage bond, § 22, is naturally followed by a warning against causing others to sin, § 23.

Moreover, we find that in most cases where material not assigned to the second document separates parts of that now under consideration some coherence or connection in thought can be found between the separated parts. Section 2 is connected with § 1 by the thought of the urgency of the mission; § 3 carries on from § 2 the ideas of a revelation through Jesus and the failure of some to receive it; §§ 4 and 5 are connected by the thought of petition in prayer; § 7 takes up the seeking for a sign mentioned near the beginning of § 6; § 9 appears to be connected with § 8 by the thought of men's inner condition, and with § 10 by that of the revelation of things hidden; § 12 seems to be connected with § 11 by the thought of the need of readiness for a great change in conditions, also by the mention of the coming of the thief, and § 13 with it in that they deal with two sorts of division to be brought about by Jesus. (Note *μέρος*, vs. 46, and *διαμερισμόν, διαμερίζω*, vss. 51-53.) Section 14 might have been considered to be instructions as to meeting hostility such as is predicted in § 13; § 16 is connected with § 15 by the thought of the future extent of the kingdom of God, and with § 17 by the thought of rejection; § 18 might be considered the statement of a general truth exemplified in § 17; and §§ 23 and 24 closely connected as presenting two phases of duty with respect to the sin of others, the former not causing it, the latter rebuking and forgiving it. Of the sections not separated by intervening material, §§ 21 and 22 are connected

as dealing with the law in the new period, and 7 and 8 perhaps by the thought of failure to profit by Jesus' presence. That connections of thought are found so generally through this material where its parts are separated by other material still further confirms the hypothesis that it belonged to a single document prior to the Gospel of Luke and prior to the insertion of some at least of the intervening material. (Cf. pp. 20 ff.)

The extent to which all the sections of this material are bound together by the characteristics we have noted may be partially indicated by observing the number of these characteristics that bind each section to others in the group. The figures may be placed as follows: § 1, 8; § 2, 12; § 3, 10; § 4, 10; § 5, 10; § 6, 9; § 7, 10; § 8, 10; § 9, 11; § 10, 10; § 11, 12; § 12, 11; § 13, 8; § 14, 8; § 15, 10; § 16, 9; § 17, 9; § 18, 8; § 19, 9; § 20, 10; § 21, 11; § 22, 9; § 23, 8; § 24, 7; § 25, 4; § 26, 9. When it is considered that a number of these sections contain but a single verse (so § 25), this showing may well be considered remarkable, not only in the number of the connections found, but in their even distribution among the sections. The facts we have adduced seem sufficient confirmation for the antecedent probability that one document rather than two or more furnished that portion of the material of Luke's Perean section that appears also in Matthew and has been gathered in our first group.

## CHAPTER IV

### HOMOGENEITY OF A BODY OF MATERIAL NOT USED IN MATTHEW

We have previously noticed the seeming suitability to the purposes of Matthew's Gospel of certain parts of the material in Luke's Perean section that he has not used and the strength that fact lends to the supposition that those parts were not in a document used by Matthew in the composition of his gospel.<sup>1</sup> For the idea that a considerable part of this material may have come from a single document we found support in the fact that through a large part of it a line of thought can be traced having better logical sequence at each place where the portions are now separated than those portions have with their present context, and involving change of the present order only in the case of the first parable of the group.<sup>2</sup> The force of this better coherence is not weakened by the fact that in tracing it two parables were used which have parallels in Matthew, for in both cases, conspicuously so in the more important one, the variations in the two gospels are so great as to make it seem probable that different sources lay back of them.<sup>3</sup>

To reconstruct this second source we added to the passages of group 4 (see p. 6) the rest of those indicated by their relation to use in Matthew as probably not in his possession (p. 6, group 2*b*), and also Luke 19:1-10, which Matthew might seemingly have omitted had he had it, though he might also have used it (p. 16). These passages, in the order in which they occur, are all connected in thought with the passages next them in the group. Thus 12:13-20 is connected with 13:1-9 by the thought of death as punishment for a wrong course of living, and 13:1-9 with 14:16-24 by the thought that failure to respond to opportunity given leads to rejection. The passages added at the end, 18:9-14*a* and 19:1-10, are connected with each other by both presenting examples of repentance as the way to salvation, the man commended being in each case a publican. The thought of both is closely allied with that of 17:12-19 now next them in the group, in which the coming to

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 16-19.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 20-24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 9; also Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 119 ff., and pp. 91 ff.; Burton, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, pp. 41, 65, and 40; and Sharman, *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, pp. 29 f., 202, and 76 ff.

salvation of one of another class despised by Jews is narrated. Moreover, the material now between them is all derived from Mark, so that it seems altogether likely that in Luke's source they stood together. A further suggestion that 12:13-20 belongs with this group may be found in the fact that the material on either side of it has been assigned to the document used by Matthew (pp. 7 f. and 43), and that this passage makes something of an interruption in the course of thought.<sup>1</sup>

In presenting the inner evidence for distinctness of sources in chap. ii we presented other facts that tend to confirm the idea that the material of this "second group" came from a single document or source. It remains for us in this chapter to recall some of these facts and to present still others that point in the same direction, to see how far the suggestion is confirmed that it was a single document rather than two or more documentary or other sources that furnished the material of the second group, listed on p. 24.

The great characteristic one may expect to find in material from a single document is unity, and the greater and more complete is the unity in a group of material the greater is the confidence that is justified that it belongs to one document. As we have already seen,<sup>2</sup> the material we are considering does appear to have unity, all of it centering in its thought about the change from a self-centered, sinful life to one of love to God and men, and being thus unified in thought to a degree that may be considered remarkable. And with this unity of thought in the material, as was also previously suggested,<sup>3</sup> there seems to be a unity of purpose or aim running through the whole of it, namely, a desire to lead men to repentance that they may be saved.

The evidence that it came from a single document furnished by the coherence of the material we are considering and by its unity in thought and in purpose or aim is corroborated by various likenesses in point of view to be found in its parts.

Four of the nine sections contain seven definite geographical references. All of these point either to Jerusalem (five) or to Jericho (two). The sections thus connected with Jerusalem are §§ 2, 6, 8; and those mentioning Jericho are §§ 6 and 9. Section 7 is less definitely shown to be connected with Jerusalem,<sup>4</sup> and also § 5 with its near neighborhood (p. 32). Thus §§ 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 are all more or less closely connected with Jerusalem or parts of Judea near it.<sup>5</sup>

A point of view which appears even more generally than the geo-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> P. 37.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 36 f.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 31 f.



graphical through the material of the second group may be called the economic. The author or compiler of it would appear from the material he used and his arrangement of it to have had a decided interest in men's conduct in connection with property or material possessions. The opening words addressed to Jesus: "Teacher, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me" (12:13), and the closing ones: "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wrongfully exacted aught of any man, I restore fourfold" (19:8), form a striking and apparently significant contrast. And the first half of the contrast is carried on in the attitude of the rich man in the opening parable. He asks himself the question: "What shall I do, because I have not where to bestow my fruits?" and his answer is a typical expression of the self-centered and self-indulgent attitude in the use of wealth. The view of the compiler is probably reflected in the condemnation which is passed on the man who took it. The answer the author would give as to the proper disposal of troublesome possessions seems to be given in the declaration of Zacchaeus at the close, which we just now quoted (19:8). Of the material between the presentations of these strongly contrasting attitudes in the matter of the use of property almost every part seems to reflect, though not all with the same clearness, an interest in this problem.

In 13:1-9 this interest seems to be shown only in the parable, vss. 6-9, in the endeavor of the owner to make his cultivated ground profitable. In 14:16-24, the parable of the Great Supper, two of the three excuses reported are on the ground of property, a field and five yoke of oxen, newly bought. The bringing-in of the poor and unfortunate to eat the supper is a more central trait in the story that suggests the same interest. In the three parables of chap. 15 the first two present the conduct of a man and a woman when a small part of their material possessions is lost, hunting for and finding it, and rejoicing over the recovery (15:3-6, 8-9). In the third parable (15:11-32) the whole framework is of conduct related to property. The patrimony is divided between two sons, one squanders his share, and is led by destitution to return seeking employment under his father, who gives him a dress of honor and sacrifices an animal for a feast. This is reported to the elder brother. Then the complaint of the elder brother and the father's reply at the close of the parable both have to do with the use of property. Though the verse that precedes it was not included<sup>1</sup> in the group, 16:15 may easily be taken as referring, in part at least, to material possessions, especially as the parable which follows immediately in this material

<sup>1</sup> See p. 24, note.

(16:19-31) is one of contrast between the condition of a rich man and a beggar, in this life and after death. It is after this parable that we placed according to thought connection that of the Good Samaritan (10:30-37). There we find a man stripped of his possessions, and another using his own to care for him, paying for further care at an inn, and promising to repay to the host anything more that is spent for the man. The incident of the ten lepers (17:12-19, § 7), which comes next in our reconstruction, fails to show the economic interest. But in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, which follows (18:9-14), the former thanks God that he is not an extortioner, and the final virtue of the two he claims for himself is the giving of tithes of all that he gets. Immediately after this comes the final incident, in which the rich chief publican declares to Jesus his purpose to give half his goods to the poor and restore fourfold if he has wrongfully exacted anything of any man, and in which Jesus thereupon declares: "Today is salvation come to this house." Only § 7 fails to show strongly this interest, and the revelation of it helps to confirm the hypothesis that the material belonged to a single separate document.

As to the vocational point of view of the collector of this material, in connection with the keen interest in men's use of property just spoken of, we may notice that so far as Luke's Perean section goes the only references to the collectors or renters of taxes are in the material of the second group. Here they have a considerable and entirely commendable part. Here alone in the New Testament we find a chief of the tax collectors (*ἀρχιτελώνης*, 19:2 ff.). Not only are we told that "all" of them were drawing near to Jesus to hear him (15:1), but the three parables of chap. 15 are given by Jesus, partly at least, in explanation of his friendly attitude toward them, and we are taken in 18:9-13 and 19:1-10 into the inner life of two of them, a phenomenon not found elsewhere in the New Testament. Both of these men are strongly commended, and in fact they would seem to be used as the crowning examples of repentance in a document dealing with this subject. The fulness and vividness with which the Zacchaeus incident is told is also noticeable. These facts together with the previously noted<sup>1</sup> interest in the despised and hated make it seem perhaps not improbable that this collection of material owes its origin to one whose business had been the collection of Roman taxes in Palestine. In any case the favorable and largely concrete presentation of men engaged in that business is another trait in the material that binds together different parts (§§ 4, 8, 9).

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 32 f.

As we have seen,<sup>1</sup> interest in the despised and hated appears in §§ 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, and perhaps in 2; and in the poor and unfortunate in §§ 3, 5, and 7.

The ethical point of view of this material appears in every one of its sections, in all but one in what seems to be its main thought. In general it is shown in the central theme, about which, as we have seen (pp. 36 f.), the whole is unified as to thought. This was there stated as "repentance, the change of one's life-purpose to one of love, as the way to salvation," the repentance sought being also described as "the change from a self-centered, sinful life, to one of love to God and men." This central theme is both religious and ethical, and the ethical side appears in two phases, the positive and the negative, the presentation of the kind of life from which, and of that to which, men should turn. The negative aspect appears in three sections, 12:13-21; 16:19-31; and 18:9-14. The first is a warning against covetousness, the considering of oneself alone in connection with the disposal of property, as a foolish attitude, sure to bring its recompense. The second has a very similar teaching, indicating that riches are apt to be a curse rather than a blessing in the light of eternity, that luxury leads to torment after death. The third implies that self-satisfaction makes virtues and obedience to some of his statutes of little avail before God. In all three it is the self-centered, self-satisfied life that is condemned. Luke 16:15 also contributes to the negative aspect, with the idea that the divine standard is very different from men's.

The positive aspect of the ethical side of the theme appears in all the other sections, though in one (§ 3, 14:16-24) not in its chief thought. It is found in its most general form in the parable of the Fig Tree (13:6-9), teaching that usefulness is the only way to permanence. It reaches its highest point in chap. 15, of which the teaching is that men should seek the lost and rejoice in their repentance, because God does, as we can be sure from human examples. It becomes clearest and most pointed in the parable of the Good Samaritan (10:30-37), the teaching of which has been summarized as: "Compassion is better than sacrifice."<sup>2</sup> In 17:11-19 Jesus is presented as the illustrious example of one who shows mercy to men; and in 19:1-10 a final actual example is given of the beginning of the new life, in which the purpose of a rich man to give half his goods to the poor and restore fourfold where he has obtained wrongfully is practically said to indicate his salvation. Also in the parable of the Great Supper (14:16-24) the fact that the poor, maimed, blind, and lame are brought to the supper seems to reflect the same phase of

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 32 f.

<sup>2</sup> Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage*, S. 95.



the subject. And the suggestion for conduct there found is more explicitly given in the parable of the Good Samaritan, i.e., that property may be well used in caring for others who are in need. The positive aspect of all this ethical teaching may be summarized, as to the standard, in the words: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (cf. 10:25-28). And in this the point of view appears to be the same throughout.

We come now to the religious point of view, and may examine first the religious aspect of the central theme, repentance, as it appears in different parts of the material. Of the religious significance of repentance there are two closely connected phases that appear in more than one of the sections, each being found in three. The first is the idea that God helps to bring about repentance, the second, that repentance is itself the entering into a relation with God. In 12:13-20, § 1 and 16:15, § 5, God's disapproval of the self-centered life is indicated, in the former with the suggestion that he brings punishment on it, as a warning. And that God makes positive effort to bring men to repentance and draws them by his own love is apparently one of the chief teachings of chap. 15, § 4. Repentance as the entering into a relation with God may be found in the incidents of the son's return to his father in the parable (15:20-32, § 4), in the gratitude to God of the Samaritan (17:12-16, cf. 17-19, § 7), and in the cry to God for mercy of the publican in the temple (18:9-14, § 8).

Closely connected here with the thought of repentance is that of salvation, and we may now notice the ideas of salvation that run through this group of material. Almost throughout, salvation is presented as an individual matter, dependent on individual action. The rich man misses it through his selfishness (12:15-20) and the invited guests through separate failures to accept (14:16-20). Those who are brought to the supper are indeed treated collectively (14:21-23). But in the parables of chap. 15 it is the one lost out of a hundred and the one out of ten that are sought and found, and it is the one son that is received back with rejoicing from the far country when he returns to his father. In 16:19-26 it is the salvation of a single beggar and the failure to attain it of but one rich man, that are presented. In 16:27-31 the five brothers are considered together in speaking of their possible salvation. In the incident of the lepers (17:12-19) it is one out of ten that glorifies God, and to whom it is said, "Thy faith hath saved [σέσωκεν] thee." So in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican it is two individuals of whom it is said that "this man went down to his house justified rather than the other" (18:9-14). The Zacchaeus



incident gives a sketch of how one man came to change his life, and the words of Jesus, "Today is salvation come to this house," must be taken as referring to him in particular (19:1-10). In the parable of the Good Samaritan (10:30-37), though salvation is made the point at issue only through the introductory conversation (vss. 25-29), it is the differing actions of individual men that are presented.

Moreover, the collector of this material would appear to have thought of salvation not only as individual but as present. This perhaps appears most clearly in the final incident, that of Zacchaeus, at the close of which Jesus says: "Today is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost" (19:9-10). It is perhaps scarcely less clear in the parable that just precedes it (18:9-14), in which Jesus' words at the close are: "I say unto you, This man went down to his house justified rather than the other" (vs. 14a). The participle translated "justified" is in the perfect tense (*δεδικαιωμένος*), which points to the present result of a past action. The incident just preceding the parable (17:12-19) at least strongly suggests the same idea as to salvation, here also in Jesus' closing words, "Arise, and go thy way: thy faith hath made thee whole" or "saved thee" (*σέσωκέν σε*). Again we find the perfect tense; and that physical healing alone was in the mind of the recorder of the incident seems hardly probable. In still other parts of the material the same thought appears. Though we may not press too far the details of parables, it seems hardly to be doing so to find the thought of a salvation in this life behind the father's welcome of his returning son, and his words repeated again at the very close of the parable, "For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found"; "For this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found" (15:24, 32). It would seem that the one at least who made the parable an answer to murmurings of Pharisees and scribes at Jesus' associating with "sinners" must have thought of it as indicating a present salvation for sinners, over which it suggested that all men should rejoice. This conclusion is strengthened and the same idea shown in the words applying the other two parables of the chapter, 15:7 and 10. It is to be noted that like those just quoted from the parable of the sons and their context, the concluding verses of these parables present rejoicing over the accomplished finding of what was lost (vss. 6 and 9). Then follows (vs. 7): "I say unto you that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, who need no repentance"; and (vs. 10):

"Even so, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." In both cases the use of the present participle (*μετανοοῦντι*) indicates that the repentance is not thought of as coming at a time before the rejoicing, and the suggestion is clear that at the time of repentance salvation is in some sense accomplished. The future (*ἔσται*) in the former verse (7) is apparently gnomic, with the same meaning as the corresponding present (*γίνεται*) in the second (vs. 10). A further suggestion of the idea that there is a salvation that is present may be found in 12:15: "For a man's life consisteth [*ἔστιν*] not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." This suggestion is carried farther in the possibly editorial vs. 21: "So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God." Thus, to summarize, the thought of salvation as individual is found in eight of the nine sections (§§ 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), the thought of it as present, with different degrees of clearness, in five (§§ 1, 4, 7, 8, 9).

Proceeding now to the thought of Jesus shown in this material, we find that in two of the sections near the close, including the final one, he appears<sup>1</sup> as one who brings salvation to men or brings them to the attaining of it (17:12-19, § 7; 19:1-10, § 9).

As we have also previously<sup>2</sup> noticed, the use of the name Jesus binds together three of the sections, occurring twice in § 6, twice in § 7, and three times in § 9. In all the sections, except perhaps §§ 7 and 9, the thought of Jesus as authoritative teacher or prophet is seen. In no part of the material does the messiahship of Jesus appear to be a point in question.<sup>3</sup> And as we have previously<sup>4</sup> noted all its parts are alike in having nothing to say of a future activity of Jesus, or of a coming world-crisis, and in not containing the phrase "kingdom of God" or the words "kingdom," "king," or "reign."

Facts in regard to the form of the material also confirm the idea that it came from a single document. Every section but two consists in large part of one or more narrative parables. These two, §§ 7 and 9, are also of narrative material. Conversational or narrative introductions precede the parables of each of the first six sections, and the other parable (§ 8) also has an introduction. Such conversational or narrative introductions to parables are not characteristic of Luke or of his Perean section as a whole, but are almost confined to the parables of this par-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 35 f.

<sup>3</sup> Even in the healing of the lepers, 17:12-19, it is not said that Jesus healed them, the glory being given to God, with whom of course Jesus works.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 36 and 34.

ticular group. In §§ 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 the form of the introduction is practically this: (1) a remark from some one or more present, (2) an answer from Jesus with a gnomic saying, then (3) the parable illustrating the saying. (In § 4 there are three parables with a gnomic saying repeated after each of the first two, which all three illustrate.)

In two of the three parables in § 4 the form of a question is used: "What man of you . . . doth not . . . ?" and, "what woman . . . doth not . . . ?" In every other case the parable deals with "a certain man," or in one case with "two men," the words *Ἀνθρωπός τις* and *Ἀνθρωποι δύο* (§ 8) appearing at the very beginning except in § 2 where the Greek reads *Συκὴν εἶχεν τις*. So the sections connected by the form of opening of the parable are §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8.

In view, then, of all the facts about this group of material presented and referred to in this chapter, viz., Matthew's use of it, its superior coherence, unity of thought and of purpose, likeness in point of view, and consistency of form throughout its sections, we seem justified in concluding that it existed in a single document before it became a part of Luke's Perea section. We may call it the Judean document from the local point of view prevailing in its material.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 31 f, 45.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SOURCES OF THE REST OF THE MATERIAL

The characteristics of the two groups of material already examined should now be sought in the rest of the material with which the paper deals to see if the facts indicate, what seems antecedently probable, especially in the case of the document used by Matthew (cf. pp. 10 ff. and 43), that parts of it belonged to one or the other of the documents whose existence we have seen to be indicated.

The characteristics to be looked for as belonging to the "first document," used by Matthew also, are: the presence of sayings symbolic, enigmatical, or compressed; the presence of brief, readily detachable sayings and incidents; in the connection of sentences, asyndeton almost as frequent as the use of *καί* and *δέ*, and other particles comparatively frequent; the presence of generalized parables; parallelism of form or thought or both; in vocabulary, comparatively frequent occurrence of certain words; the absence of the name "Jesus" after its occurrence in § 1; the local point of view being not that of Jerusalem; the presence of references to a future world-crisis; the presence of references to the kingdom of God; the appearance of the thought of salvation as future, and of salvation or rejection as affecting large groups collectively; the appearance of the thought of Jesus as authoritative leader, and of the idea that he is to have some special activity in the future; a strong interest in commandments of Jesus; special fitness for disciples and missionaries; and finally, in considerable parts, logical sequence.

Characteristic of the "second" or Judean document for which we may look in the rest of the material are: logical sequence; unity in thought; "repentance" as the way to salvation; a purpose to lead men to repentance that they may be saved; location of events near Jerusalem; a special interest in the use of property; interest in publicans; interest in the despised and hated; an ethical point of view which condemned selfishness and commended the love of one's neighbor; the appearance of the ideas that God helps to bring about repentance and that repentance is the entering into a relation with God; the presentation of salvation as for the individual and dependent on his action, and as being a fact in the present (these ideas of salvation appear, less frequently,



in the material of the other document); the presentation of Jesus as a savior and as a prophet (these conceptions also, more commonly the latter, appear in the other document); the use of narrative introductions to parables; the large use of narrative parables (one or two are found in the other group); and finally, the use of certain words found less frequently or not at all in the material assigned to the first document.

The results of search for these characteristics in the portions of our material not already assigned to one or other of the documents is indicated in the following table. A check mark indicates the presence of the characteristic under the name of which it stands, in the material indicated by the figures opposite it near the center of the sheet. Increasing degrees of doubt as to such presence are indicated by the placing of a question mark in parentheses after the check, and by a question mark placed instead of a check. The "logical sequence" indicated is that with the next preceding and following material previously assigned to the "first document" in the case of the column to the right of the center, and to the "second document" in the case of that to the left. As will be seen, the characteristics of the "first document" are indicated to the right of the references and those of the "second" to the left. Where it has been decided that the evidence noted in the table indicates that a passage belonged to one or the other of the documents this is indicated by a cross placed opposite the reference to the right or left according as the indication is for the "first" or "second" document and nearer or farther away as the evidence seems decisive or simply to create a probability. The passages for which reasons have been found why Matthew might have omitted them if they were in his source (pp. 10 ff.) are indicated by a circle (○). It may be noted that all but two of the passages assigned in any way in the table to the document used by Matthew are so marked, and in both these cases one may perhaps suspect change in the text between the use of the document by Matthew and that by Luke. Thus in almost every case of assignment to the first document two lines of evidence converge to confirm the assignment. The circles were inserted after the rest of the table was complete, and were not considered in making assignments as indicated by the crosses. In the "vocabulary" columns the figures indicate how many of the words listed on pp. 25 f., as of greater frequency in one or the other of the groups of passages that we have decided came from the two documents respectively, occur in the passages in whose line they stand.

In estimating the evidence presented in this table it must be remembered that some of the columns, notably those of "Jesus as prophet"

An arrow (←) indicates that something occurs that is not in general found in the material assigned to the document on the side of which it stands.



and "salvation as present," indicate features that belong much less exclusively to one of the groups than do others. In the case of most of the passages it will be seen that the evidence is with decided preponderance on the side of one document or the other. Of the several apparent exceptions to this some are seen not to be such when the slightly distinctive nature of certain columns, as mentioned above, is noted. This is the case with 11:27-28; 11:40-41; 12:54<sup>b</sup>-57; 14:34-35; 16:1-12; 19:12-27. To remove 13:23-27 from the apparent exceptions the further fact comes in that the inclusion of 13:10-16 and 14:1-5 in the second document destroys the logical sequence that without them could be found for the passage in that document, assuming no change of order at this point. The rest, with one exception, are very brief, consisting of a single verse or less, and they will now be taken up along with those passages, real exceptions, in which characteristics of neither group are found sufficiently numerous to warrant assigning them to either document on that basis. These passages are also brief, seldom exceeding the limits of a single verse.

The passages in Luke's Perean section, 9:51-18:14 and 19:1-28, that have not now been assigned with some degree of probability to one of the two documents are as follows: 9:51; 10:1, 17; 11:1, 15, 29<sup>a</sup>, 37-38, 53-54; 12:1<sup>a</sup>, 21, 41-42<sup>a</sup>, 54<sup>a</sup>; 13:17, 22; 14:6, 7, 12-14, 15, 25; 16:14; 17:5, 11, 25, 37<sup>a</sup>, *b*; 18:14<sup>b</sup>; and 19:11, 28. In looking for the probable origin of these we may observe the probability<sup>1</sup> established by the manner of Matthew's use of the material, putting none of it into the Perean ministry, but placing it in the Galilean ministry and the Passion Week, that the document used by Matthew was without marks to indicate to which period of the life of Jesus its events belonged. That such passages should have been composed and inserted by one who was not attempting to produce anything like an account of Jesus' life seems distinctly less probable than that Luke himself in incorporating the material into his gospel should have supplied them. <sup>e</sup> They are to be found in 9:51; 13:22; 17:11; 19:11; and 19:28. (Though from its connection with material assigned to a document not used by Matthew a different origin might be suspected for 17:11 from that of the rest, its similarity to them seems to make probable a similar origin.) The probability that these verses were composed by Luke is further strengthened by the fact that for all of them there is a basis to be found in the corresponding part of Mark, and in every case but that of 19:11 in statements of Mark omitted in their connection by Luke in his parallel

<sup>1</sup> Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f.



passages.<sup>1</sup> Likenesses in language are also to be found between these passages in Luke and those in Mark. But if these passages were added by Luke on the basis of suggestions in Mark, it seems probable that some, at least, of the other passages for which basis can be found in Mark were also added by Luke. Some basis in Mark's Perean section can be found for Luke 10:17; 11:29a; 11:53-54; 12:1a; 12:54a; 13:17; and 14:25.<sup>2</sup>

With most of the passages cited as having a basis in Mark some suggestion, more or less definite, is to be found in the context to account for its insertion in Luke. In about half of them indeed part of the passage itself seems to have been suggested by the context. Thus in 9:51 αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ anticipates the statement of vs. 53, τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. In 10:17 the words ascribed to the seventy-two, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in thy name," might have been placed here in view of the words that follow in vss. 18-20: "I beheld Satan fallen. . . . I have given you authority . . . over all the power of the enemy. . . . But in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject to you." In 11:29a the reference to the crowds might have been suggested by the discourse following on "this generation" and further by the mention of a crowd in vs. 27, if that also was not inserted by Luke. The statement of activity against Jesus on the part of the scribes and Pharisees in 11:53-54 comes with exceeding naturalness after the discourse of Jesus in vss. 39-52. A suggestion for the insertion of 12:1a is not found nearer than vss. 13 ff. The insertion of reference to crowds in 12:54a might seemingly have been suggested by the nature of the following material, vss. 54-57, evidently not addressed to disciples, as the preceding discourse, from vs. 22 on, is indicated as having been. The first half of 13:17 might seemingly have been suggested by the description of the incident that precedes, the insertion of the latter half by the nature of the parables that follow.

A suggestion is perhaps found in the context to account for the insertion of 13:22 at this precise point in that the thought of the spread of the heaven through the meal (vs. 21) may have suggested the referring to the progress of Jesus "through cities and villages, teaching." The indi-

<sup>1</sup> With Luke 9:51 cf. Mark 10:1a, 32; with Luke 13:22, Mark 10:16, 32; with Luke 17:11, Mark 10:32; with Luke 19:11, Mark 11:1a; and with Luke 19:28, Mark 10:32.

<sup>2</sup> With Luke 10:17 cf. Mark 6:13a, absent in Luke's parallel, and Mark 6:30; with Luke 11:29a, Mark 10:1b; with Luke 11:53-54, Mark 10:2; and with Luke 12:1a, 12:54a, 13:17, and 14:25, Mark 10:1b.

cation of the coming of crowds and of Jesus' addressing them in 14:25 might have been suggested by the change that seems to take place at this point from address to an individual to address to a number.<sup>1</sup> Both the insertion of the geographical note in 17:11 and the mention of Samaria in it may have been suggested by the statement in vs. 16 that one of the lepers was a Samaritan. The mention of Jesus' entering into a village in vs. 12 may have suggested the mention of his journeying. Suggestion for the insertion of 19:11 by Luke is clearly to be found in the parable that it introduces. With Jesus' near approach to Jerusalem as the next thing that lay before him in Mark to incorporate (Mark 11:1), and with it the cry of the people, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David" (Mark 11:9-10), he might readily, it seems, interpret this parable remaining in his other source as addressed to meet this situation. It is the departure of the nobleman to a far country to receive the kingdom (19:12) that seems to give the basis for this interpretation.

The fact that a large part of the material that in Luke is introduced by a verse (10:1) which indicates that it was addressed to seventy-two is in Matthew placed close to the introduction that reads: "These twelve Jesus sent forth, and charged them, saying," seems to make it probable that the document containing this material as used by Matthew did not contain the indication of those addressed as given in Luke 10:1. Further, the special fitness of this verse for an account of Jesus' life, the presence in it of a number of words and phrases characteristic of Luke,<sup>2</sup> and the apparent reminiscence of Mark 6:7 seem to point to Luke rather than an earlier editor of the material for its insertion. Moreover, without this verse the connection of thought seems excellent, especially if we assume that instead of "And he said to them," as in Luke 10:2, the document read as in Matthew: "He said to his disciples." Thus the improvement of the connection can hardly have acted as a motive to induce the insertion. A motive in the case of Luke can be found in his having previously (9:1-6) recorded the addressing by Jesus to the twelve of instructions very similar to some of those that follow. The probability that it was Luke who inserted 10:1 creates an almost equal probability that the mention of the return of the seventy-two in 10:17

<sup>1</sup> Note "He said to him," in vs. 16, and "which of you" in vs. 28 with which vs. 26-27 seem closely connected.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to those listed by Hawkins, *μετὰ ταῦτα*, ὁ κύριος used of Jesus in narrative, and *ἔρεpos*, we may note *ἀναδελκνυμι*, Luke once, Acts once, only, in the New Testament; *ἡμελλον*, in Luke alone of the Synoptic Gospels, 4 times; and *τόπος*, Matt. 10, Mark 10, Luke 19, Acts 17.

was also inserted by Luke rather than belonging to a document at this point. In 10:17 also words characteristic of Luke are found: *ὑποστρέφω*, not in Matthew or Mark, Luke, 21 times, Acts, 11, Paul, 1, rest of New Testament, 2; *δαιμόνιον*, Matthew, 11 times, Mark, 13, Luke, 23, rest of New Testament, 16. *ὑποτάσσω* is not found in other gospels, Luke, 3, Paul, 22, rest of New Testament, 12. The fact that the passage in Mark which seems to be reflected (6:13) follows closely on the one, 6:7, of which there seems to be reminiscence in Luke 10:1, gives a further hint that the two verses in Luke have a common origin, and are probably from Luke himself.

The partial parallel to 11:37-38 in Mark 7:1-5, a passage not used in the parallel portion of Luke, what follows being also somewhat similar in the two cases, suggests that these verses were here introduced by Luke from the suggestion in Mark, Jesus' eating with a Pharisee being possibly suggested to him by the source of 14:1, or of 7:36, which is more similar in its expressions. A number of expressions characteristic of Luke occur in 11:37-38; those listed by Hawkins are *ἐν τῷ* with infinitive, and *ἐρωτάω*. *Ἀριστάω* occurs in the New Testament only once in Luke and twice in John, and *ἐρωτάω ὅπως* only twice in Luke and once in Acts; *θανυμάζω*, Matthew, 7 times, Mark, 4, Luke, 12, John, 6, Acts, 5, rest of New Testament, 8; *ἄριστον*, Matthew, 1, and Luke, 2, only, in the New Testament. However, it is possible that in substance at least these verses stood in the document used by Luke, and if so they probably stood in that used by Matthew also, as insertion by another than Luke has little to make it appear probable. In view of the reference to John's teaching as suggesting that of Jesus, it seems improbable that 11:1 is an editorial addition. In view of its connection and its lack of fitness for separate transmission, it should therefore probably be assigned to the "first" document.

The context, 14:8-11 and 1, might, it seems, have given sufficient suggestion for the construction of 14:7, and that Luke rather than another was its author seems to be indicated by the large number that it contains, for its length, of expressions characteristic of Luke.<sup>1</sup> The facts of language suggest that in 14:12 also considerable rewriting or shaping by Luke has taken place.<sup>2</sup> That the characteristics of the first

<sup>1</sup> *ἔλεγεν δέ; πρὸς*, used of speaking to, *bis*; *λέγω παραβολήν*; from Hawkins' list. *Ἐκλέγομαι*, Matt., 0, Mark, 1, Luke, 4 (WH), Acts, 7, rest of New Testament, 9; *ἐπέχω*, Luke, 1, Acts, 2, Paul, 2, only, in the New Testament.

<sup>2</sup> It contains from Hawkins' list of words and phrases characteristic of Luke's Gospel, *ἔλεγεν δέ, δὲ καί, φίλος, συγγενής*, and *πλούσιος*; also *ἄριστον*, Matt., 1, Luke, 2, only, in the New Testament; *γείτων*, Luke, 3, John, 1, only, in the New Testament; *ἀντικαλέω*, not in LXX, only here in the New Testament; *ἀνταπόδομα*, not classical, only here and once in Romans in the New Testament.



document are well represented in 18:14b is not strange in view of its being a repetition of a sentence assigned to that document as closely paralleled in Matthew. Reason for thinking that it owes its present position to Luke may be found in the fact that it seems to fit as a transition from the parable preceding to the incident from Mark which follows in Luke better than either as a mere summary of the parable or as a transition to the next material from the same source (19:1 ff.).

There are a number of passages remaining to be considered that are alike in that they include or report remarks of others than Jesus. We may first notice 12:41-42a; 14:15; 16:14; and 17:5. The first gives a question from Peter, the last a request from "the apostles," the second a beatitude from a table-companion, and the third is a statement that the Pharisees heard and scoffed at him.

Both the first and the last are rich in expressions characteristic of Luke.<sup>1</sup> Examples of the insertion of Peter's name by Luke in using material from Mark are found in Luke 8:45, parallel to Mark 5:31; 22:8, parallel to Mark 14:12, 13 and Matthew 26:17-18; and in the inserted verse 9:32 in the transfiguration story. The form in the two cases here being considered is very similar: 12:41-42a, *Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος Κύριε πρὸς ἡμᾶς . . . καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος*; 17:5-6a, *Καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ κυρίῳ Πρόσθετε ἡμῖν . . . εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος*. It seems probable that in both cases Luke was responsible for the insertion rather than that these passages stood in his document.

In 14:15, however, no expression characteristic of Luke is found nor a word that approaches being such. Moreover, the characteristics noted in the table, after p. 54, strongly connect it with the first document. Its most important point of contact with the second document is its seeming to furnish the appropriate occasion for the parable (from that document) that follows it. Its connection with vss. 26 ff. is not so evidently good, but seems at least possible. The relation of 14:15 to 14:26 f. is somewhat like that of 13:23 to 24 ff., of 11:27 to 28, of 9:57 to 58, of 9:59 to 60, and of 9:61 to 62. All of these latter have been previously assigned to the "first document," and 9:57-58 and 59-60 clearly belong to it from the close parallel in Matthew. If we include with 14:15 the formula of address, "But he said to him," at the beginning of vs. 16, the connection with vs. 26 appears to be about as good as that with the parable in vss. 16 ff. The transition of thought from that of enjoying

<sup>1</sup> Of those listed by Hawkins 12:41-42a has *εἶπεν δέ, πρὸς* used of speaking to (*bis*), *λέγω παραβολήν*, and *ὁ κύριος* used of Jesus in narrative; 17:5 has *ἀπόστολος*, *ὁ κύριος* used of Jesus in narrative, and *προστίθημι*. 17:6a has *εἶπεν δέ* and *ὁ κύριος*, used of Jesus in narrative.



the blessings of the kingdom of God to that of being Christ's disciple would not, it seems, have been a very difficult one for the compiler of the first document, in view of passages like 9:59-62 and 13:23-30. It seems probable, therefore, that this verse belonged to the "first document." However, as the material assigned to that document does not in the near context mention Jesus' being at a meal, τῶν συνανακειμένων may have been inserted by Luke in view of 14:1 and the sayings about meals in vss. 8-24. We have already noticed the probability that he introduced 14:7, and τῷ κεκληκότι αὐτόν in vs. 12 might also have been thus introduced.<sup>1</sup>

Passing now to 16:14, we find again the possibility of a brief insertion by Luke in view of the context. That something like this verse stood in the second document as an introduction to vs. 15 seems probable. The two words φιλάργυροι ὑπάρχοντες, however, seem to fit better in the present connection of the verse than with it placed in its order in the second-document material. Moreover, ὑπάρχω is strongly characteristic of Luke (and Acts),<sup>2</sup> and φιλάργυρος is found in the New Testament only here and in II Tim. 3:2. These facts suggest the insertion of these two words by Luke. But the verse as a whole does not fit especially well in the second document, and it may be considered possible that the whole verse was inserted by Luke.<sup>3</sup>

There is another brief passage that gives a question from Jesus' disciples, 17:37a, b. It fits very naturally<sup>4</sup> into its context in the first-document material, and as it has no expression characteristic of Luke or word nearly so, it seems probable that it formed part of the document used by Matthew, for whose omission of it a possible reason has been found.<sup>5</sup> It is conceivable that questions introduced by Luke were suggested by this one in his source. On the other hand, it is conceivable that this also was inserted by Luke.

The close parallel to Mark 3:22 in Luke 11:15 might lead us to suspect that Luke used Mark as his source. Two facts point in the other direction, however, first that Matthew in 12:24 has a considerably closer parallel to this than to Mark, and second that Matthew in 9:34 has a closer parallel to Mark 3:22 than in 12:24. However, in Matthew 9:32-34 he appears from the closeness of similarity to be using the source

<sup>1</sup> Cf. von Soden, *History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> ἔκμυκτηρίζω is used in the New Testament only here and in Luke 23:35, where it is substituted for Mark's ἐμπαίζω.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sharman, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> P. 15.

of Luke 11:14-15. That Matthew had before him two versions of the charge as well as of the discourse that follows seems therefore rather probable. The absence of the word Beelzebul in Matthew 9:34 and the varying position of the article in Matthew and Luke suggest that both independently inserted this word from Mark, one before and one after the article. Matt. 9:34 would then give an exact reproduction of the source of Luke 11:15, and Matt. 12:24 might have resulted from a contraction, such as Matthew was accustomed to make, of Mark 3:22, with perhaps some influence from the source in Luke 11:15. With 11:17a present, some such charge seems to be needed in Luke's form. We cannot now definitely decide whether it was in the first document or inserted by Luke from Mark, with suggestion from the source of 11:18c.

Three of the four passages still remaining unassigned are alike in giving sayings that seem to be attributed to Jesus.

On the basis of its characteristics 12:21 should apparently be assigned to the second document, though the possibility remains that it was inserted either in the combining of the documents or later, for it seems to help the connection somewhat as it stands, but to injure it in the non-Matthean document. Its absence from certain manuscripts lends some support to this conjecture.

Perhaps 17:25 should be assigned to the first document, occupying as it does a position similar to that of 17:33, shown by parallel in Matthew to have belonged to it, and possessing some of the characteristics of the material assigned to that document. Its suggestion of a speedy consummation is found also in 18:8, in a passage assigned to the first document. But its material and much of its language could have come from Mark 8:31, and its interruption of the portrayal of the day suggests that it is a later insertion.<sup>1</sup>

Luke 14:12-14, which has many of the characteristics of both documents, if we consider that vs. 12 was largely shaped by Luke, seems to belong rather to the first document along with the verses preceding and following. The connection of thought in each document seems to be best preserved by assigning these verses for substance to the document used by Matthew.

Luke 14:6 may be thought to be a touch added by Luke somewhat similarly to 13:17. In its language *ἰσχύω* with the infinitive is characteristic of Luke, occurring in the New Testament only twice each in Matthew and Mark, once in John, eight times in Luke, and four times in Acts. *Ἀνταποκρίνομαι* occurs in the New Testament only here and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sharman, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 f., note.

once in Romans. This verse may have been inserted along with vs. 7 as part of a smoother transition between vss. 5 and 8 ff. On the other hand, it is possible that it stood in the second document, though there is only its possible logical connection in that material to indicate that it did.

There are a few brief phrases and clauses that we may suspect were inserted by Luke on the basis of suggestions from Mark. These are: in 9:57, *πορευομένων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ*, and 10:38, *Ἐν δὲ τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς κώμην τινά;*<sup>1</sup> and in 12:13a *ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου*.<sup>2</sup> In 13:18 *Ἐλεγεν οὖν* injures the connection in the first document, and may have been inserted along with vs. 17 by Luke, or possibly by an earlier combiner of the two documents. The statement of address in 12:22a is superfluous in the first document and, as it contains *εἶπεν δέ* and *πρός* used of speaking to, both strongly characteristic of Luke, may have been introduced by him.

In 13:1a the phrase *ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ* is characteristic of Luke and especially appropriate only in a narrative work such as none of the documents was. We may therefore think it probable that Luke inserted it.

To summarize, we may say that while absolute certainty in the assignment of these brief portions is not attainable, most of them may be assigned with more or less confidence to Luke, who had in many cases a basis for them in the Gospel of Mark, and in a number a suggestion or more from the context in the document he was using. A few of them we are inclined to assign, for substance at least, to the document used by Matthew (11:15; 14:12-14, 15; 17:37a, b), and others may have come from it (11:37-38 and 17:25). Luke 12:21 may have been in the non-Matthean document, and traces of that document are perhaps to be found in 14:6 and 16:14.

As a result of this study it appears that the material found in Luke's Perean section, Luke 9:51-18:14 and 19:1-28, came for the most part from two documents. Of those documents only one was used in the composition of Matthew's Gospel. The assignments of material are as follows: The contents of the document used by Matthew included the material of Luke 9:57-60; 10:2-16a, 21-24; 11:2-4, 9-13, 14, 16-17b, 18b, 19-20, 23-26, 29-35, 39, 42-52; 12:2-10, 22b-31, 33-34, 39-40, 42b-46, 51-53, 58-59; 13:18-21, 28-29, 34-35; 14:11, 26-27; 16:13, 16-18; 17:1, 3b-4, 6, 23-24, 26-27, 30, 33-35, and 37c;<sup>3</sup> probably also, as similar in characteristics, that of Luke 9:61-62; 10:16b, 38-42; 11:5-8, 17c, 18a, c, 21-22, 36; 12:1b, 11-12, 32, 35-38, 47-48, 49-50; 13:30-33; 14:28-33; 17:2, 3a, 7-10, 20-22, 28-29, 31-32;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mark 10:17 and 32, and 9:30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mark 10:1b.

<sup>3</sup> P. 24.



18:1-8;<sup>1</sup> rather probably also, on the basis of similar characteristics, that of Luke 9:52-56; 10:18-20; 11:27-28, 40-41; 12:54b-57; 13:23-27; 14:8-10, 34-35;<sup>2</sup> 16:1-12; 19:12-27;<sup>3</sup> probably also, as otherwise shown, that of Luke 14:12-14;<sup>4</sup> 14:15;<sup>5</sup> and 17:37a, b;<sup>6</sup> and possibly also that of Luke 11:15, 37-38; and 17:25.<sup>7</sup> The other document appears to have consisted, in part at least, of the material now found in Luke 10:30-37; 12:13-20; 13:1-9; 14:16-24; 15:1-32; 16:15, 19-31; 17:12-19; 18:9-14a; and 19:1-10;<sup>8</sup> probably also, as similar in characteristics, that of Luke 10:25-29, and 13:10-16;<sup>9</sup> rather probably, for the same reason, that of Luke 12:21; and 14:1-5;<sup>10</sup> and possibly also that of Luke 14:6 and 16:14.<sup>11</sup>

Each of these documents as we have reconstructed it has in general a comprehensible order, which is with one exception<sup>12</sup> the order in which the material now stands in Luke. This fact strongly confirms the supposition, based on his careful adherence to the order of Mark in the portions he derived from that source, that Luke in dealing with the material of this section also made little change in order.

For the "first document," that used by Matthew, parts of the order are made certain by agreement in the two gospels. The longest uninterrupted passage in which the order of our material in the two gospels agrees consists of ten verses in Luke and nine in Matthew (Luke 12:22-31=Matt. 6:25-33). Such agreements in order in the two gospels, in which there is intervening material in neither, are found in Luke 9:57-60=Matt. 8:19-22; Luke 10:2=Matt. 9:37-38; Luke 10:5-6=Matt. 10:12-13; Luke 10:13-15=Matt. 11:21-23a; Luke 10:21-22=Matt. 11:25-27; Luke 11:9-11=Matt. 7:7-10; Luke 11:14=Matt. 12:22-23a; Luke 11:17-23=Matt. 12:25-30; Luke 11:24-26=Matt. 12:43-45a; Luke 11:29-30=Matt. 12:39-40; Luke 11:31=Matt. 12:42; Luke 11:32=Matt. 12:41; Luke 11:34-35=Matt. 6:22-23; Luke 11:39-41=Matt. 23:25-26; Luke 11:43=Matt. 23:6-7; Luke 11:49-51=Matt. 23:34-36; Luke 12:2-9=Matt. 10:26-33; Luke 12:11-12=Matt. 12:19-20; Luke 12:22-31=Matt. 6:25-33; Luke 12:33-34=Matt. 6:19-21; Luke 12:39-40=Matt. 24:43-44; Luke 12:42-46=Matt. 24:45-51; Luke 12:58-59=Matt. 5:25-26; Luke 13:18-21=Matt. 13:31-33; Luke 13:34-35=

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 14:34b-35 are also partially paralleled in Matthew.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 53 ff.

<sup>8</sup> P. 24.

<sup>4</sup> P. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 53 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 59 f.

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 61 and 53 ff.

<sup>6</sup> P. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 61 f. and 60.

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 60 f., 58, and 61.

<sup>12</sup> See pp. 22 f.



Matt. 23:37-39; Luke 14:26-27=Matt. 10:37-38; Luke 14:34<sup>b</sup>-35=Matt 5:13<sup>b</sup> and *c*; Luke 17:23-24=Matt. 24:26-27; Luke 17:26-27=Matt. 24:37-39<sup>a</sup>; Luke 17:34-35=Matt. 24:40-41.

The evidence for the order of this document is nearly as strong where material intervenes in Luke but not in Matthew. Thus the order of the "first document" is clearly shown in Luke 10:10-11<sup>a</sup>, 12=Matt. 10:14-15;<sup>1</sup> Luke 11:15, 17-23=Matt. 12:24-30; Luke 12:39-40, 42<sup>b</sup>-46=Matt. 24:43-51; Luke 12:51, 53=Matt. 10:34-35; Luke 17:26-27, 30=Matt. 24:37-39. The same is true of passages in which material not from this source intervenes in Matthew but not in Luke. Thus the order of the first document is shown in Luke 11:2-4, parallel to Matt. 6:9-10<sup>a</sup>, 11-13<sup>a</sup>, Luke 10:23-24, parallel to Matt. 13:16-17; and Luke 17:3-4, parallel to Matt. 18:15, 21-22. Possibly the same may be said of Luke 13:24-29, parallel to Matt. 7:13-14, 23; 8:11-12; Luke 11:14-15, parallel to Matt. 12:22-23<sup>a</sup>, 24; and Luke 11:47-51, parallel to Matt. 23:29-31, 34-36, but in each of these cases there is the possibility that some other source is responsible for part of the material in Matthew, and therefore only slight weight can be placed on their evidence as to the order of the "first document."

It is noteworthy that in the discourse of instruction to the disciples, Matt. 9:37-10:40, in which fourteen separate passages from the first document are found, only in the case of four brief sayings does Matthew's order vary from that of Luke, except where he follows the order of parallel material in Mark. "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves," instead of being placed before the instructions, as in Luke, is given after the dealing with those who do not receive the messengers. In its place near the beginning is put, seemingly from the source of the first paragraph in Luke, the direction to say that the kingdom of heaven has come near, and to heal the sick. This is seemingly a natural change in order in view of the general and important character of these directions. So likewise the reserving of the saying, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me," for the conclusion of the whole discourse, after all the rest of the relevant material from the document had been used, seems a very natural rearrangement for Matthew to have made. The only other change is the use of the saying, "The laborer is worthy of his food," three verses earlier than it is found in Luke. Moreover, the variation from Luke's order caused by following that of Mark in the parallel to Luke 12:11-12 involves no great displacement, but only, apparently, the modification of the wording of a saying from Mark, under the influ-

<sup>1</sup> Mark was used in vs. 14.

ence of the form in a document from which it came into Luke after eight more verses. With these five exceptions, then, the material in this discourse common to Matthew and Luke's Perean section occurs in the same order in both, a fact which makes strongly for this being the original order, i.e., the order in the "first document." And the nature of the exceptions makes it seem probable that in all the cases Luke, rather than Matthew, has preserved the order of the document.

In the other long discourse collections of Matthew the topical arrangement has largely removed possible confirmations of any order as that of the document, but it may be noted that in the Sermon on the Mount the teachings on prayer occur in the same order in Matthew as in Luke: Matt 6:9-13; 7:7-11; Luke 11:2-4, 9-13. The discourse against the Pharisees, Matt., chap. 23, has some correspondences in order in the two gospels which are, or may be, significant for the order of the document: Matt. 23:25-27 is parallel to Luke 11:39-41, 44; and *vide supra* on Matt. 23:29-31, 34-36, parallel to Luke 11:47-51. And the eschatological discourse in Matt., chap. 24, has vss. 26-27 and 37-41 in the same order in which that material appears in Luke 17:23-24, 26-27, 34-35. The woes upon the unrepentant cities and the thanksgiving to the Father occur in the same order in the two gospels (Matt. 11:21-23a, 25-27; Luke 10:13-15, 21-22); and so of the Beelzebul incident and the saying about blasphemy (Matt. 12:22 ff.; Luke 11:14 ff.; 12:10).

Taken all together, the evidence on order gives considerable basis for the supposition that in general the present order in Luke was that of the material in the first document, though to a large extent this must remain a supposition.

For the material of the second document no such objective test as to order is available, and the internal one of logical sequence is the only support we have in retaining and slightly modifying the present order of the material in reconstructing that document.

Whether material from either of these documents is to be found in our gospels outside of Luke's Perean section and the similar passages in Matthew is a question whose answer lies outside the scope of this paper.

The reconstructed documents, so far as their material is found in Luke's Perean section, follow.

## "FIRST" DOCUMENT

LUKE

9 52 And he sent messengers before his face: and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. 53 And they did not receive him, because his face was *as though he were* going to Jerusalem. 54 And when his disciples James and John saw *this*, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them? 55 But he turned, and rebuked them. 56 And they went to another village.

57 And as they went on the way, a certain man said unto him, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. 58 And Jesus said unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven *have* nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head. 59 And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. 60 But he said unto him, Leave the dead to bury their own dead; but go thou and publish abroad the kingdom of God. 61 And another also said, I will follow thee, Lord; but first suffer me to bid farewell to them that are at my house. 62 But Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plow, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.

10 2 And he said unto them, The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest. 3 Go your ways; behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves. 4 Carry no purse, no wallet, no shoes; and salute no man on the way. 5 And into whatsoever house ye shall enter, first say, Peace *be* to this house. 6 And if a son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him: but if not, it shall turn to you again. 7 And in that same house remain, eating and drinking

MATTHEW

8 19 And there came a scribe, and said unto him, Teacher, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. 20 And Jesus saith unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven *have* nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head. 21 And another of the disciples said unto him, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. 22 But Jesus saith unto him, Follow me; and leave the dead to bury their own dead.

9 37 Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few. 38 Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest.

10 16 Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves:

11 And into whatsoever city or village ye shall enter, search out who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go forth. 12 And as ye enter into the house, salute it. 13 And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not

## LUKE

such things as they give: for the laborer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house. 8 And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you: 9 and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. 10 But into whatsoever city ye shall enter, and they receive you not, go out into the streets thereof and say, 11 Even the dust from your city, that cleaveth to our feet, we wipe off against you: nevertheless know this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh. 12 I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city. 13 Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which were done in you, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. 14 But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the judgment, than for you. 15 And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down unto Hades. 16 He that heareth you heareth me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me.

18 And he said unto them, I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven. 19 Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall in any wise hurt you. 20 Nevertheless in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven.

21 In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal

## MATTHEW

worthy, let your peace return to you. 10b For the laborer is worthy of his food.

7 And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. 8 Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons:

14 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, as ye go forth out of that house or that city, shake off the dust of your feet. 15 Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city.

11 21 Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. 22 But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment, than for you. 23 And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt go down unto Hades: for if the mighty works had been done in Sodom which were done in thee, it would have remained until this day. 24 But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for thee.

10 40 He that receiveth you receiveth me.

11 25 At that season Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto



## LUKE

them unto babes: yea, Father; for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight. 22 All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth who the Son is, save the Father; and who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal *him*. 23 And turning to the disciples, he said privately, Blessed *are* the eyes which see the things that ye see: 24 for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

\*[38 Now as they went on their way, he entered into a certain village] and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house. 39 And she had a sister called Mary, who also sat at the Lord's feet, and heard his word. 40 But Martha was cumbered about much serving; and she came up to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister did leave me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me. 41 But the Lord answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things: 42 but one thing is needful: for Mary hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

11 And it came to pass, as he was praying in a certain place, that when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples. 2 And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Father, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. 3 Give us day by day our daily bread. 4 And forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And bring us not into temptation.

5 And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him

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babes: 26 yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight. 27 All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal *him*.

13 16 But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear. 17 For verily I say unto you, that many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

6 9 After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. 10 Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. 11 Give us this day our daily bread. 12 And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. 13 And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil *one*.

\* Passages concerning which there is doubt as to whether they belonged to the document are bracketed.

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at midnight, and say to him, Friend, lend me three loaves; 6 for a friend of mine is come to me from a journey, and I have nothing to set before him; 7 and he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee? 8 I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him because he is his friend; yet because of his importunity he will arise and give him as many as he needeth. 9 And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. 10 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. 11 And of which of you that is a father shall his son ask a loaf, and he give him a stone? or a fish, and he for a fish give him a serpent? 12 Or if he shall ask an egg, will he give him a scorpion? 13 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall *your* heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

14 And he was casting out a demon *that was dumb*. And it came to pass, when the demon was gone out, the dumb man spake; and the multitudes marvelled. [15 But some of them said, By Beelzebub the prince of the demons casteth he out demons.] 16 And others, trying *him*, sought of him a sign from heaven. 17 But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house *divided* against a house falleth. 18 And if Satan also is divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because ye say that I cast out demons by Beelzebub. 19 And if I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out? therefore shall they be your judges. 20 But if I by the finger of God cast out

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7 7 Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: 8 for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. 9 Or what man is there of you, who, if his son shall ask him for a loaf, will give him a stone; 10, or if he shall ask for a fish, will give him a serpent? 11 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?

12 22 Then was brought unto him one possessed with a demon, blind and dumb: and he healed him, insomuch that the dumb man spake and saw. 23 And all the multitudes were amazed, and said, Can this be the son of David? 24 But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This man doth not cast out demons, but by Beelzebub the prince of the demons. 25 And knowing their thoughts, he said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand: 26 and if Satan casteth out Satan, he is divided against himself; how then shall his kingdom stand? 27 And if I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out? therefore shall they be your judges. 28 But if I by the Spirit of God cast out demons,

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demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you. 21 When the strong *man* fully armed guardeth his own court, his goods are in peace: 22 but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him his whole armor wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils. 23 He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth. 24 The unclean spirit when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest, and finding none, he saith, I will turn back unto my house whence I came out. 25 And when he is come, he findeth it swept and garnished. 26 Then goeth he, and taketh *to him* seven other spirits more evil than himself; and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man cometh worse than the first.

27 And it came to pass, as he said these things, a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which thou didst suck. 28 But he said, Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.

29 And when the multitudes were gathering together unto him, he began to say, This generation is an evil generation: it seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah. 30 For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation. 31 The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with the men of this generation, and shall condemn them: for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here. 32 The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here.

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then is the kingdom of God come upon you. 29 Or how can one enter into the house of the strong *man*, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong *man*? and then he will spoil his house. 30 He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth.

43 But the unclean spirit, when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest, and findeth it not. 44 Then he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. 45 Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man cometh worse than the first. Even so shall it be also unto this evil generation.

38 Then certain of the scribes and Pharisees answered him, saying, Teacher, we would see a sign from thee. 39 But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah the prophet: 40 for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. 41 The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here. 42 The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here.

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33 No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, putteth it in a cellar, neither under the bushel, but on the stand, that they which enter in may see the light. 34 The lamp of thy body is thine eye: when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; but when it is evil, thy body also is full of darkness. 35 Look therefore whether the light that is in thee be not darkness. 36 If therefore thy whole body be full of light, having no part dark, it shall be wholly full of light, as when the lamp with its bright shining doth give thee light.

[37 Now as he spake, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down to meat. 38 And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first bathed himself before dinner.] 39 And the Lord said unto him, Now ye the Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness. 40 Ye foolish ones, did not he that made the outside make the inside also? 41 But give for alms those things which are within; and behold all things are clean unto you.

42 But woe unto you Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and every herb, and pass over justice and the love of God: but these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. 43 Woe unto you Pharisees! for ye love the chief seats in the synagogues, and the salutations in the market-places. 44 Woe unto you! for ye are as the tombs which appear not, and the men that walk over *them* know it not.

45 And one of the lawyers answering saith unto him, Teacher, in saying this thou reproachest us also. 46 And he said, Woe unto you lawyers also! for ye load men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the

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5 15 Neither do *men* light a lamp, and put it under the bushel, but on the stand; and it shineth unto all that are in the house.

6 22 The lamp of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. 23 But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is the darkness!

23 25 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full from extortion and excess. 26 Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first the inside of the cup and of the platter, that the outside thereof may become clean also.

23 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith: but these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone.

6 and love the chief place at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, 7 and the salutations in the market-places.

27 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.

4 Yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves



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burdens with one of your fingers. 47 Woe unto you! for ye build the tombs of the prophets, and your fathers killed them. 48 So ye are witnesses and consent unto the works of your fathers: for they killed them, and ye build *their tombs*. 49 Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send unto them prophets and apostles; and *some* of them they shall kill and persecute; 50 that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; 51 from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zachariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary: yea, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation. 52 Woe unto you lawyers! for ye took away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.

12 He began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. 2 But there is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known. 3 Wherefore whatsoever ye have said in the darkness shall be heard in the light; and what ye have spoken in the ear in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed upon the housetops. 4 And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. 5 But I will warn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, who after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say

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will not move them with their finger.

29 Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous, 30 and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. 31 Wherefore ye witness to yourselves, that ye are sons of them that slew the prophets. 32 Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. 33 Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgment of hell? 34 Therefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: some of them shall ye kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city: 35 that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on the earth, from the blood of Abel the righteous unto the blood of Zachariah son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar. 36 Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.

13 But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye enter not in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering in to enter.

10 26 Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known. 27 What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops. 28 And be not afraid of them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. 29 Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? and not one them shall fall on the ground without your Father: 30 but the very hairs of your head are all numbered. 31 Fear not therefore: ye are of more value than many sparrows. 32 Every one there-

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unto you, Fear him. 6 Are not five sparrows sold for two pence? and not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God. 7 But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not: ye are of more value than many sparrows. 8 And I say unto you, Every one who shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God: 9 but he that denieth me in the presence of men shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God. 10 And every one who shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven. 11 And when they bring you before the synagogues, and the rulers, and the authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: 12 for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.

12 22 Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for *your* life, what ye shall eat; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. 23 For the life is more than the food, and the body than the raiment. 24 Consider the ravens, that they sow not, neither reap; which have no store-chamber nor barn; and God feedeth them: of how much more value are ye than the birds! 25 And which of you by being anxious can add a cubit unto the measure of his life? 26 If then ye are not able to do even that which is least, why are ye anxious concerning the rest? 27 Consider the lilies, how they grow: they toil not, neither do they spin; yet I say unto you, Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. 28 But if God doth so clothe the grass in the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven; how much more *shall he clothe* you, O ye of little faith? 29 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind. 30 For all these

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fore who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven. 33 But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven.

12 32 And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come.

10 19 But when they deliver you up, be not anxious how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak. 20 For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.

6 25 Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than the food, and the body than the raiment? 26 Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye of much more value than they? 27 And which of you by being anxious can add one cubit unto the measure of his life? 28 And why are ye anxious concerning raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: 29 yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. 30 But if God doth so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, *shall he not much more clothe* you, O ye of little faith? 31 Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? 32

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things do the nations of the world seek after: but your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. 31 Yet seek ye his kingdom, and these things shall be added unto you. 32 Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. 33 Sell that which ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth. 34 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

35 Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning; 36 and be ye yourselves like unto men looking for their lord, when he shall return from the marriage feast; that, when he cometh and knocketh, they may straightway open unto him. 37 Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them. 38 And if he shall come in the second watch, and if in the third, and find *them* so, blessed are those *servants*. 39 But know this, that if the master of the house had known in what hour the thief was coming, he would have watched, and not have left his house to be broken through. 40 Be ye also ready: for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

42 Who then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their portion of food in due season? 43 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. 44 Of a truth I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath. 45 But if that

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For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. 33 But seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. 34 Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

19 Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust consume, and where thieves break through and steal: 20 but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: 21 for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.

24 43 But know this, that if the master of the house had known in what watch the thief was coming, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken through. 44 Therefore be ye also ready; for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

45 Who then is the faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath set over his household, to give them their food in due season? 46 Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. 47 Verily I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath. 48 But if that evil servant shall

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servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants and the maidservants, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken; 46 the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the unfaithful. 47 And that servant, who knew his lord's will, and made not ready, nor did according to his will, shall be beaten with many *stripes*; 48 but he that knew not, and did things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few *stripes*. And to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required: and to whom they commit much, of him will they ask the more.

49 I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what do I desire, if it is already kindled? 50 But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! 51 Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division: 52 for there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. 53 They shall be divided, father against son, and son against father; mother against daughter, and daughter against her mother; mother in law against her daughter in law, and daughter in law against her mother in law.

[54 And he said to the multitudes also,] When ye see a cloud rising in the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it cometh to pass. 55 And when ye see a south wind blowing, ye say, There will be a scorching heat; and it cometh to pass. 56 Ye hypocrites, ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heaven; but how is it that ye know not how to interpret this time? 57 And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right? 58 For as thou art

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say in his heart, My lord tarrieth; 49 and shall begin to beat his fellow-servants, and shall eat and drink with the drunken; 50 the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, 51 and shall cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth.

10 34 Think not that I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. 35 For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law: 36 and a man's foes *shall be* they of his own household.



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going with thine adversary before the magistrate, on the way give diligence to be quit of him; lest haply he drag thee unto the judge, and the judge shall deliver thee to the officer, and the officer shall cast thee into prison. 59 I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou have paid the very last mite.

13 18 He said therefore, Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I liken it? 19 It is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his own garden; and it grew, and became a tree; and the birds of the heaven lodged in the branches thereof.

20 And again he said, Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God? 21 It is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened.

23 And one said unto him, Lord, are they few that are saved? And he said unto them, 24 Strive to enter in by the narrow door: for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able. 25 When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door saying, Lord, open to us; and he shall answer and say to you, I know you not whence ye are; 26 then shall ye begin to say, We did eat and drink in thy presence, and thou didst teach in our streets; 27 and he shall say, I tell you, I know not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. 28 There shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves cast forth without. 29 And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God. 30 And behold, there

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5 25 Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art with him in the way; lest haply the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. 26 Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou have paid the last farthing.

13 The kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field: 32 which indeed is less than all seeds; but when it is grown, it is greater than the herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the heaven come and lodge in the branches thereof.

33 Another parable spake he unto them; The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened.

8 11 And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: 12 but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and the gnashing

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are last who shall be first, and there are first who shall be last.

31 In that very hour there came certain Pharisees, saying to him, Get thee out, and go hence: for Herod would fain kill thee. 32 And he said unto them, Go and say to that fox, Behold, I cast out demons and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third *day* I am perfected. 33 Nevertheless I must go on my way to-day and to-morrow and the *day* following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem. 34 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her! how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen *gathereth* her own brood under her wings, and ye would not! 35 Behold, your house is left unto you *desolate*: and I say unto you, Ye shall not see me, until ye shall say, Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

14 8 When thou art bidden of any man to a marriage feast, sit not down in the chief seat; lest haply a more honorable man than thou be bidden of him, 9 and he that bade thee and him shall come and say to thee, Give this man place; and then thou shalt begin with shame to take the lowest place. 10 But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest place; that when he that hath bidden thee cometh, he may say to thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have glory in the presence of all that sit at meat with thee. 11 For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

12 And he said to him also that had bidden him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor rich neighbors; lest haply they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. 13 But when thou makest a feast, bid the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind:

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of teeth. 20 16 So the last shall be first, and the first last.

23 37 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her! how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! 38 Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. 39 For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

12 And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled; and whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted.

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14 and thou shalt be blessed; because they have not *wherewith* to recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed in the resurrection of the just.

15 And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God. 16 But he said unto him, 26 If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. 27 Whosoever doth not bear his own cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. 28 For which of you, desiring to build a tower, doth not first sit down and count the cost, whether he have *wherewith* to complete it? 29 Lest haply, when he hath laid a foundation, and is not able to finish, all that behold begin to mock him, 30 saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish. 31 Or what king, as he goeth to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? 32 Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and asketh conditions of peace. 33 So therefore whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. 34 Salt therefore is good: but if even the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be seasoned? 35 It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill: *men* cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

16 And he said also unto the disciples, There was a certain rich man, who had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he was wasting his goods. 2 And he called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear of thee? render the account of thy stewardship; for thou canst be no longer steward. 3 And the

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10 37 He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. 38 And he that doth not take his cross and follow after me, is not worthy of me.

5 13b but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.

11 15 He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

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steward said within himself, What shall I do, seeing that my lord taketh away the stewardship from me? I have not strength to dig; to beg I am ashamed. 4 I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. 5 And calling to him each one of his lord's debtors, he said to the first, How much owest thou unto my lord? 6 And he said, A hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bond, and sit down quickly and write fifty. 7 Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, A hundred measures of wheat. He saith unto him, Take thy bond, and write fourscore. 8 And his lord commended the unrighteous steward because he had done wisely: for the sons of this world are for their own generation wiser than the sons of the light. 9 And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles. 10 He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much: and he that is unrighteous in a very little is unrighteous also in much. 11 If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true *riches*? 12 And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own? 13 No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

16 The law and the prophets *were* until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached, and every man entereth violently into it. 17 But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall.

18 Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth

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6 24 No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

11 12 And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and men of violence take it by force. 13 For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John.

5 32 but I say unto you, that every one that putteth away his wife, saving for the



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adultery: and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

17 And he said unto his disciples, It is impossible but that occasions of stumbling should come; but woe unto him, through whom they come! 2 It were well for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were thrown into the sea, rather than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble. 3 Take heed to yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. 4 And if he sin against thee seven times in the day, and seven times turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.

6 And the Lord said, If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye would say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou rooted up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it would obey you. 7 But who is there of you, having a servant plowing or keeping sheep, that will say unto him, when he is come in from the field, Come straightway and sit down to meat; 8 and will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shalt eat and drink? 9 Doth he thank the servant because he did the things that were commanded? 10 Even so ye also, when ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do.

20 And being asked by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God cometh, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: 21

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cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress: and whosoever shall marry her when she is put away committeth adultery.

18 7 Woe unto the world because of occasions of stumbling! for it must needs be that the occasions come; but woe to that man through whom the occasion cometh!

15 And if thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.

21 Then came Peter and said to him, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? until seven times? 22 Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven.

17 20 And he saith unto them, Because of your little faith: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.

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neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you.

22 And he said unto the disciples, The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it. 23 And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after *them*: 24 for as the lightning, when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall the Son of man be in his day. [25 But first must he suffer many things and be rejected of this generation.] 26 And as it came to pass in the days of Noah, even so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man. 27 They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all. 28 Likewise even as it came to pass in the days of Lot; they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; 29 but in the day that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all: 30 after the same manner shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed. 31 In that day, he that shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away: and let him that is in the field likewise not return back. 32 Remember Lot's wife. 33 Whosoever shall seek to gain his life shall lose it: but whosoever shall lose *his life* shall preserve it. 34 I say unto you, In that night there shall be two men on one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. 35 There shall be two women grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. 37 And they answering say unto him, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Where the body *is* thither will the eagles also be gathered together.

18 And he spake a parable unto them

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24 26 If therefore they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the wilderness; go not forth: Behold, he is in the inner chambers; believe *it* not. 27 For as the lightning cometh forth from the east, and is seen even unto the west; so shall be the coming of the Son of man.

37 And as *were* the days of Noah, so shall be the coming of the Son of man. 38 For as in those days which were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, 39 and they knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall be the coming of the Son of man.

10 39 He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.

24 40 Then shall two men be in the field; one is taken, and one is left; 41 two women *shall be* grinding at the mill; one is taken, and one is left.

28 Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.

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to the end that they ought always to pray, and not to faint; 2 saying, There was in a city a judge, who feared not God, and regarded not man: 3 and there was a widow in that city; and she came oft unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. 4 And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man; 5 yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest she wear me out by her continual coming. 6 And the Lord said, Hear what the unrighteous judge saith. 7 And shall not God avenge his elect, that cry to him day and night, and *yet* he is longsuffering over them? 8 I say unto you, that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless, when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?

19 12 He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return. 13 And he called ten servants of his, and gave them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade ye *herewith* till I come. 14 But his citizens hated him, and sent an ambassage after him, saying, We will not that this man reign over us. 15 And it came to pass, when he was come back again, having received the kingdom, that he commanded these servants, unto whom he had given the money, to be called to him, that he might know what they had gained by trading. 16 And the first came before him, saying, Lord, thy pound hath made ten pounds more. 17 And he said unto him, Well done, thou good servant: because thou wast found faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities. 18 And the second came, saying, Thy pound, Lord, hath made five pounds. 19 And he said unto him also, Be thou also over five cities. 20 And another came, saying, Lord, behold, *here is* thy pound, which I kept laid up in a napkin: 21 for I feared thee, because thou

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art an austere man: thou takest up that which thou layedst not down, and reapest that which thou didst not sow. 22 He saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I am an austere man, taking up that which I laid not down, and reaping that which I did not sow; 23 then wherefore gavest thou not my money into the bank, and I at my coming should have required it with interest? 24 And he said unto them that stood by, Take away from him the pound, and give it unto him that hath the ten pounds. 25 And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds. 26 I say unto you, that unto every one that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him. 27 But these mine enemies, that would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.

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## "SECOND" OR "JUDEAN" DOCUMENT

12 13 And one out of the multitude said unto him, Teacher, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me. 14 But he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you? 15 And he said unto them, Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. 16 And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully: 17 and he reasoned within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have not where to bestow my fruits? 18 And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my grain and my goods. 19 And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, be merry. 20 But God said unto him, Thou foolish one, this night is thy soul required of thee; and the things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be? [21 So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.]

13 Now there were some present at that very season who told him of the Galilæans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. 2 And he answered and said unto them, Think ye that these Galilæans were sinners above all the Galilæans, because they have suffered these things? 3 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish. 4 Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and killed them, think ye that they were offenders above all the men that dwell in Jerusalem? 5 I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

6 And he spake this parable; A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came seeking fruit thereon, and found none. 7 And he said unto the vine-dresser, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none:



cut it down; why doth it also cumber the ground? 8 And he answering saith unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it: 9 and if it bear fruit thenceforth, *well*; but if not, thou shalt cut it down.

10 And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath day. 11 And behold, a woman that had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years; and she was bowed together, and could in no wise lift herself up. 12 And when Jesus saw her, he called her, and said to her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. 13 And he laid his hands upon her: and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God. 14 And the ruler of the synagogue, being moved with indignation because Jesus had healed on the sabbath, answered and said to the multitude, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the day of the sabbath. 15 But the Lord answered him, and said, Ye hypocrites, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? 16 And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound, lo, *these* eighteen years, to have been loosed from this bond on the day of the sabbath?

14 And it came to pass, when he went into the house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees on a sabbath to eat bread, that they were watching him. 2 And behold, there was before him a certain man that had the dropsy. 3 And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath, or not? 4 But they held their peace. And he took him, and healed him, and let him go. 5 And he said unto them, Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a well, and will not straightway draw him up on a sabbath day? [6 And they could not answer again unto these things.]

A certain man made a great supper; and he bade many: 17 and he sent forth his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for *all* things are now ready. 18 And they all with one *consent* began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a field, and I must needs go out and see it; I pray thee have me excused. 19 And another said I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them; I pray thee have me excused. 20 And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come. 21 And the servant came and told his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and maimed and blind and lame. 22 And the servant said, Lord, what thou didst command is done, and yet there is room. 23 And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and constrain *them* to come in, that my house may be filled. 24 For I say unto you, that none of those men that were bidden shall taste of my supper.

15 Now all the publicans and sinners were drawing near unto him to hear him. 2 And both the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.

3 And he spake unto them this parable, saying, 4 What man of you, having a hundred sheep, and having lost one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? 5 And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. 6 And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and his neighbors, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. 7 I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, *more* than over ninety and nine righteous persons, who need no repentance.

8 Or what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a lamp, and sweep the house, and seek diligently until she find it? 9 And when she hath found it, she calleth together her friends and neighbors, saying, Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece which I had lost. 10 Even so, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.

11 And he said, A certain man had two sons: 12 and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of *thy* substance that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living. 13 And not many days after, the younger son gathered all together and took his journey into a far country; and there he wasted his substance with riotous living. 14 And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that country; and he began to be in want. 15 And he went and joined himself to one of the citizens of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. 16 And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him. 17 But when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish here with hunger! 18 I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: 19 I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired-servants. 20 And he arose, and came to his father. But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him, and was moved with compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. 21 And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son. 22 But the father said to his servants, Bring forth quickly the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet: 23 and bring the fatted calf, *and* kill it, and let us eat, and make merry: 24 for this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. 25 Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. 26 And he called to him one of the servants, and inquired what these things might be. 27 And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound. 28 But he was angry, and would not go in: and his father came out, and entreated him. 29 But he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine; and *yet* thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: 30 but when this thy son came, who hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou killedst for him the fatted calf. 31 And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine. 32 But it was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive *again*; and *was* lost, and is found.

16 [14 And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these things; and they scoffed at him.] 15 And he said unto them, Ye are they that justify yourselves in the sight of men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God.

19 Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day: 20 and a certain beggar named Lazarus was laid at his gate, full of sores, 21 and desiring to be fed with the *crumbs* that fell from the rich man's table; yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores. 22 And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom: and the rich man also died, and was buried. 23 And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. 24 And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that

he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame. 25 But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things: but now here he is comforted, and thou art in anguish. 26 And besides all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, that they that would pass from hence to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence to us. 27 And he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house; 28 for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. 29 But Abraham saith, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. 30 And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one go to them from the dead, they will repent. 31 And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead.

10 25 And behold, a certain lawyer stood up and made trial of him, saying, Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? 26 And he said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou? 27 And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself. 28 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live. 29 But he, desiring to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbor? 30 Jesus made answer and said, A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he fell among robbers, who both stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. 31 And by chance a certain priest was going down that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. 32 And in like manner a Levite also, when he came to the place, and saw him, passed by on the other side. 33 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he was moved with compassion, 34 and came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on *them* oil and wine; and he set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. 35 And on the morrow he took out two shillings, and gave them to the host, and said, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, I, when I come back again, will repay thee. 36 Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbor unto him that fell among the robbers? 37 And he said, He that showed mercy on him. And Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

17 12 And as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten men that were lepers, who stood afar off: 13 and they lifted up their voices, saying, Jesus, Master, have mercy on us. 14 And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go and show yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, as they went, they were cleansed. 15 And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, with a loud voice glorifying God; 16 and he fell upon his face at his feet, giving him thanks: and he was a Samaritan. 17 And Jesus answering said, Were not the ten cleansed? but where are the nine? 18 Were there none found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger? 19 And he said unto him, Arise, and go thy way: thy faith hath made thee whole.

18 9 And he spake also this parable unto certain who trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and set all others at nought: 10 Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican. 11 The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. 12 I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I get. 13 But the publican, standing afar off, would not lift



up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote his breast, saying, God, be thou merciful to me a sinner. 14 I say unto you, This man went down to his house justified rather than the other.

19 And he entered and was passing through Jericho. 2 And behold, a man called by name Zacchæus; and he was a chief publican, and he was rich. 3 And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the crowd, because he was little of stature. 4 And he ran on before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way. 5 And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and said unto him, Zacchæus, make haste, and come down; for to-day I must abide at thy house. 6 And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully. 7 And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, He is gone in to lodge with a man that is a sinner. 8 And Zacchæus stood, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wrongfully exacted aught of any man, I restore fourfold. 9 And Jesus said unto him, To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. 10 For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text of the American Revised Version, copyright, 1901, by Thomas Nelson & Sons, is used by permission.





The Legal Terms Common to the  
Macedonian Inscriptions and  
the New Testament



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# The Legal Terms Common to the Macedonian Inscriptions and the New Testament

By ✓  
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## INTRODUCTION

The inscriptions upon which this treatise is based are the Greek Macedonian inscriptions. Thus far the Corpus does not contain all of the Macedonian inscriptions. Dimitsas, having spent ten years in making a collection of these inscriptions, published them in Athens, in 1896, in two volumes entitled, 'Η Μακεδονία. In this work Dimitsas has included all inscriptions having any reference to Macedonian affairs, regardless of the place to which the inscription itself belonged. For our present purpose we make use of only those inscriptions which had their origin in Macedonia, that is, only those which are geographically Macedonian inscriptions.

This treatise is intended to present an inductive study of the legal and governmental terms common to the Macedonian inscriptions and the New Testament. The purpose of this investigation is to obtain, from the usage of these words in the inscriptions, any available information which may throw light upon their interpretation in the New Testament. The object is not to make an exhaustive investigation of the meaning and usage of these words in the whole field of Greek literature, nor yet to carry the investigation into the New Testament itself, but rather to furnish to the student of the New Testament some additional data with which to approach his task of interpreting these technical terms in the Scriptures.

The method has been to quote in Greek the statement in which the word under consideration occurs; to indicate to what time and place the inscription belonged; to give a translation or a paraphrase of a sufficient portion of the immediate context to enable the reader to understand the shorter passage quoted in Greek; and then to make an inductive study of the terms selected, in every inscription in which they occur.

Arabic numerals, unless otherwise specified, refer to the numbers assigned to the Macedonian inscriptions by Dimitsas in his Μακεδονία, and the Roman numerals refer to the divisions of this treatise. Under each Roman numeral a single word, or group of closely related words, is treated. The abbreviations used for names of authors are usually from the list given by Liddell and Scott.

I wish to make special mention of my indebtedness to Professor Ernest D. Burton of the University of Chicago. His discriminating and

suggestive criticisms, so generously given, greatly stimulated my interest and gave direction to my effort. His help has been so many-sided that it is impossible to estimate its value. To Professor Edgar Goodspeed of the University of Chicago I also desire to express my thanks and grateful appreciation for his pertinent suggestions on various linguistic problems.

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## I. A.

## βουλή

(1)

I

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ,  
 ἔτους ἡκτ' ἀπογραφῇ  
 ἐφήβων τῶν ἐφηβευσάν-  
 των ὑπὸ Λυσίμαχον Ἀβι-  
 διανοῦ τὸν ἐφήβαρχον  
 κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς.

5

The whole of this inscription is extant, and the first six lines are here transcribed. It reads as follows: "In the year 328 a register of the ἔφηβοι who became ἔφηβοι under Lysimachus the son of Abidianos the ἐφήβαρχος by the decree of the βουλή." Then follows a list of the ἔφηβοι.

This inscription was found over the entrance of the city of Bodena (Edessa). Edessa was situated on a table-land between two projections of the Bermius Mountains, and was at one time the capital of Macedonia.

Boeckh, reckoning the date found in the inscription (l. 2) from the destruction of Corinth, gives us the year 182 A.D. as the date of this inscription.

It here appears that the boys who became ἔφηβοι were under the control of an officer called ὁ ἐφήβαρχος, and they were duly registered as ἔφηβοι by a decree of the βουλή (cf. *CIG*, 256, 272B, 275, 276, *Heliod.* 7, 8). The βουλή is the only official body here mentioned, and it had authority to confer the rights of citizenship upon the youths of the city. This may indicate that in some of the Macedonian cities there was only one governing body in the city, as in the case of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, or it may be that this particular matter, the granting of citizenship to the young men was one which pertained to the functions of the βουλή.

(2)

37

ἀλλ' ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὡς  
 υἱο(ὶ)ς αὐτοῦ πρεσβ[ε]ῖαις καὶ εὐχαῖς π[άντων] ?  
 ἀγγέλων [καὶ] προφητῶν ἀπο . .  
 μαρτύρων τοῖς σοὶ ἀρέσασ(ι)  
 . . . . βουλῆς κόσμου ἀμὴν.

5



10 Ἐνθάδε κείμενος Ἰωαννῆσκη τοῦ το—  
 . . . . . ἀ]ναπανσαμένη ἐν Χριστῷ.

The whole of this mortuary inscription is extant except for slight mutilations. It is here transcribed from the middle of l. 4 to the end of the inscription. It was placed on the monument of a certain Cyprian whose tomb had been destroyed during a persecution of the Christians, and the part quoted above is in the form of a prayer by those who erected the monument and who in some sense regarded themselves as his sons. It reads thus: "but have mercy upon us as his sons because of the supplications and prayers of all the angels and of the prophets and of the witnesses to those things which are pleasing to thee, [and deliver us from (καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ)] the counsel of the world. Amen."

This inscription was found in the outer wall of a church in Bodena. Its exact date is not known, but the phrase, ἀναπανσαμένη ἐν Χριστῷ, marks it as belonging to the Christian era.

Since the last part of l. 6 and the first part of l. 8 are wanting, the exact relationship of the phrase, βουλῆς κόσμον ἀμὴν, to the context cannot be determined with certainty. In the New Testament the word βουλή almost invariably means "counsel," and κόσμος frequently denotes "men," or "the ungodly multitude." That the inscription is of a religious character is evident. The opening words of the sentence beginning on l. 4, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, are used at the present time in the liturgy of the Greek church. The ἀμὴν at the close of the sentence is the word commonly employed in ending a prayer. The thought expressed is that of petition or prayer. It thus appears that βουλῆς is here used in the closing phrase of a prayer, and that it is an abstract term having a usage parallel to that found in the New Testament. In Luke 7:30, τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ denotes the counsel of God (cf. Acts 2:23; 20:27, etc.). The βουλή in the inscription pretty certainly denotes counsel, and probably κόσμος denotes the ungodly people. According to this interpretation there seems to be a contrast between the prayers and supplications of the angels and of the prophets on the one hand, and the counsel of the world on the other.

(3)

50

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ [ὁ δῆμος] Ποπίλιον  
 Σουμμον νεώτερον.

The whole of this inscription is extant and is here transcribed. It was found in the ruins of an old wall in Beroea, a city of Macedonia

lying about seven hours south of Edessa, and twelve west of Thessalonica. The date is not known, but the Latin name, Ποπίλιος Σοῦμμος, points to the Roman period. The two following inscriptions (51, 52) belong to the same place, and probably to about the same time.

In monumental inscriptions the name of the person or persons erecting the monument, and the name of the person for whom it was erected are usually given, while the verb of erecting or setting up is often omitted. It here appears that the βουλὴ and the δῆμος erected a monument to Ποπίλιος Σοῦμμος νεώτερος. The term βουλὴ is used in its technical sense referring to a civil body, the council of the city.

(4)

51

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι  
Κ. Ποπίλλιον Πρόκλον Ἰουνια-  
νὸν Πύθωνα τὸν γυμνασίαρχον  
ἀλείψαντα καὶ λούσαντα δι' ὅλης  
ἡμέρας πανδημεί.

5

The whole of this inscription is extant, and is here transcribed. For place and date see I. A. (3). It reads as follows: "The Council and the boys erect this monument to C. Popillius Proclus Junianus Python the gymnasiarch who spent his time anointing and bathing the boys throughout the whole day."

It is to be observed that the βουλὴ and the νέοι are represented as acting together in erecting a monument in honor of the gymnasiarch. This is the only instance in the Macedonian inscriptions in which the βουλὴ and the νέοι are thus associated. Elsewhere, such official action is always attributed either to ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, or to either one of these bodies acting by itself. In this case, however, the boys share with the βουλὴ in honoring the gymnasiarch, because in his official capacity as superintendent of the gymnasia he had devoted all his time to caring for the boys. This does not indicate that the νέοι had a political standing.

(5)

52

Βεροια[ί]ων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ [δῆμος]  
Τι . . . . αἰον Πτολεμαῖον  
. . . . την τῶν σεβαστῶν

This inscription is in a badly mutilated condition, and is here transcribed. It was found in a church in Beroea. It appears that the βουλὴ

and the δῆμος erected a monument in honor of the person whose name is partly obliterated in l. 2.

It is expressly stated that this is the βουλὴ of the Beroeans. In Nos. 50 and 52 δῆμος has been restored by the editor. In No. 50 it may have been originally ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι, as in 51:1, and in 52:1 there is also the possibility of such a restoration as νέοι. These are the only inscriptions found in Beroea in which the βουλὴ is mentioned, and in each case it is used in a technical sense, denoting a political body. The only unusual feature in its usage is its association with the νέοι in 51:1.

- (6) 258  
 10 κ(αὶ) τελευτῶν οὐδὲ τῆς  
 κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τε(ι)μῆς ἡμέλησεν,  
 . . . . .  
 16 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ  
 τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σεμνότητα κ(αὶ) βούλησιν  
 ἀποδέξασθαι  
 . . . . .  
 26 τῆς τῶν τῆς βουλῆς δηναρίων Λούκιος  
 Λουκρήτιος Πούδης.

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only those clauses are here transcribed which contain the term βουλὴ. It was found at Tzepikobon, a small town about five hours from Bitolia in Pelagonia, and about one hundred and thirty-seven miles from Thessalonica. The date (243) contained in the inscription if reckoned from the Achaean era (146 B.C.) corresponds to 97 A.D.

Beginning at the middle of l. 9, the inscription runs thus: "Inasmuch as Philo both greatly honored his own native land, and when dying lacked nothing of honor toward the βουλὴ, but left to it, by will, 1,500 denarii on the condition that from the interest accruing from it annually the Council should celebrate a festive day in honor of Οὐέττιος Βωλανός to be held on the fourteenth day before the Calends of November, it is decreed by the βουλὴ to accept the offer of Philo in the proposed conditions written by him in the will, to receive the money, and, from the interest on it, to celebrate annually the festal day, and not to spend any of the principal for other need, nor to spend any of the interest except as Philo who gave it had planned. The money was counted and the curator of the βουλὴ received it."



Since the *δῆμος* is not mentioned in this inscription, it may be inferred either that the *βουλή* was the only governmental body in Tzepikobon, or that the matter in question—that of accepting a bequest—was one which belonged to the functions of the *βουλή* apart from the *δῆμος*. Coming, as it does, at the close of the first century A.D., it is of first-rate importance in determining the authority of the *βουλή* in this part of Macedonia during the New Testament period.

It is seen that at Tzepikobon at this time:

- a) The *πολιτάρχαι* convened the council (ll. 5-6).
- b) That money might be left by will (*κατὰ διαθήκην*) to the *βουλή* to be expended for public purposes as directed by the testator.
- c) That the *βουλή* had authority to accept such a bequest and to carry out the required conditions.
- d) The *βουλή* had an officer who took charge of money committed to it.

(7)

365

8

κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίσ-

9

[τῆς βουλῆ]ης καὶ τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσματα.

Only a part of this inscription is preserved, and the part which is found is in a very fragmentary condition. A part of ll. 8 and 9 is here transcribed. It was found in Thessalonica, and contains its own date, 289 (l. 14), which corresponds to 143 A.D.

The name of the person who is referred to as having left to the city of Thessalonica a legacy is partly defaced so that editors differ as to whether it is the name of a man or of a woman. According to the restoration of Dimitzas it was a woman who made the bequest (ll. 5-6), but according to Hogarth it was a man (*Jour. Hell. Studies*, VIII, 1887, 363).

The inscription as we possess it is so fragmentary that it is hardly safe to venture on a translation of it. Hogarth says: "It is too fragmentary to do more than conjecture that it refers to certain hunting-grounds left by the will of one Herennius, either to the city of Thessalonica or to some religious foundation therein, and the object of the inscription would seem to be to record the terms of their future regulation" (*Jour. Hell. Studies*, VIII, 1887, 362). In addition to this statement it is seen that these games were to be conducted, according to the terms decreed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*, by those who were politarchs. Then follow the names of the politarchs, the time of the year at which the games were to be held, and the date of the inscription.



In Tzepikobon it is the *βουλή* alone which is represented as receiving money through a bequest. Here it is the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* acting together who accept the money and direct the use of it according to the terms of the *διαθήκη*. This tends to show that the cities of Macedonia did not have a uniform political system. There is a difference of forty-six years in the dates of these two inscriptions (258 and 365), but when compared with other inscriptions, some of an earlier and some of a later date, it is seen that the difference in time will not account for the fact that at Tzepikobon there is only one political body mentioned, while at Thessalonica there are two, the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*, exercising precisely the same functions as those of the *βουλή* at Tzepikobon. The terms *σύνκλητος* (l. 5) and *βουλή* (l. 9) are used interchangeably.

(8)

668

5

"Αλλαι μὲν βουλαὶ ἀνθρώπων,  
ἄλλα δὲ θεὸς κελεύει.

The whole of this inscription is extant, and the last two lines are here transcribed. It was found in a church in Thessalonica, and bears the date 1705 A.D. It is apparently an inscription of dedication at a time when the church was repaired or rebuilt. It is stated in the inscription that these things took place at the departure of the most holy Ignatius from the island of Lesbos. The two lines which are transcribed seem to be in the form of a proverb: "Men counsel one thing, but otherwise God commands."

The use of *βουλή* here is of value solely as showing what modern Greek usage is. It has the same meaning as that which it usually has in the New Testament, "counsel" or "purpose."

(9)

671

1

"Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῷ δῆμῳ.

8

δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῷ δῆμῳ.

17

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὴν  
βουλὴν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον.

20

"Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῷ δῆμῳ

- 27 δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ  
 'Ἡ πόλις Θεσσαλονικέων Δηλίων τῇ  
 46 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only those portions of it are here transcribed in which the term (*βουλή*) under consideration at this point occurs. It was found in Delos in 1885, and contains three decrees. According to Dimitsas (*Μακ.*, I, 565), it belongs within the period 220–215 B.C.

## FIRST DECREE

Because of the completeness and importance of this inscription, and inasmuch as it affords a good illustration of the form and character of many of these inscriptions, a translation of the whole of it is here appended: "It is decreed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*; Boulon the son of Tunnon made the motion. Since Admetos while a *πρόξενος* (at Delos) supplied many great necessities to the temple and to the Delians, both publicly and privately, always to whoever of the citizens chanced to meet him, and in order therefore that the *δῆμος* appear grateful to as many as honor the temple, and have been publicly announced as showing kindness to the *βουλή* of Delos; be it decreed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* to honor him with the sacred crown of laurel and with two bronze images, and that the sacred herald proclaim him publicly in the theater during the sacrifices to Apollo, and whenever the choruses of boys contend let proclamation be made; and let the *δῆμος* of Delos adorn Admetos Bokros a Macedonian with the sacred crown of laurel and with two bronze images on account of his reverence toward the temple and of his good-will toward the *δῆμος* of Delos, and let the *βουλή* inscribe this decree in the council chamber, and let the sacred officers inscribe it in the temple. Cynthiades the son of Teleson put it to the vote."

## SECOND DECREE

"It is decreed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*. Boulon the son of Tunnon made the motion. Since Admetos the *πρόξενος* supplied many great needs to the temple and the *δῆμος* of Delos, both publicly and privately, always, to whoever of the citizens chanced to meet him; and in order therefore that the *δῆμος* appear grateful, to as many as honor the temple and have been proclaimed for showing them kindness; with good luck, be it decreed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* to set up two

bronze images of the *πρόξενος* Admetos, the one in the temple and the other in Thessalonica, and to set the one in the temple beside the altar of the god of the city, and to inscribe upon the image this inscription; 'The *δῆμος* of Delos erects this to Admetos the son of Bokros a Macedonian, on account of his valor and of his piety toward the temple and of his good-will for the *δῆμος* of Delos;' and to send an envoy who when he arrives at Thessalonica shall hand over the decrees, and shall require the *δῆμος* of Thessalonica, since it is a friend and kindred of the *δῆμος* of Delos, to give a place as good as possible for the setting up of the crown and of the image of Admetos, containing the same inscription which the *δῆμος* set up also in Delos, and doing these things they will show gratitude to the *δῆμος* of Delos. Cynthiades the son of Teleson put it to the vote. Boulon the son of Tunnon was chosen envoy."

## THIRD DECREE

"The city of Thessalonica to the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* of Delos greeting. Boulon who was sent an envoy by you, having arrived and having delivered over the decrees by means of which you honored Admetos the son of Bokros, and having come into the *ἐκκλησία*, and making a speech in accordance with the things decreed, we accepted these things in accordance with your wish, and of the decree in which we submitted to the demand made by you we have sent you the copy just as you see it. Sosipater the president, and the . . . Menander, Nicodemos, Philodemos, Hippias . . . made a motion. Since Boulon who was sent by the *δῆμος* of Delos an envoy to the city (Thessalonica) delivered up the decrees in which the *δῆμος*, having advised to render thanks to Admetos the son of Bokros on account of his good deeds, has adorned him with the divine crown of laurel and with two bronze images of which it was voted to place one in the sacred place beside the altar of the god of the city, and to place the other in Thessalonica, and the inscribing of the crown and the setting up of the image shall be executed just as it was written in the inscription by the decree, and they esteemed our city worthy affectionately to give to him as good a place as possible both in accordance with the things decreed and with the speech of Boulon; be it decreed by the *βουλή*, to commend the *δῆμος* of Delos, because it gave thanks to the Thessalonian fellow-citizens of Admetos when it crowned him on account of the good deeds mentioned, esteeming him worthy of the things decreed, and be it decreed that the one presiding over the contests pay for the inscribing of the



crown and for the setting up of the image on whatever place seemed best to the members of the *βουλή*."

The first decree (ll. 1-19) was passed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* of Delos in honor of Admetos of Thessalonica who was a *πρόξενος* at Delos. On account of his benefactions to the temple and to the people of Delos it was decreed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* that the herald should proclaim him in the theater during the games, and crown him with the sacred crown of laurel, and the *βουλή* was to inscribe this decree in their council chamber, and the temple officers were to inscribe it in the temple.

The second decree (ll. 20-45) is similar to the first, with two additions, the one concerning the placing of one of the images of Admetos in the temple beside the altar of Zeus, and the other referring to the choosing of Boulon to go as an envoy to Thessalonica with this decree.

The third decree (ll. 46-77) pertains to the receiving of the envoy from Delos by the *ἐκκλησία* of Thessalonica, and the reply of Thessalonica to Delos. It relates that Boulon the envoy from Delos had been received at a meeting of the *ἐκκλησία*, and that in a speech before that body he had presented to them the request of Delos that they also share in honoring Admetos. His plea was favorably received by the *βουλή* of Thessalonica, and they decreed that one of the bronze images of Admetos should be set up in Thessalonica, and that the crown be inscribed, in accordance with the request of Delos.

It is seen from this inscription:

a) That both of these cities, Delos and Thessalonica, possessed a *βουλή* and a *δῆμος*.

b) That the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* of Delos passed a decree honoring the *πρόξενος* from Thessalonica for the services he had rendered to Delos.

c) That upon the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* devolved the duty and the right to decide where the decree should be inscribed, and the statues set up.

d) That official matters between two cities were transacted by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* of the respective cities, through the agency of an envoy (*πρεσβευτής*).

e) That the man chosen as envoy was also a member of the *βουλή*.

f) That the *βουλή* of Thessalonica took the initiative and recommended to the *δῆμος* that Admetos should be honored, but that the final authority in dealing with the matter rested with the *δῆμος*.



(10)

675

36

δεδοχθαι Ληταίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only the clause in which the term *βουλή* occurs is here transcribed. It was inscribed on a large stone slab, and was found in the village of Aivati, a small town four hours north of Thessalonica, in Mygdonia. The date contained in the inscription (l. 49) corresponds to 117 B.C.

The inscription records that the politarchs of the city of Lete, in a *προβούλευμα*, proclaimed the Roman treasurer Marcus Annius a benefactor of Macedonia and of their own city, and they erected to his honor a stone slab in the market-place on which they placed this inscription, because he had twice fought with them against hostile invaders, and had in each case defeated the enemy. For this double victory the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* voted to crown him, and to establish in his honor a cavalry contest to be held once a year. Beginning at the middle of l. 36 it reads as follows: "Because of which be it decreed by the *βουλή* and by the *δῆμος* to praise Marcus Annius the son of Poplius, the Roman treasurer, and to crown him with the olive wreath, and to establish for him a cavalry contest, in the month of *Δαίσιος*."

It appears that at this time Lete had local self-government, and that here, as well as in Thessalonica, there were two political bodies, a *βουλή* and a *δῆμος*.

As to the relation of the *βουλή* to the *δῆμος*, and their method of conducting business, it is seen that the *βουλή* took the initiative (671:70, 675:2-3). The *βουλή* first held a meeting by itself, in which it took any matter of business under its own consideration and formulated a statement regarding it, which was then presented to the *δῆμος* at a joint meeting of the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*. This preliminary statement was drawn up in the form of a resolution, and was called a *προβούλευμα*, and if approved by a vote of the *δῆμος* it became an authoritative decree. At Lete this *προβούλευμα* was presented to the *δῆμος* by the *πολιτάρχαι*, a variation from the usage of Athens where the office of *πολιτάρχης* did not exist. In Athens the *προβούλευμα* was usually presented to the *δῆμος* by the herald, and defended before the assembly (*ἐκκλησία*, the joint meeting of the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*) by the man who first made the motion in the *βουλή* (Cf. Gilbert, *Greek Const. Ant.*, pp. 293-96).

The *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* voted to grant certain honors to Marcus Annius, the Roman treasurer, and to choose three envoys (*πρεσβευταί*)

from among the *βουλευταί* (l. 40), who should convey to Marcus Anniius the proposal of the *δῆμος* to honor him, and to urge upon him the acceptance of these honors. They also provided for the writing and the setting-up of this decree in a public place. In this case the writing of the decree and the setting-up of the stele were to be in the hands of the *πολιτάρχαι* and of the treasurer of the city. Lete had its own local treasurer, and the jurisdiction of the Roman treasurer seems to have extended over matters of general interest, rather than to matters of the local city government.

(11)

1130

3

κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς καὶ δήμου

5

δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ

The whole of this inscription is extant, and the two clauses in which the term *βουλή* occurs are transcribed. It was found at Thasos. The exact date to which it belongs is not known, but according to Perrot it is to be assigned to the period immediately preceding the time of Alexander the Great (Dim., *Μακ.* II, p. 856).

It is a decree passed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* of Thasos praising a certain Poluaretos and granting to him the rights of citizenship because of his benefactions to the city of Thasos, and to the people privately, while he was *πρόξενος* at Thasos.

Beginning on l. 2 it reads thus: "The *θεῦροί* made the inscription according to the decree of the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*. With good luck; since Polyaretos the son of Hystias, being a *πρόξενος* and a benefactor of the city, has been a good man toward the city of Thasos, and does whatever good he can, both publicly to the city and privately to whoever chances to meet him; be it decreed by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* to praise Polyaretos the son of Hystias on account of his valor and of his good-will toward the city of Thasos, and that Polyaretos be a citizen," etc.

It appears from this inscription that Thasos had a *βουλή* and a *δῆμος*, three *ἄρχοντες* (l. 1), and three *θεῦροί* who inscribed this decree (ll. 2, 10).

(12)

1140

Σῶμα κόρης ἀρπαχθὲν ἀηλίκῳ εὐθαλεῖ ὥρῃ  
παρθένου ἀνθοφόρου τύμβος ὃδ' ἐγκατέχει.  
ψυχὴ δ' ἀθανάτων βουλαῖς ἐπιδήμιός ἐστιν  
ἄστροις, καὶ ἱερὸν χῶρον ἔχει μακάριον.

The whole of this mortuary inscription is extant. The first four lines are here transcribed. It was found in Thasos. The date has not been determined. The contrast between body and soul which occurs here (ll. 1-3) is found as early as Plato (*Tim.* 42b-d). A translation of the portion which is transcribed is as follows: "This tomb contains within it the body of a girl, a flower-bearing virgin, snatched away in the tender bloom of immaturity. But the soul by the counsels of the immortals is sojourning in the stars, and has a sacred, happy abode."

Liddell and Scott refer to this inscription under the word *ἀνθοφόρος* which they interpret as denoting a flower-bearer in a religious rite. There is a contrast between *σῶμα* (l.1) and *ψυχή* (l.3). The contrast is not only between the *σῶμα* and the *ψυχή*, but also between their places of abode. The tomb holds the body of the maid, but her soul, by the counsels of the immortals, is sojourning (*ἐπιδήμιος*; cf. *Ap. Rh.*, I, 827) among the stars, and has a sacred, happy abode. It thus appears that this inscription is of a religious character, and that it discloses to us the conception of the writers as to the existence of the soul after it has left the body.

As the term *βουλή* is here used it evidently means counsels, and is used in an abstract rather than a concrete sense. The latter is usual in the inscriptions. The usage of *βουλή* in this inscription is of significance in its bearing upon its usage in the New Testament, because it is here used in the abstract sense with a meaning similar to that which it has in the New Testament, and because there is a certain influence or authority attributed to the counsels (*βουλαί*) of the immortals. A similar conception meets us in the New Testament, where seven out of the thirteen occurrences of *βουλή* are used of the counsel of God, and to the counsel of God is ascribed an authority similar to that which it has in the inscription. The *βουλή* of God has an ethical value, and expresses an ethical principle, or standard of conduct for man. In Luke 7:30 the *νομικοί* are regarded as making a wrong choice morally when they set aside the *βουλή* of God. In the inscription the *βουλαί* of the immortals are associated with the welfare of a soul, and determine its place of abode. The *βουλαί* of the immortals and the *βουλή* of God are both related to the well-being of the soul.

(13)

1141

2

κατ[ὰ] ψήφισμα [βουλῆς καὶ δήμου.

Only a fragment of this inscription is preserved. There is not one complete line of the original inscription left. The restoration of *βουλή*



in the line transcribed rests on good authority; it is supported by comparison with other inscriptions. We are, however, not dependent upon this restoration for the fact that there was a *βουλή* at Thasos where this inscription was found.

(14)

1369

21

καὶ ὁμόσαι τοῦ δήμου ὃν ἂν ἡ βουλή συγγράφη

Only a part of this inscription is found. There is no means of telling how much of it has been lost, but only the latter portion of it now remains. There is but one occurrence of the term *βουλή* in the extant part of it. It was found at Thasos where it had been built into the wall of a Byzantine church, and belongs to the year 411 B.C. It records the revolutionary action of the oligarchical party which in that year attempted, and for a time successfully, to overthrow the government of the *δῆμος* (Thucyd. VIII).

It appears from this inscription that:

a) The oligarchy canceled all special privileges formerly granted by the *δῆμος* (ll. 1-4).

b) Rewards were voted to those who had assisted in the revolution (ll. 4-5).

c) The oligarchy restored to civic rights all those who had been exiled by the *δῆμος* (ll. 5-9).

d) It promised certain honors and immunities to anyone who would contribute money to the city (ll. 9-12).

e) Provision was made in this decree against a counter-revolution by voting that this decree was to be permanent.

f) This decree was to be inscribed and set up in a public place (ll. 16-17).

g) Copies of the decree were to be inscribed and preserved (ll. 17-19).

h) An oath of allegiance to the new government was demanded (ll. 19-21). The line transcribed above reads: "And whomever of the *δῆμος* the *βουλή* write down shall take the oath." The *δῆμος* here referred to (l. 21) was a nominal body of five thousand, created by the oligarchy, but without any active part in the government. It must not be confounded with the *δῆμος* mentioned in l. 2, whose authority was for a time set aside by the oligarchy.

The term *βουλή* is here used with reference to the oligarchy, and does not have the same connotation as in the other Macedonian inscriptions. This body which is here called a *βουλή* was opposed to the



democratic principles of government for which the *βουλή* and the *δημος* of other Macedonian cities stood. It appears, therefore, that the term *βουλή* does not always carry with it a reference to the kind of organization for which it stands. It may be applied to political bodies representing fundamentally different conceptions of government. This fact may be of importance in considering the different names by which Josephus designates the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem.

In the Macedonian inscriptions the word *βουλή*, or some form of it, is found in fourteen inscriptions, and in these it occurs twenty-two times. In addition to this, the word *βουλευτής*, which occurs in 744:1, indicates the existence of a *βουλή* at Olynthus. In two of these inscriptions (668:5; 1140:3) the plural number occurs with the meaning of counsels or plans, and in 37:8 the singular number of the noun is found, in a prayer, with the same meaning. In every other occurrence of the word in the inscriptions it is used in its technical sense denoting one of the civil bodies commonly found in these Macedonian cities, Edessa (1, 37), Beroea (50, 51, 52), Tzepikobon (258), Thessalonica (365, 668), Lete (675), Olynthus (744), and in two other cities which Dimitzas designates as Macedonian, Delos (671) and Thasos (1130, 1140, 1141, 1369).

The time covered by these inscriptions which refer to the *βουλή* extends from the latter part of the fifth century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D., and probably later in several instances.

In the following table is given a list of those towns or cities in which there is mention of a *βουλή*, the number of the inscription, and the date of each so far as they are known. It will be seen that these cities extend to every part of Macedonia, and, in point of time, the *βουλή* is met with, as a civil or governmental body in these cities during a period of at least six centuries.

Name of City	No. of Inscription	Date
Thasos.....	{ 1130 1140, 1141 1369	Preceding the time of Alexander the Great ? 411 B.C.
Delos.....	671	220-215 B.C.
Lete.....	675	117 B.C.
Tzepikobon.....	258	97 A.D.
Thessalonica.....	365	143 A.D.
Edessa.....	{ 1 37	182 A.D. ?
Beroea.....	50, 51, 52	During the Roman period
Olynthus.....	744	?

As to the functions of the *βουλή*, members of it were frequently chosen as envoys. At Lete the *βουλή* prepared the *προβούλευμα*, but the politarchs presented it to the *δῆμος* (675:2-3). In Edessa the young men were formally registered as *ἔφηβοι* by a decree of the *βουλή* (1:1-6). In Tzepikobon the *βουλή* was convened by the politarchs (258). It had authority to receive legacies bequeathed to it for the benefit of the city. The *βουλή* had an officer who acted as treasurer for it (258). Upon the *βουλή*, sometimes in conjunction with the *δῆμος*, rested the responsibility of erecting public statues, setting up inscriptions, and in general, the care of public documents. They themselves did not personally take charge of the writing and setting up of inscriptions, or of the care of public documents, but they directed the officers who did take charge of all such work.

Thus far we have been considering the functions of the *βουλή*, but more often the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* are represented as acting together. That the *βουλή* had functions distinct from those of the *δῆμος* is seen in the matter of their bringing forward a *προβούλευμα* for the consideration of the *δῆμος* (675:2-3), but for the most part they are mentioned as acting together. They seem always to have been associated with some city, but whether or not their jurisdiction extended beyond their own local city is not known. They seemed to constitute the final authority in all civil and political matters.

Two distinct usages of *βουλή* have been observed in the inscriptions. The one in which *βουλή* denotes counsel or plan occurs only in three inscriptions (37:8; 668:5; 1140:3) of a religious character. One of these (1140:3) is a modern Greek inscription, hence there are only two instances of this usage which pertain to the New Testament period. This usage finds a parallel in the common use of the term in the New Testament. Not only is the meaning of the word the same in both, but there is also this in common, that the literature in which they occur is in both cases religious; in one of the inscriptions (37) it is pretty certainly Christian religious ideas that find expression; in the other (668) a Greek religious atmosphere forms the background in which the usage occurs. The difference in the proportion of usages between the inscriptions and the New Testament is to be accounted for by the difference of their subject-matter.

The other usage is the one almost invariably found in the inscriptions, that is, with a technical meaning denoting a political body. The inscriptions are for the most part of an official character. They contain records which are of interest to the public, and which are

generally given in a legal formula, and so the prevailing usage of *βουλή* is, in them, technical.

To this technical Macedonian usage there is a parallel, partial at least, in Palestinian usage where the chief governing body of the Jews was called a *βουλή* (Josephus, *B. J.*, II, xv, 6; II, xvi, 2; V, xiii, 1). Before reaching a final conclusion as to how far this parallel usage of the term *βουλή* denotes political bodies of like character and functions, it is necessary to examine the term *βουλευτής*, and also the terms *γερουσία* and *συνέδριον*, names by which the governing body of Jerusalem was designated.

The word *βουλευτής* occurs four times in the Macedonian inscriptions (671:77; 675:3, 49; 744:1).

(1)

671

καὶ δοῦναι τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶν[α]ς τῇ

75 μὲν ἀναγραφῇ τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ παρὰ . . . των ισ(?)

τηρων τῇ ἀναθέσει τῆς εἰκόνης ὃν ἂν [τόπον] δό[ξη].

τοῖς βουλευταῖς . . . . .

The most of this inscription is preserved. The part here transcribed is sufficient to illustrate the usage of *βουλευτής*. For the place and date of the inscription, and for the translation and explanation of it see I. A. (9).

It is seen, from the passage quoted, that the place for the setting-up of the image was to be chosen by the *βουλευταί*. Of the precise significance of the term *βουλευτής* this passage affords us no clear indication, but it is doubtless safe to assume that here as elsewhere the term is an official designation denoting a member of the *βουλή*. The members of the *βουλή* of Athens were referred to by the term *βουλευταί* (Arist. *Pol.* 45. 3). Much additional evidence might be cited to show that, in Athens, *βουλευτής* was the term commonly used to designate a member of the *βουλή*. In the Macedonian inscriptions there are two instances which tend strongly to show that a similar usage of the term obtained in Macedonia. In 675:2-3 it is stated that the *βουλευταί* drew up the *προβούλευμα*. In Athens this was a matter which pertained distinctly to the functions of the *βουλή*. There seems then to be a high degree of probability that the *βουλευταί* here mentioned were the members of the *βουλή* of Lete.

In 744:1 reference is made to the fact that a man was twice a *βουλευτής*. It is well known that in Athens a man was eligible for membership in the *βουλή* only twice (Arist. 62. 3). The evident intention in the inscription cited was to show that *Βαίβιος* had received the honor of being appointed a *βουλευτής* as often as it was permitted any man to receive that honor. The usage of the term *βουλευτής* in Macedonia seems then to accord with that of Athens. In both places it was used to denote a member of the *βουλή*.



(2)

675

2

Ληταίων οἱ πολιτάρχαι, προβουλευσαμέ-  
νων τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἔϊπαν.

49

καὶ εἰρέθησαν πρεσβευταὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν  
Ἄδαιος Ἀδαίου, Λύσων Φιλώτου, Ἀμύντας Λιέους.

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only the two clauses containing the term *βουλευτής* are here transcribed. For the place to which it belongs and its date see I.A. (10).

In the first reference, quoted above, it is stated that "the *βουλευταί* having drawn up the *προβούλευμα*, the politarchs of Lete made the motion." That is, the politarchs introduced, by a formal resolution, the *προβούλευμα* at a meeting of the *ἐκκλησία*. In the latter clause, "the envoys were chosen from the *βουλευταί*." These envoys were delegated to convey to the Roman treasurer the vote of honor conferred upon him by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* of Lete. In the discussion of the preceding inscription it was seen that a *βουλευτής* was a member of the *βουλή*. Here it appears that the *βουλή* or its members, the *βουλευταί* drew up the *προβούλευμα* and that they were chosen as envoys for the city.

(3)

744

Λ. Βαίβιος, βουλευτὴς δῖς.

The whole of this inscription, consisting of five lines, is extant. The first line is here transcribed. It was found at Olynthus in Macedonia. The date is not known.

The man whose name appears in this inscription erected a monument to the memory of his wife. As already pointed out the important contribution which it makes is in showing that in Macedonia a man might twice be elected a *βουλευτής*, and, by inference from this fact, that it designates a member of the *βουλή*.

It thus appears that, generically, the term has the same meaning in the inscriptions as in the New Testament, but that the specific meaning is different. In both cases it is an official designation denoting a member of a body having governmental functions. But whereas in the inscriptions this body is the *βουλή* of a Greek city, in the New Testament it is the highest legislative and judicial body of the Jewish people, commonly called the Sanhedrin. It may perhaps be regarded as most probable that the employment of *βουλή* in Josephus, and of

*βουλευτής* in Mark 15:43 for the Jewish Council and one of its members respectively, is not the reflection of a common usage in Jewish Greek terminology, but a transfer to a Jewish body and one of its members of a Greek term which in strict Greek usage had a similar, though not identical significance, somewhat as if we today should speak of one of the *πολιτάρχαι* of Thessalonica as the mayor of the city. And Josephus may very well in this case be adapting his terminology to the common vocabulary of his readers.

## II.

## γερουσία

The term γερουσία occurs twice in the Macedonian inscriptions (1410:7; 1411:1).

(1)

1410

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
τὴν ἀξιολογωτά-  
την ἀρχιέρειαν  
Μεμμίαν Βελληί-  
νανμ Ἀλεξάνδραν τὸ  
σεμνότατον συν-  
έδριον τῆς γερου-  
σίας τὴν μητέρα  
εὐτευχῶς.

5

The whole of this inscription is extant and is here transcribed. It reads as follows: "With good luck, the most august συνέδριον erected this monument in honor of the most noteworthy high priestess Memmia Belleina Alexandra, the mother of the γερουσία, farewell."

In 1883 Mr. and Mrs. J. Theodore Bent discovered in Thasos a triumphal arch in front of which there stood two pedestals. On the southern base, on which a statue of more than life-size was placed, this inscription was found. As to its date Dimitzas says: "ἀνήκει εἰς τὸν β' . . . γ' αἰῶνα μ. Χ." (Μακ., II, 965, n. 1410). E. L. Hicks dates it within 212-17 A.D. (*Jour. Hell. Studies*, VIII, 1887, 424).

There is nothing given here to indicate that the γερουσία was different, as respects its functions, from the βουλή of the other inscriptions. The earlier inscriptions found in Thasos designated the governmental body by the term βουλή, even when that council was an oligarchy similar to the γερουσία of Sparta. Apparently the γερουσία here referred to is the same body that at an earlier period was called βουλή, the two names being interchangeable at this time.

(2)

1411

Ἡ γερουσία

2

The whole of this mortuary inscription is extant, containing twelve lines, in the second of which the term γερουσία occurs. It belongs to

the same time and place as the preceding inscription. The translation is as follows: "With good luck. The *γερονσία* erected this monument to Flavia Vibia Sabina the most noteworthy chief priestess and from her ancestors incomparable, mother of the *γερονσία*, the first and only one of those who from all time shared in equal honors with the members of the *γερονσία*."

Here again the *γερονσία* is exercising the functions which were generally attributed to the *βουλή*, or to the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*.

In Sparta the *γερονσία* was a council of twenty-eight members, besides the two kings (Hdt. 6. 57; Plut. *Lyc.* 5). Membership in it was limited to a certain class, that is to persons possessing a good social and financial standing, and the age required for admission to it was at least sixty years (Plut. *Lyc.* 26). Candidates for admission to it must be *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* (Arist. *Pol.* 2. 9, 22, 46, Newman's ed.). Membership was for life. The body was not accountable to any superior authority, or to the people for its official acts (Arist. *Pol.* 2. 9; Plut. *Lyc.* 26; Polyb. 6. 45. 2). In the middle of the fourth century B.C. Demosthenes, in writing concerning the *γερονσία* of Sparta, pointed out that certain qualifications were necessary for membership in it; membership in it was bestowed as a prize, or reward of merit and that within the *γερονσία* itself all the members shared equal privileges. Müller compares the Council of the Areopagos to the *γερονσία* of Sparta—"Daher die Sittenaufsicht der alten Gerichte, wie des Areopagos in Athen, so der Gerusia zu Sparta" (Müller, *Dorier*, II, xi, 215). He also adds: "Die Gerusia richtete alle peinlichen Klagen, wie auch die meisten, die den Lebenswandel der Bürger betrafen." A list of members of the *γερονσία* is given by Le Bas in his *Voyage en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, p. 173*a*.

The *γερονσία* had authority to pass sentence of death, and to it as a court of justice all cases of murder were brought. Aristotle in referring to the cases which come before the ephors for judgment says, *οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικὰς* (Arist. *Pol.* 3. 1. 10). There is evidence for the existence of a *γερονσία* at Ephesus, Crete, Elis, and Cnidus.

Sometimes the terms *βουλή* and *γερονσία* occur in the same inscription in such a way that it is difficult to decide whether both refer to the same body, or whether they point to the existence of a *βουλή* and a *γερονσία* side by side. Owing to the occurrence of both words *CIG*, 1241 Boeckh concludes (*CIG*, I, p. 610) that they denote different bodies, while Foucart regards the two as identical. In general, however, the terms *βουλή* and *γερονσία* are used with reference to different



cities, and denote political bodies differing as to their organization and possessing somewhat different functions.

During the Greek period the governing body at Jerusalem was called a *γερονσία*. In a letter written by Antiochus the Great to Ptolemy in 200 B.C. the following reference to the *γερονσία* occurs: *καὶ μετὰ τῆς γερονσίας ἀπαντησάντων* (Jos., *Ant.*, XII, iii, 3)—“Since the Jews, on our first entrance into their country, showed their friendship toward us, and when we came to their city received us in a splendid manner and came to meet us with their *γερονσία*.” Antiochus V, in a letter to the Jews in 164 B.C., sends greetings to the *γερονσία τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (II Macc. 11:27): “King Antiochus to the *γερονσία* of the Jews and to the other Jews, greeting.”

The following quotations will illustrate the position of prominence held by the *γερονσία* and in part the functions which it exercised: II Macc. 1:10: *καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ ἡ γερονσία καὶ Ἰούδας Ἀριστοβούλῳ*—“And they who are in Judea, and the *γερονσία* and Judas, to Aristobulus.”

II Macc. 4:44: *οἱ πεμφθέντες τρεῖς ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τῆς γερονσίας*—“the three men who were sent by the *γερονσία*.”

I Macc. 12:6: *Ἰωναθὰν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ ἡ γερονσία*—“Jonathan the high priest of the nation, and the *γερονσία*, and the priests and the rest of the people of the Jews, unto their brethren the Spartans, greeting.”

Judith 4:8: *καὶ ἡ γερονσία παντὸς δήμου Ἰσραὴλ*—“And the children of Israel did as Joakim the high priest had commanded them and the *γερονσία* of all the people of Israel, who dwelt at Jerusalem.”

Judith 11:14: *τὴν ἄφεσιν παρὰ τῆς γερονσίας*—“And they have sent some to Jerusalem, because they also that dwell there have done this thing, to bring to them the discharge from the *γερονσία*.”

Judith 15:8: *καὶ ἡ γερονσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ*—“And Joakim the high priest, and the *γερονσία* of the children of Israel who dwelt at Jerusalem came to behold the good things which the Lord had showed to Israel.”

As early as Antiochus the Great the council at Jerusalem was known as the *γερονσία*, and took an active part in all political, and religious matters of public interest. From 200 B.C., and possibly earlier, Greek writers were accustomed to speak of this Jewish Council as the *γερονσία*. The earliest definite reference to it is that of Antiochus in 200 B.C. It is quite probable that this body at Jerusalem owed its organization to the spread of Greek political ideas, and that the name *γερονσία* was first applied to it by the Greeks, but on both of these points there is a

lack of trustworthy evidence. At all events, the name *γερονσία* was not peculiar to the Jewish people. The Spartans and other Doric states had from very early times been familiar with a *γερονσία*.

In the Septuagint the word *γερονσία* has been used twenty-five times as a translation for *זִקְנָיִם*, and once for *בְּנֵי*, but this does not imply that there was any such organization of the elders in the Old Testament period as we find in the second century B.C.

In 200 B.C. when Antiochus the Great addressed a letter to the *γερονσία* at Jerusalem the terms *βουλή* and *γερονσία* were both familiar to Greek writers. The *βουλή* of Athens and the *γερονσία* of Sparta were two well-known political bodies, each having marked characteristics of its own. The term of office in the *βουλή* of Athens was one year, and its members were subject to examination for their official conduct. In the *γερονσία* of Sparta membership was for life, and was independent of any other authority.

The *βουλή* of Athens was composed of five hundred members and a man was eligible for membership in it at thirty years of age (Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 35). As to the *γερονσία* of Sparta, a man must be at least sixty years old before he was admitted to it, and the number of its members was limited to twenty-eight. In other cities the number varied, but it was always small. It appears then that the *βουλή* was the more democratic organization, and the *γερονσία* the more aristocratic and exclusive.

That the governmental body at Jerusalem was, at this early date, called a *γερονσία* seems to indicate that it was more closely related, in its organization and functions, to the Doric *γερονσία* than to the *βουλή* of Athens. The historical development of the Council at Jerusalem tends to confirm this view.

About the middle of the first century B.C. a change seems to have occurred in the name of this council. In 57-55 B.C. Gabinius divided the whole of the Jewish *ἔθνος* into five *σίνοδοι* (*B. J.*, I, viii, 5), one of which was at Jerusalem. What Gabinius really did at this time is more clearly stated in *Ant.*, XIV, v, 4, where it is said that he divided *τὸ ἔθνος* into equal parts or divisions and appointed five *συνέδρια*, one of which was to be in Jerusalem. The term *συνέδριον* is here applied by Josephus to the council at Jerusalem, as well as to the other four. This is the language in which Josephus describes what Gabinius did, but it is not thereby necessarily the terminology of Gabinius himself. We cannot therefore affirm that the council at Jerusalem was designated as a *συνέδριον* by Gabinius.

In 47 B.C. Hyrcanus II was reappointed ἐθνάρχης of the Jews at Jerusalem. In that year he summoned Herod from Galilee to appear before the συνέδριον at Jerusalem to answer an accusation of murder which had been made against him (Jos., *Ant.*, XIV, ix, 3-5). Here, for the first time, so far as can be learned, the term συνέδριον is unmistakably used to designate the council at Jerusalem, formerly known as the γερονσία, for it is uncertain whether Gabinius himself used the term at the earlier date.

Elsewhere συνέδριον is frequently used to denote courts of justice. Hesychius defines συνέδριον by δικάστηριον. In Prov. 22:10, συνέδριον is used to translate דִּין. In the Mishna, Sanhedrin I. 5, סנהדריות לשבטים = "courts for the tribes." The employment of συνέδριον to denote this council at Jerusalem may tend to show that there was a growing emphasis placed upon the judicial functions of the Council. In this connection it is important to observe that Le Bas et Waddington (*Inscr.* III, n. 1221) mention the βουλευταί and the συνεδροί as two distinct classes of officers. While, from the beginning of the first century B.C. συνέδριον seems to be the usual name for the Council at Jerusalem, yet it is not the only name by which it was designated. It was also called the γερονσία and the βουλή.

The term γερονσία occurs only once in the New Testament (Acts 5:21), and there has been much difference of opinion as to its meaning in that passage. The difficulty there arises from the fact that both συνέδριον and γερονσία are used, connected by καί. Either one of these words, if occurring by itself, would be readily understood as referring to the Sanhedrin. As it is, however, commentators are unable to agree as to its meaning here. Some of the passages already quoted under γερονσία may afford some light on its meaning in Acts, which reads: τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερονσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. A phrase similar to the latter half of this occurs in Judith 15:8, ἡ γερονσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ where it is evidently used as a designation for the Sanhedrin. A somewhat similar phrase, referring to the Sanhedrin is found in II Macc. 11:27, τῇ γερονσίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. These phrases show that so far as the form of expression in Acts is concerned, γερονσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ may denote the Sanhedrin. Meyer, Stier, Alford and others regard γερονσία, in Acts, as a more general term than συνέδριον, and include under it elders who were not members of the Sanhedrin. Lumby, in the "Cambridge Bible" series, takes συνέδριον as referring to another and smaller council than the Sanhedrin. Wendt takes both words as denoting the same council, with the καί as an



explicative. Schürer thinks that both words certainly refer to the same body, and that either *καί* is to be taken as an explicative, or that the author of the Acts was mistaken in supposing that *συνέδριον* was a less comprehensive term than *γερονσία*. He inclines to accept the latter view.

Inasmuch as it has been shown that *συνέδριον* was, at this time, the name commonly used to designate the Sanhedrin, and that *γερονσία*, in almost the same phraseology as that used in the New Testament, was used to denote the Sanhedrin, there seems to be a high degree of probability in favor of the view that both terms denote the Sanhedrin in Acts. In addition to the above statement regarding the *γερονσία* it is seen in the inscriptions (1410:7; 1411:2) that it was used to denote the governmental body of a city as late as the beginning of the third century A.D.

As respects the term *συνέδριον* it is found only once in the inscriptions (1410:6). For place and date and translation of this inscription see II. (1). It may there have one of two possible meanings. Either it was used to denote assembly in the general sense of that term, or it was used in the technical sense denoting the governmental body of the city. The former alternative, taking it in the more general sense, is apparently the correct interpretation.

In the first mention which we have of *συνέδριον* as a name for the Council at Jerusalem it is with reference to its exercising the functions of a court of justice, and in later times it is used with increasing frequency to designate a court of justice. In the New Testament it occurs twenty-two times, and, in all but three instances, it is used of the Council at Jerusalem in its exercise of judicial functions. Twice it is used of the local courts (Matt. 10:17; Mark 13:9), and once it occurs with the meaning of a session or a meeting of the Sanhedrin (John 11:47).

Notwithstanding this almost uniform usage of the New Testament it is seen that Josephus uses all three terms, *βουλή*, *γερονσία*, and *συνέδριον* to denote the Sanhedrin. Under the term *βουλή* he refers to it in (1) *B. J.*, II, xv. 6: *καὶ μεταπεψάμενος τοὺς τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλήν*. Here, Florus, the Roman procurator at Jerusalem, sent for the priests and the *βουλή* to arrange terms of peace. (2) *B. J.*, II, xvi. 2: *ἐνθα καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή παρὴν δεξιουμένη τὸν βασιλέα*. On this occasion the chief priests, together with the men of power, and the *βουλή* came to meet King Agrippa and Neopolitanus, a Roman envoy, to present to them



their grievances against Florus. (3) In *B. J.*, II, xiv. 1, the local courts are referred to under the term *βουλή*. In *B. J.*, II, xvii. 1, the term *βουλευταί* is used with reference to the Sanhedrin. (4) In *B. J.*, V, xiii, 1, the *γραμματεὺς* of the *βουλή* was put to death by Simon during the war with Rome. This has an additional interest for us in the fact that it shows the existence of the office of *γραμματεὺς* of the *βουλή* in Jerusalem.

The term *γερονσία* occurs, at least, three times in Josephus: *Ant.*, IV, viii. 16: αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεων . . . , καὶ ἡ γερονσία . . . οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ ἡ γερονσία τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης. This passage states that if a murder had been committed, and the murderer could not be found, that the ἀρχαί and the γερονσία of the nearest adjoining cities or towns were required to measure the distance, from where the murdered man was found, to these cities, and the one nearest to where the murdered man lay was then required to perform the following rite: The ἱερεῖς, the Λευῖται and the γερονσία were to wash their hands over the head of a slain heifer, and publicly proclaim themselves innocent of the blood of the dead man. From this it appears that each city had a γερονσία, and that the γερονσία in these cities had to deal with judicial matters, and with religious rites. In this instance the γερονσία is represented as co-operating with other officers in trying to determine who was responsible for the murder, but it is not, strictly speaking, acting in a judicial capacity. In *Ant.* XII, iii, 3, Antiochus is calling attention to the good-will shown to him by the Jews, who with their γερονσία came out to meet him. The paragraph in *Ant.*, XIII, v. 8 is of special interest to us in this discussion inasmuch as the βουλή of Rome, the γερονσία of Jerusalem, and the γερονσία of Sparta are all mentioned. Two envoys (πρεσβευταί), members of the γερονσία of Jerusalem, were sent to Rome in 144 B.C. to renew a treaty made under Onias I, and they were to go on a similar errand to Sparta. At Rome these envoys were received by the βουλή, and at Sparta by the γερονσία. All three of these bodies, the βουλή of Rome, the γερονσία of Sparta and the γερονσία of Jerusalem are represented as acting in a political capacity, each having authority to arrange treaties for their respective cities. The sending of this embassy took place about a century before there is any explicit mention of a συνέδριον at Jerusalem, or more accurately, before the Council at Jerusalem is called by that name. At that time γερονσία was the common name for the Council at Jerusalem, and Josephus in describing the event may be using the terms which were used in 144 B.C.

Josephus also refers to the Sanhedrin under the term συνέδριον: *Ant.*, XIV, ix. 3-5, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατακριθείη τοῦτο παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου. The authority to pass the sentence of death is here ascribed to the συνέδριον of Jerusalem. In the two paragraphs following this one the word συνέδριον occurs eight times denoting the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, and once the plural is used with reference to the members of the Sanhedrin. In *Ant.*, XV, vi, 2, it is implied that the συνέδριον at Jerusalem had authority to pass sentence of death upon a criminal. In *Ant.*, XX, ix, i, the word συνέδριον occurs twice, with reference to its passing sentence of death upon James the Just. But it appears that this sentence could not be executed without the consent of the Roman procurator, Albinus, and it happened on this occasion that Albinus revoked the sentence of death passed by the συνέδριον of Jerusalem.

In Josephus, as well as in the New Testament, the term συνέδριον denotes the Sanhedrin acting in a judicial capacity, and never as a legislative or civic body. This coincidence is all the more remarkable inasmuch as Josephus uses other terms, βουλή and γερονσία to denote the Sanhedrin exercising political or governmental functions. This investigation tends to show that the term συνέδριον as it was employed in the New Testament period to designate the council at Jerusalem, was used with reference to it as a judicial body, and that when this council was referred to as exercising civic or governmental functions it was commonly called the βουλή or the γερονσία. It seems to be highly probable that from about the middle of the first century B.C. the name συνέδριον became the common designation for the council at Jerusalem, but the earlier name, γερονσία, still survived side by side with the new, with perhaps a more distinct reference to its legislative functions.

## III.

## δῆμος

The word δῆμος is found in sixteen of the Macedonian inscriptions, and in these it occurs thirty-seven times, or including five restorations by the editor, forty-two times. The following table gives a list of the inscriptions containing δῆμος, the name of the city to which each belongs, and their respective dates. In some instances the dates are given only approximately, as the exact date cannot always be ascertained. Further investigation may also change some of the dates which are here accepted.

No. of Inscription	Name of City	Date of Inscription
50.....	Beroea	
52.....	"	
365.....	Thessalonica	143 A.D.
371.....	Delos	220-215 B.C.
672.....	"	" " "
675.....	Aivati	117 B.C.
847.....	Amphipolis	358-357 B.C.
927.....	"	Probably the early part of the Roman era
1080.....	Oera	Uncertain, probably before the Roman period
1085.....	"	" " " " " "
1130.....	Thasos	Before the time of Alexander the Great
1338.....	"	Between 42 B.C. and 27 B.C.
1339.....	"	First century A.D.
1340.....	"	" " "
1369.....	"	411 B.C.

It thus appears that five of the cities of Macedonia had a δῆμος, or seven if we, with Dimitsas, include Delos and Thasos. As to the period of time covered by these inscriptions they extend from the last part of the fifth century B.C. to the first half of the second century A.D., and perhaps later.

In the treatment of the word βουλή, the relation of the βουλή to the δῆμος was discussed. It there appeared that the βουλή had certain functions pertaining to it as a distinct body, but that more often the βουλή and the δῆμος were represented as acting together in the transaction of public matters. On other occasions official action is attributed to the δῆμος alone. The functions of the δῆμος in so far as they appear in these inscriptions are as follows:



1. The *δημος* was the highest political authority in city or state. In 255:10-14 the action of the *βουλή* on this occasion seems to have had the force of a motion or a proposition, according to modern terminology. It was introduced at a meeting of the *δημος* in the form of a resolution, and carried with it the recommendation of the *βουλή*, but it did not become an authoritative decree until the *δημος* had voted upon it.

2. The *δημος* had authority to pass decrees honoring benefactors of the city (671:12-19).

3. At Thessalonica the *δημος* chose the place where the statue was to be erected (671:38-41).

4. The *δημος* at Thasos (in 411 B.C.) had authority to grant exemption from taxation (1369:1-2), and to punish by exile (1369:5). These decrees of the *δημος* were repealed by the oligarchy in 411 B.C., but the supremacy of this revolutionary body was of short duration. Reference is here made to the *δημος* which was in Thasos before the oligarchy was established, and not to the *δημος* appointed by the oligarchical *βουλή*.

5. The *δημος* at Amphipolis and Odra erected monuments in honor of their benefactors, at their own expense (927:4; 1080:2; 1085:1).

6. The *δημος* of Thasos exercised both judicial and legislative functions (1369).

The only suggestion as to how the *δημος* was appointed is to be found in Thasos (1369), where it appears that the *βουλή* was to make out a list of those who should be permitted to take the oath as members of the *δημος*. Inasmuch as this took place during the revolution of the oligarchy it cannot be assumed that this was the regular order of procedure. It is seen, however, that the *δημος* is always associated with some city of which it is the highest governing body, and with respect to the *βουλή* they sustained the same relation to each other in matters of government as the *βουλή* and the *δημος* of Athens did to each other. In Athens it is a well-known fact that the *δημος* included practically all the citizens of the place. Every adult Athenian was entitled to attend, and formed part of the body, as in a New England town meeting (cf. Gilbert, *Greek Const. Ant.*, pp. 285-90). The *δημος* of the Macedonian cities was in all probability made up in this way. The citizens thus legislated for themselves, and were not a representative body.

From the usage of the term *δημος* in the inscriptions certain facts are obtained which have a bearing upon the meaning and usage of



this term in the New Testament. It occurs four times in the New Testament (Acts 12:22; 17:5; 19:30, 33). In Acts 12:22 it pertains to the city of Caesarea in Palestine; in 17:5 to Thessalonica in Macedonia; and in 19:30, 33 to Ephesus in Asia Minor. The Macedonian inscriptions show that the cities of Macedonia were generally governed by a body called  $\delta$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . Reference is made in No. 365 to the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  of Thessalonica. Ephesus not being a Macedonian city is not mentioned here, but there are other inscriptions which make mention of a  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$  and a  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  in Ephesus. Not only do the inscriptions show that a political body called the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  existed in Thessalonica and Ephesus, but they also afford some light as to some of the officers mentioned in the New Testament.

The politarchs are associated with the high priest in such a way as to suggest that they were colleagues, but that the high priest was in some manner their superior officer. The statement is made (365) that certain things were done for the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$  and the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  by the politarchs  $\pi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\acute{\rho}\epsilon\alpha$ . Both the politarchs and the high priest were subordinate, or subject to the authority of the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . They were both officers of the city.

The accusation against Paul and Silas in Thessalonica was political. They had violated certain civic laws and so were answerable to the city for their conduct. The intention seems to have been to bring them to the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  for judgment, but failing to find Paul and Silas, they arrested Jason, together with some of the brethren, for having given shelter to Paul and Silas. Jason was brought to the politarchs for trial. Evidently it was to the politarchs as public officers under the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  that Jason was summoned. They were judicial officers of the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , that is of the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  as a political body. There seems to be a strong probability that the term  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  in Acts 17:5 has its technical meaning denoting a governmental body.

In favor of the technical meaning in Acts 19:30, 33 it is seen from the inscriptions: (1) that one of the regular places of meeting for the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  was the theater (with Acts 19:29 cf. *CIA*, II, 378, 381, 392, 403, 408, 435, 439, 454, 468, 471); (2) that all matters of interest to the city were to be disposed of, either at a regular session of the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  or at a meeting specially called, in case of emergency (cf. Gilbert, *Greek Const. Ant.*, pp. 285-87); therefore the purpose for which the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  is assembled on any occasion was legislative or judicial; (3) the usual name for an assembly of the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  was  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (198, 255, 671). The meeting of the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  in Ephesus is designated as an  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,

but by implication an unlawful ἐκκλησία (Acts 19:32, 39, 41). In this case we must understand that it was an irregular meeting of the δῆμος, not convened in any regular order.

Most of the reasons given for interpreting δῆμος in a technical sense in Acts, chaps. 17 and 19 would apply to its usage in Acts 12:22. The data furnished by the inscriptions tend to confirm the interpretation of δῆμος in Acts as a technical term denoting a political body.

## IV.

διαθήκη<sup>1</sup>

(1)

128

Ἡρακλίδης Ἀσκληπιά-  
 δου ἱερεὺς τῆς θεοῦ  
 κατὰ δι[α]θή[κ]ην ἐκ-  
 ἔλευσεν.

The whole of this inscription is extant and is here transcribed. It was found in Janitza (Πέλλα). The date is not known, but there is nothing in the inscription itself to suggest a late date.

The priest of the goddess provided κατὰ διαθήκην for something to be done. In many of the Macedonian monumental inscriptions the object of the verb is omitted when that object is the tomb or monument on which the inscription is written. It is more frequently omitted than mentioned in such cases. In the above inscription the object of the verb if stated would be some word or words concerning the erection of the monument. There is no express mention here of the disposition of property, though the natural inference is that when the testator commanded that certain things should be done that he provided the money necessary for doing it.

(2)

258

κ(αὶ) Φίλωνος τοῦ Κόνωνος ποιησαμένου λόγους περ(ὶ) Μ. Οὐετίου Φίλω-  
 νος τοῦ θείου κ(αὶ) προσανγείλαντος ὅτι κ(αὶ) πρῶ(η)ν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρ(ί)δα  
 ἐτείμησε μεγάλως κ(αὶ) τελευτῶν οὐδὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τε(ι)μῆς ἡμέλη-  
 σεν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν αὐτῇ κατὰ διαθήκην Δ': αφ: ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν γεινομένων τόκων ἡμέραν ἄγουσα Οὐεττίου Βωλανοῦ ἑορτάσιμον εὐ-  
 ωχῆται τῇ πρὸ δεκατεσσάρων καλανδῶν Νοεμβρίων, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ τὴν τοῦ  
 ἀνδρὸς σεμνότητα κ(αὶ) βούλησιν ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπὶ τε ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν  
 διαθήκην γεγραμμέναις αἰρέσεσιν τὸ τάργυριον λαβεῖν καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγειν  
 τὴν τοῦ Οὐεττίου Βωλανοῦ ἑορτάσιμον ἐκ τῶν τόκων ἡμέραν καὶ μήτε τοῦ  
 προγεγραμμένου κεφαλαίου ἀπαναλίσκειν τι εἰς ἑτέραν χρεῖαν μήτε τοῦ κατ'  
 ἐνιαυτὸν γινομένου τόκου, ἀλλ' ὥς ὁ δούς Φίλων ἡθέλησεν, τὸ τάργυριον  
 ἡριθμήσατο καὶ παρέλαβεν ὁ ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν τῆς βουλῆς δηναρίων Λούκιος  
 Λουκρήτιος Πιούδης.

<sup>1</sup> For a thorough discussion of the term διαθήκη see F. O. Norton, *Lexicographical and Historical Study of διαθήκη*.

The whole of this inscription is extant, and from l. 7 to the end is here transcribed. For the place and date of this inscription see I. (6), where a translation is also given of ll. 9-26.

A longer portion of this inscription is here transcribed because it is the best example of a *διαθήκη* found in the Macedonian inscriptions, and its importance is enhanced by the fact that it comes so near to the time when the books of the New Testament were written. From it we learn that a certain man when dying left to the *βουλή*, *κατὰ διαθήκην*, 1,500 denarii, on the condition that from the accruing interest an annual festival was to be conducted at a stated time. The *βουλή* voted to accept the money on the conditions named in the *διαθήκη*, and to use it only as directed by the testator. Express mention is made (l. 10) of the death of the testator, which is rather unusual, although it is always assumed that the *διαθήκη* becomes effective only on the death of the testator. It is seen that at this time a man could dispose of a part, at least, of his property to some person or persons apart from his heir. Property might be transmitted by means of a *διαθήκη*. This bequest to the *βουλή* was conditional, and could be used by the *βουλή* only by carrying out the conditions named in the *διαθήκη*. A similar transaction, so far as the city is concerned, takes place today when a city accepts a gift from Andrew Carnegie agreeing to fulfil the conditions attaching to the gift. The transaction between the *βουλή* and the testator was not mutual. The testator took the initiative, named the recipient or beneficiary, and the conditions attaching to it, and his terms were authoritative.

(3)

281

τὰ τέ-

κνα Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Πρόκλος, Μάξιμ-  
ος Κλαύδιος καὶ Αἰλία

6

Πρόκλα ἢ σύμβιος κατὰ διαθή-  
κας,

Only a part of this inscription is extant, and only that portion of it is transcribed which contains the term *διαθήκη*. It was found in a church in Mpeloboditsa which lies between Prilapos and Stobos. The date is not known, but the Latin names indicate that it belongs to the Roman period.

It is said in the inscription that, "Tiberius Claudius Phortius, having done duty as a soldier in a praetorium, his children, Tiberius Claudius



Proclus, Maximus Claudius and Ailia Procla his wife erected [this monument,] *κατὰ διαθήκας*."

This is a monumental rather than a testamentary inscription. The purpose of the inscription is to record the fact that the children of the deceased had erected a monument to the memory of their father who had been a soldier, but they did this in accordance with the commands of their father as expressed in his *διαθήκη*. The matter of erecting a monument to the deceased does not seem, in this case, to have been left to the discretion of his heirs, but was made obligatory upon them, by the testator in his *διαθήκη*. The mention of the *διαθήκη* is then incidental to the main purpose of this inscription, and is not a statement regarding the *διαθήκη* as such.

The two sons and a son's wife are recorded as having erected the monument. They were in all probability his heirs, although nothing is said about the disposition of property. That would be aside from the purpose of the inscription. The plural number of *διαθήκη*, which occurs in l. 6, does not seem to differ in its meaning from the singular. The two forms seem to be used interchangeably. That there was at one time a difference between the singular number of *διαθήκη* and the plural number of it is altogether probable, but that difference is not apparent in any of these inscriptions.

(4)

348

Ἰούλιος (καὶ) Θερίγονος  
Ποπλίω Φρον-  
τίν- τῷ πατρώ-  
ῳ κατὰ τὸν θ[εῖον] ὁρ-  
κισμὸν τῆς διαθή-  
κης τὸν βωμὸν  
ἔκτισαν καὶ τὰ θεῖ-  
α αὐτῷ ἐποίησαν.

5

The whole of this inscription is extant, and is transcribed. It was found in the house of Chrestos Sabba in Achrida, which lies to the north of the earlier town of Lychnidus, which was the chief town of the Dasaretæ in Illyricum. The Roman names occurring in it indicate that it belongs to the Roman period. It reads as follows: "Julius and Theigonus for Poplius Frontinus their father built the altar and performed the sacred rites according to the divine adjuration of the *διαθήκη*."

The purpose of the inscription seems to be to record the fact that the sons have fulfilled their obligation to their deceased father, in accordance with the solemn injunction imposed upon them in the διαθήκη. These commands enjoined by the testator upon his heirs seem to have authority, and are in all probability conditions which they must fulfil before they can enter upon the inheritance, as in the case of the property left to the βουλή of Tzepikobon. They have the force of an authoritative command, and were not to be lightly disregarded by the son or heir. This inscription tends to show that the sons were expected and required to maintain the religious duties of the deceased parent, and that a man might make provision in his διαθήκη for the perpetuation of the obligations resting upon his family.

(5)

369

6

ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ἑρηννί[ου]

Only a part of this inscription is extant, in a very fragmentary condition. For a description of it, and for its place and date see under I. (7) where an inscription referring to the same time and event is described, or, more accurately perhaps, they are both copies of the same original. See *Jour. Hell. Studies*, VIII, 1887, 362.

Although the details of this transaction cannot be obtained, yet it is reasonably certain that a bequest was made in favor of the city of Thessalonica, for the establishing of certain games. The preposition ἐκ occurs here before διαθηκῶν, instead of the more usual construction of κατά with the accusative, but apparently with little difference in meaning.

The word διαθήκη occurs in five of these inscriptions, in one of which it is found twice. These inscriptions in which διαθήκη occurs either relate to the duties of children to their deceased parents, or have reference to bequests made to some city, and so have a public interest. They were not intended to set forth the διαθήκη itself, or even to describe it as such. They afford, however, considerable indirect evidence as to the character of the διαθήκη.

There is only one explicit reference to the disposition of property (258), and in that case mention of the bequest is made subordinate to the purpose for which it was given. The main feature of the διαθήκη, as here presented, is that it gives to the children or legatees certain specific and binding commands which they are required to fulfil. It has been seen that the children were solemnly adjured in the διαθήκη

to perform the sacred rites to their deceased father. I am uncertain whether this expression implies that these rites were observed by the sons as worship to their father, or whether it means that they performed the rites for their father, in his interest. In two instances it is the city which is placed under obligation to carry out the wishes of the testator. There seems to be a strong probability that these injunctions had in every case a religious significance, and had to do with the perpetuation of the family life. The most noticeable feature of the *διαθήκη* as it appears in the Macedonian inscriptions is that it always contains certain injunctions or commands which are to be executed after the decease of the person who gave them, and that these requirements are imposed without consulting the persons who are to execute them.

The discussion of the difficult question as to what sense or senses the word bears in the New Testament lies outside the scope of this paper. It must suffice to remark concerning the *διαθήκη* of these inscriptions:

1. That it is testamentary rather than contractual. It is not a mutual compact to which both parties give assent, mutually contracting to do certain things, but the act of one person giving charges to another, or bestowing property on another, or both of these. The initiative is always taken by the one person.

2. The thing enjoined in the *διαθήκη* is apparently always to be executed after the decease of the testator. His death is seldom explicitly mentioned, but is always assumed as the *terminus a quo* of the enjoined act.

3. When property is bequeathed it may be accompanied by a charge to be fulfilled, and in such a way that the commission must be accepted in order to obtain the property (258). It is not clear that these injunctions always have a relation to the obtaining of a bequest. The injunctions laid upon children of the testator seem to be imperative, but perhaps in all these cases some property is left to the sons.

4. The usage of the term *διαθήκη* in the inscriptions is similar to its usage in the Old and the New Testaments in that the initiative is always taken by one person. In the scriptures it is God who takes the initiative, and in the inscriptions it is the testator. In both there is some disposition made. It is also similar in that, in both, certain duties are enjoined upon the children or heirs. The one making the *διαθήκη* always assumes the right to command, and to withhold his bequest if the conditions attached to it are not fulfilled.

V.

# δῶγμα

(1)

I

6

κατὰ τὸ δῶγμα τῆς βουλῆς

For place and date, and translation of the inscription from which this phrase is transcribed see I. (1). According to this inscription an enrolment of the names of those who had become ἔφηβοι during a certain year was made by a δῶγμα of the βουλή. The term δῶγμα is here used in a technical sense, and denotes an official decree.

(2)

217

—μηδὲ δῶγ-

μα τινὶ διδόνι πολιτείας ἢ χρήσε-  
ως τῶν δημοσίων,

Ἐὰν δὲ τῇ . . . .

40

. . . . . πολιτάρχῃ καὶ δῶγμα . . . . .  
. . . . . δημόσια,

45

. . . . . τοῦτο τὸ δῶγμα ἔ-  
δοξε τῷ διέποντι  
τὴν ἐπαρ-  
χίαν Ἰουνίῳ Ρουφίνῳ διὰ

All of this inscription is extant except the last four lines, of which only a word or two remain, but the extant portion is badly mutilated. Only the immediate contexts in which the word δῶγμα occurs are transcribed. It was found in Idranitzi, and belongs to Orestis, which lies about one hundred miles to the west of Thessalonica. Sakellarios who first published it assigns it to the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.).

It is a decree passed by the πολῖται and the πολιτάρχῃς regarding the right of possession to certain lands, "concerning which those who hold them in possession formerly made a compact giving them up and handing them over to the state; but now the more powerful men of the eparchy are driving out by violence the poor, which is not lawful for them" (ll. 9-18). The decree provides that the land shall remain in the possession of the Orestae to whom it formerly belonged, and that



"the politarch holding office for the year shall have charge of these things, to cast out and to hinder those using violence" (ll. 34-39). Beginning at the middle of l. 45 it reads: "this δόγμα was decreed by Junius Rufinus who is filling the office of eparch."

This δόγμα is an authoritative protest on the part of the people against certain acts of injustice which deprived them of their lands. It discloses the fact that the citizens had a right to legislate for themselves; the government was not in the hands of an aristocracy. Ll. 39-44 seem to provide against a decree which shall annul or in any way set aside the decree passed by the politarch and the citizens.

- (3) 258  
3 δόγμα(α)τος ἀν(α)γραφῇ τῇ ιά τοῦ Δαισίου μηνός

The whole of this inscription is extant, and the phrase containing the word δόγμα is transcribed. For place and date of this inscription, and a translation of a portion of it see under I. (6).

The line transcribed above relates that the δόγμα was inscribed on the eleventh of the month Daisios in the year 243. By this δόγμα of the βουλή a bequest to the city was accepted. The term δόγμα is here employed in its ordinary technical meaning, denoting an official decree.

- (4) 398  
4 οὐκ ἔφυγον δὲ δόγμα τὸ . .  
τοῖσι μέτοις

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only the clause containing the term δόγμα is transcribed. It was found in the modern town of Καλλι-Κουλέ, but where and when it was first written does not seem to be known. It reads thus: "My parents called me Drosos, always rejoicing with gentle heart, but I knew a short light of life, and escaped not the decree of the fates, and I passed seventeen years of life, but now I lie in Hades sharing neither good nor evil."

Generically the term δόγμα seems to have the same usage here as in the other inscriptions, but whereas in those it denotes the authoritative decree of a governmental body, it here denotes a decree of the fates, which is absolute and binding.

The term δόγμα is found in four of the Macedonian inscriptions, and occurs six times in all. Twice it is used of a decree of the βουλή (1, 258); once of a decree by the πολῖται and the πολιάρχης (217);

twice with reference to a decree by an individual acting in an official capacity (217:28-32; 39-41) and once it is used of a decree by the fates.

The usage of the term *δῶγμα* in the inscriptions is parallel to that of the New Testament, in which it occurs five times, four times in the plural number (Acts 16:4; 17:7; Eph. 2:15; Col. 2:14), and once in the singular (Luke 2:1). In Luke 2:1 and Acts 17:7 the *δῶγμα* is issued by an individual, a ruler. In Acts 16:4 the decrees (*δῶγματα*) are from the apostles and elders together with the whole church at Jerusalem. Their action on this occasion is regarded by the writer of the Acts as an authoritative utterance. A position of authority over other Christians was ascribed to the leaders and the church at Jerusalem. Specifically it is different from the authority attributed to the *βουλή* of a Greek city, but generically, the authority ascribed to the *δῶγμα* is the same in both instances.

In Eph. 2:15 the statutes referred to are those found in the Mosaic law, which were currently regarded as coming from God through Moses, and as possessing divine authority. When reference is made to the decrees or statutes of the Mosaic code the plural denotes a group or body of statutes, but when the reference is to the decrees of the elders and apostles it denotes the several commands issued by them.

It appears then that underlying the usage of this term, both in the inscriptions and in the scriptures, there is the idea of an authoritative utterance. It is also a matter of interest to know that *δῶγμα* was not used of decrees made by the Athenian *ἐκκλησία*. They were called *ψηφίσματα*.

198

- 3 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ  
 6 [εἴτε φόρον δοκεῖ τάττειν τὸν δῆμον αὐτ-  
 ίκ]α μάλα,  
 18 εἰπεῖν δὲ Περδίκκα ὅτι δοκεῖ [ἵ δίκαι-  
 ον] εἶναι  
 32 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμ-  
 ω]  
 48 . . . . . ὃ τε [ἄν δο-  
 κ]ῇ [ἄξι]ον εἶναι περὶ Μεθωναίων,  
 56 Ἐδο-  
 ξεν τῇ] βουλῇ καὶ [τ]ῷ [δ]ήμ[ω]

199

- 5 . . . . . ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ  
 δήμῳ . . . . .

217

- 24 ἔδοξε τῷ τε πολειτάρχῃ  
 καὶ τοῖς πολέταις ὁμογνῶμονοῦ-  
 σι.  
 45 τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα ἔ-  
 δοξε τῷ διέποντι τὴν ἐπαρ-  
 χίαν Ἰουνίῳ Πουφίνῳ . . . . .

255

- 4 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ,  
 12 ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι με-  
 [ν αὐ]τόν,

- 258
- 16 . . . . . ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ  
τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σεμνότητα κ(αὶ) βούλησιν  
ἀποδέξασθαι . . . . .
- 352
- 2 . . . . . ἐκ τῆς δοκούσης  
τάχα τιμίας ὕλης  
. . . . .
- 671
- 1 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·  
. . . . .
- 6 . . . . . δεδόχθαι  
τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·  
. . . . .
- 20 Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ δήμῳ·  
. . . . .
- 27 . . . . . δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ  
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ  
. . . . .  
δοῦναι τόπον ὡς  
βέλτιστον καὶ τοῖς δεδογμένοις ἀκολουθῶς δια-  
70 λεγέντος καὶ Βούλωνος· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλεῖ·  
. . . . .
- 77 τῇ ἀναθέσει τῆς εἰκόνης ὃν ἂν [τόπον]  
δό[ξι] τοῖς βουλευταῖς.
- 675
- 36 Δι' ὃ δεδόχθαι Ληταίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή-  
μῳ . . . . .
- 742
- 22 . . . . . ἐὰν ἀμ]φοτέροις δοκῇ . . . . .
- 829
- 65 . . . . . Δοκεῖ δέ μοι . . . . .
- 69 τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης ἔργον εἶναι.  
. . . . .
- 77 Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν τὰ δοκούντα τῆς  
κώμης ταύτης πλεονεκτήματα
- 267



- 847
- I            \*Εδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ
- 976
- 2            [ \*Ε]δοχσεν τῇ β[ο]υ[λήι] καὶ τῷ δήμῳι,
- 53            ὅτι ἂν δοκεῖ ἀγαθ[ὸν] ἄλλο ὅτι ἂν δέονται]
- 977
- 8            [ \*Εδο]ξεν [τῇ] βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
- 15            [ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ β]ουλῇ,
- 1130
- 5            δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.
- 13            τά τε δόξαντα ἄκυρα ἔστω

Inasmuch as the word *δοκέω* occurs, for the most part, in a constantly recurring formula it is not necessary for the understanding of its meaning or usage to quote a larger context in each case, or to give a description of each inscription in which it occurs. Under III. (2), where the context is transcribed, an illustration of its common usage in the technical sense may be found.

It occurs thirty-two times in the Macedonian inscriptions, and is generally used of the expression of opinion in the sense of a public or official decree. There are however two other distinct usages of the word in the inscriptions. These three usages are found as follows:

1. It is used with the technical meaning in referring to official acts in the following inscriptions: 198:3, 6, 18, 32, 48, 56; 199:5; 217:24, 45; 255:4, 12; 258:16; 671:1, 6, 20, 27, 69, 70, 77; 675:36; 742:22; 829:77; 847:1; 976:2; 977:8, 15; 1130:5, 13.

2. It is employed in impersonal expressions in which it does not have the technical meaning, as in 829:65, 69, *δοκεῖ δέ μοι*, and *ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ* where it is equivalent to "methinks," "it seems to me."

3. Twice it is used in referring to things with the meaning of "to be reputed" or "esteemed" (352:2; 976:53).

When the word is used as in No. 1 above it is intended to denote an act of authority which for governmental purposes has the force of a law. It expresses an opinion which is public and official and not private or personal. Such authoritative declarations are made by

some body, or individual, having the right, by virtue of his office, to issue such decrees.

These official acts or decrees may come from: (1) the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* (198:3, 6, 18, 48, 56); (2) the *βουλή* (255:12); (3) the *δῆμος* (847:1); (4) the *πολιτάρχης* and the *πολιται* (217:24); (5) an individual ruler (217:45).

Of the three distinct usages in the inscriptions each has a parallel in the New Testament. Generically, the usage of *δοκέω* in Acts 15:22, 25, 28 is the same as that mentioned in No. 1 above. That an expression of so technical and legal a character should be used in the Acts passage is of interest in indicating the attitude of authority which the leaders of the church at Jerusalem assumed, or which the author of the Acts supposed them to take. Yet it would doubtless be overpressing this to make an exact equivalence between their authority and that of the *βουλή* of a Greek city. Nevertheless, it does indicate, in the view of the writer of the Acts, that the church at Jerusalem had assumed an attitude of authority over the gentile Christians outside of Jerusalem.

A usage parallel to No. 2 is found in Acts 25:27.

In Gal. 2:9; Mark 10:42 the word occurs with the meaning of "to be reputed" or "esteemed" as in No. 3 above.

It thus appears that of the usages found in the inscriptions all are paralleled in the New Testament, but that the proportion of usages is very different. A usage occurring but three times out of sixty-two instances in the New Testament appears in the inscriptions twenty-eight out of thirty-two occurrences of the word. What might seem from the New Testament to be an exceptional usage is shown by the inscriptions not to be so at all. The difference in frequency is the natural result of the difference in the character of the literature.

## VII.

## ἐκκλησία

(1)

671

50

καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ  
διαλεγέντος ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις,

All of this inscription is extant. For a translation and description of it, and for its place and date see I. A. (9).

On this occasion the envoy (*πρεσβευτής*) from Delos was received by the ἐκκλησία of Thessalonica. The ἐκκλησία mentioned here was composed of the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*, and was a political body having authority to legislate for the city to which it belonged.

(2)

889

3

ὀρκίζω οὖν τὴν εὐλογημένην τῆς  
Ἀμφιπολιτῶν ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοπὴν

The whole of this monumental inscription is extant. Only that portion of it is transcribed which is immediately concerned with the ἐκκλησία. It belongs to Amphipolis (l. 4). From the reference in it to the Trinity (ll. 3, 5) it is evidently a Christian inscription, but its exact date has not been ascertained. The translation of the whole of it is here given: "Having lived the common human life with grace and dignity, continually having made supplication to receive the hope of eternal life from the great and life-giving immaculate Trinity, I Liccon lie here. Therefore I adjure the blessed episcopate of the holy church of Amphipolis and the highly favored clergy by Father, by Son, and by Holy Spirit not to consent that any other person, in the future, be buried in this my burial-place."

The term ἐκκλησία here denotes the church. This usage is the one generally found in the New Testament, but rarely in the inscriptions. In this case it is implied that the ἐκκλησία has some authority over the burial-place, that it has power to grant or to withhold permission for burial in certain places.

Both of the usages found in the inscriptions for the term ἐκκλησία occur in the New Testament in widely different proportions. In one hundred and eleven occurrences of the word it is used one hundred and eight times with an ecclesiastical meaning, and only three times with

the technical meaning, denoting a political body. In Acts 19:39 the word ἐκκλησία is used with reference to a body having authority to exercise judicial functions, and is referred to as an ἐκκλησία ἔννομος, that is, having legal authority and conducting its business within the requirements of the law. This ἐκκλησία ἔννομος is mentioned in contrast to the ἐκκλησία then assembled in the theater at Ephesus (Acts 19:32, 41), which was neither an ἐκκλησία κυρία, nor an ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος. That is, it was not one of the ordinary meetings of the ἐκκλησία, nor a specially called meeting, and so the γραμματεὺς regarded it as an ἐκκλησία which had not conformed to the legal requirements for such an assembly. The people had assembled in the theater without being convened by any formal call, and disorder prevailed in the meeting.

In Acts 19:32, 41 the word ἐκκλησία denotes a political body, but implies that it was irregular in its proceedings, while in Acts 19:39 the reference is to the ἐκκλησία in its regular order of procedure. It is used with the technical meaning in both cases. Kennedy says, "In the New Testament the usage of the LXX determined the sense of the word, which is = the public gathering of Christians viewed externally as met for a common purpose, or organized with a common aim, or viewed from an inward standpoint as a spiritual corporation" (*Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 99). To this classification of the usage of ἐκκλησία in the New Testament its usage in Acts 19:32, 39, 41 forms an important exception. The usage in this passage is not derived from the LXX, but from the usage common in Greek cities in that period. Such a usage was current in Ephesus where this event took place.



## VIII.

## κληρονόμος

(1)

180

7

Εἰ δὲ ὁ κληρονόμος ὁ ἐμὸς  
 παραπέμψῃ τι, δώσει  
 τῷ ταμειῷ προστίμου δηνάρια ψν.

The whole of this inscription is extant, and the last three lines are here transcribed, containing the term *κληρονόμος*. It belongs to Thessalonica. Its date has not been ascertained.

According to this inscription a certain woman, Aurelia by name, built a tomb for herself and her husband, and made this demand upon her heir: "But if my heir neglect anything he shall pay to the treasurer a fine of 750 denarii."

It appears that a testator had a right to impose certain obligations upon the heir, and to fix a certain penalty for the violation of any such conditions attaching to the inheritance.

(2)

262

26

(κληρ)ονόμων μου  
 . . . ονων ἢ κληρο(νομία)

This inscription is found in a badly mutilated condition. The whole of the left side of it is worn off, so that it is impossible to obtain any adequate impression of the subject of it. It belongs to Deriopolis. Dimitsas thinks that it should be dated in the later Roman period, γ' . . . δ' αἰῶνα μ. X. (I, 307). Because of the words *ἄρνιν* and *βωμόν* which occur in ll. 13 and 20, and which are associated with heathen forms of worship, Dimitsas concludes that it was written before the introduction of Christianity into Deriopolis.

If the restorations made above (ll. 26-27) be correct, there is mention made of heirs and of an inheritance, but the context is so imperfect that no information can be obtained concerning them.

(3)

402

[ἐνορκίζω τοὺς κληρο-]  
 νόμους μου πάν-  
 τας τοὺς θεοὺς [ε]ἰς

- 10 τήν ληνὸν ταύτην  
 ἔτερον μηδέν[α κοι-]  
 μηθῆν[α]ι.

Only a portion of this inscription is preserved. The lines transcribed are from the middle of it, and contain the word under consideration. The inscription was found written upon a sarcophagus outside of the gate of Thessalonica. The date is not known.

According to this inscription a woman, while living, erected a temple and built a tomb for herself, and left the following injunction: "I adjure my heirs by all the gods not to bury any other body in this tomb." This is another example in which a solemn injunction is laid upon the heirs to keep the tomb of the deceased intact.

- (4) 412  
 5 Εἰ δέ τις τολμήσ[ε]ι ἀνοῖξ[αι], δώσ[ει] τοῖς  
 ἑμοῖς κληρονόμοις δηνάρια μύρια.

The whole of this inscription of five lines is extant, and the last two are transcribed. It belongs to Thessalonica. The exact date is not known, but from the Latin names (ll. 1-2) it apparently belongs sometime in the Roman period.

It reads thus: "Aurelia Marcia [built this tomb] for her dearest husband, the most noble Linius Aelius Nicostratus, from the common savings, for a memorial. If anyone shall dare to open it he shall pay to my heirs a thousand denarii."

The exceptional feature of this inscription is that the fine for disturbing the tomb of the deceased is to be paid to the heirs, not to the treasurer or to the city as was usual at that time. This indicates that the testator not only had the right to fix the amount of the fine to be paid for disturbing his tomb, but that he had it within his power to decide as to who should receive such money.

- (5) 1220  
 5 εἰδὼς κληρονόμων τὴν ἐπιλησμοσύνην  
 καὶ κοινοῦ θανάτου μνημόσυνον προβλέπων

The whole of this inscription of eight lines is extant, and 4 and 5 are here transcribed. It was found in Thasos and belongs to the Roman period. It reads thus: "Aurelius Philip the son of Philip of Abdera while living built for himself and for his wife Antonia and for his children

[a tomb], well knowing the forgetfulness of heirs and foreseeing that his memory would be left behind by a common death. But if any other person wish to bury another body he shall pay to the city of Thasos two thousand denarii, and to the sacred treasurer two thousand denarii besides."

Whereas in many inscriptions of this kind a clause is inserted prohibiting others from using the tomb of the deceased and adding a penalty for the violation of this injunction, in this instance permission seems to be granted to bury another body in the same tomb by paying for the privilege or right. In the prohibitory clauses the fine is as high as 1,000 denarii for disturbing the tomb, but here the amount named is four thousand denarii. It is implied in this inscription that heirs were often remiss in the performance of their duties in memory of the deceased.

From these inscriptions it appears that certain obligations might be laid upon the heirs by the person bequeathing the inheritance, and that for failure to fulfil these conditions the heirs were subject to a fine, the amount of which was determined by the testator. Others also were liable to a fine for any desecration of a tomb. These fines were payable to the city, the sacred treasurer, or to the heirs as the testator directed. It seems to be implied, although not explicitly stated, that the persons on whom an obligation is laid always receive an inheritance.

In the New Testament the word *κληρονόμος* occurs fifteen times, with the same meaning, generically, as in the inscriptions.

Christians are called *οἱ κληρονόμοι*, "heirs of God" (Rom. 8:17), "heirs of the promise" (Heb. 6:17), "heirs of righteousness" (Heb. 11:7), "heirs of the kingdom" (Jas. 2:5). According to the New Testament, the basis of heirship is as follows: A son is an heir (Matt. 21:38; Mark 12:7; Luke 20:14; Heb. 1:2). All children (*τέκνα*) are heirs (Rom. 8:17). Abraham's seed are heirs (Gal. 3:29). Justification through the grace of Christ constitutes a man an heir (Tit. 3:7).

The fact that conditions attach to heirship is an element common to the inscriptions and the New Testament. In the latter every man might become an heir by complying with the conditions of the promise given to Abraham. In the inscriptions the one thing most often emphasized is the obligation of the *κληρονόμος* to fulfil certain conditions devolving upon him as heir. When Paul insists that only those who fulfil the conditions of heirship are truly heirs, he is making use of a well-known principle.

The objection that God does not die and cannot, therefore, have an heir, in any true sense of the word, arises from pressing the analogy too far. The Christian, who is spoken of as an heir, can assume the responsibilities of an heir and enter upon his inheritance without the death of God taking place. This is a question not raised by Paul, and it is a difficulty only to those who would press the comparison into details which are not pertinent to Paul's use of the term.

The two indispensable elements are: the assumption of certain responsibilities, and the receiving of an inheritance, on the part of the heir. These two elements are found both in the New Testament and in the inscriptions. The most important contribution which the inscriptions make at this point is in emphasizing the ancient idea of the right and authority of the person making the bequest to impose upon the heir certain conditions which he must fulfil.



## IX.

## κλήρος

(1)

214

3

Τίκτε δ' ἐνὶ κλ[ήρ]οις Κερκείνιον.

The whole of this inscription of six lines is extant. It was found at Aiane, a town in the southern part of Macedonia, midway between the village of Kozane and the river Haliacmon. Its exact date is not known.

The first three lines read thus: "Menedemos was the husband of Hadista, and Bouticos begot her. Aiane concealed her in death, but she was born in the fields of Circinium." In l. 3 the phrase, ἐνὶ κλήροις, is to be interpreted, "in the fields." (Cf. Dimitzas, Μακ., I, 223.) Liddell and Scott, under the term κλήρος, cite Hdt. 9.24 in which the κλήροι are called ἀγροί.

(2)

334

κλήρον

ἐ]λεύθ[ε]ροι

Of this inscription only the fragment transcribed above is preserved. It was found among the ruins of one of the churches in Achrida, but there is not enough of the context remaining by which to determine the meaning of κλήρος.

(3)

889

ὀρκίζω οὖν,

τὴν εὐλογημένην τῆς Ἀμφιπολιτῶν

ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοπὴν

5

καὶ τὸν ταύτης θεοφιλῆ κλήρον

The whole of this inscription is extant. For its place and date, and a translation of it see VI. (2).

The author of this inscription solemnly adjures the blessed episcopate (ἐπισκοπὴν) of the holy church of Amphipolis and the κλήρον beloved of God not to consent that any other body shall be buried in his tomb. The meaning of the term κλήρος which best suits this context is "the clergy," considered collectively. Examples of such usage are cited by Sophocles in his Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods.

The cases referred to are all of a late date: Caius 29 B (A.D. 210); Petr. Alex. 448 B (A.D. 304); Anc. 3 (A.D. 314); Basil IV, 429 B (A.D. 379); Greg. Naz. I. 1091 A (A.D. 390). Until we are able to determine the exact date of this inscription, it will be necessary to place it not earlier than the second century A.D., in order to give a sufficient length of time for the development of the episcopacy in the church. The meaning of *κληρος* in this inscription cannot be used as a proof that it was employed in this sense when the New Testament books were written. The usage of *κληρος* in this passage may, however, reflect an earlier usage.

In Goodspeed, *Index Patristicus*, the following occurrences of *κληρος* are given: Tral. 12:3; Bar. 6:6; *cit.* Rom. 1:2; Mar. 6:2; Diog. 12:9L; Eph. 11:2; Philad. 5:1. It is also found in Justin *Dial* 97:3; 113:3; *Apol.* 35.5, 8; 38.4; *Dial* 98.5; 104.1.

The word *κληρος* occurs eleven times in the New Testament with the following meanings:

1. It denotes the lot itself: Matt. 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:24; Acts 1:26.

2. It denotes the object assigned or allotted: (a) an allotment or office, Acts 1:17; (b) a portion or share, Acts 8:21; 26:18; (c) an inheritance or portion, Col. 1:12 (cf. Isaicus 6:56). In I Pet. 5:3, *τῶν κληρῶν* should probably be classified under No. 2, but there is a lack of decisive evidence as to the specific meaning of this expression in I Peter.

Concerning the term *κληρος* the inscriptions, Nos. 214 and 889, seem to reflect a usage later than the time of the New Testament. In 889 *κληρος* has a distinctly ecclesiastical meaning as over against its legal significance in the New Testament. In the phrase *ἐνὶ κλήροις* the idea of its being an object assigned or allotted seems to have fallen into the background, and it is there used as a general designation for fields. Although in the New Testament *κληρος* is used of various objects, yet it is always with the idea that they have been allotted or assigned in a technical or legal sense.

## X.

## λειτουργίῳ, λειτουργία

(1)

247

. . . . . οἱ λειτουργεῖτῳσαν, οἱ δὲ κεκτημένοι μόνον ταῖς τῇ  
 . . . . . πιβαλλομέναις λειτουργίαις ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν τίνα  
 . . . . . τόπον στόρνυσθαι τὰς ὁδοὺς κοινῇ διατάγματι ἐδήλωσα  
 . . . . . Λεύω καὶ ἀντανούς συντελεῖν ὑμῖν εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα  
 5 τὸ τρίτον συνεισφέροντας, ἥ δὲ συνεισφορὰ γενέσθω ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ὄντων ἀντανῶν εὐτυχεῖτε.

Most of this inscription is preserved, as here transcribed. It is seen that the upper left hand corner is worn, or broken off. It was found near Bitolia, in the district of Lyncestis in Macedonia. Dimitzas thinks that it belongs to the Macedonian era, before the time of the Roman dominion (Μακ., I, 272).

The verb *λειτουργεῖτῳσαν* occurs in l. 1, but owing to the fact that the upper left-hand corner is broken off, it is not known who performed the services. Dimitzas suggests the following possible restorations for the beginning of this line: "οἱ μὲν νόμοι" ἢ "οἱ μὲν ἄποροι."

In l. 2 the dative plural of *λειτουργία* occurs.

The services referred to here consisted in the leveling of the ways or roads. The owners or masters (*κεκτημένοι*) were responsible for these public services. This tends to show that certain persons in the community were under obligation to perform such services for the public. This view is confirmed by a passage in Isaeus (7:5) in which three men possessing large estates were required to *λειτουργεῖν* for the city. Cf. Dem. 833:26. Thus the *λειτουργία* does not seem always to have been a matter of voluntary contribution. In some cases, at least, it appears to have been obligatory.

(2)

1131

2

ἀγορανομήσας καὶ ἐν  
 ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις  
 ἐπιφανῶς πολιτευσάμενος

The whole of this inscription is extant, and that portion of it which contains the word under consideration is here transcribed. It was found in Thasos, and probably belongs to the Roman period. It reads as

follows: "Aurelius Herodotus the son of Paranomus twice was chief of the magistrates, held the office of ἀγορανόμος, and with other offices and services he distinguished himself as a citizen, living seventy-five years. Farewell beloved" (ll. 1-5).

The λειτουργίαι are referred to here as a part of the means by which Herodotus gained for himself distinction as a citizen. The context suggests that the services were voluntary on the part of Herodotus, but there is no indication as to what these services were.

A parallel to the usage of these terms is found in the New Testament. The verb λειτουργέω occurs three times, and the noun λειτουργία seven times, with the following usages: to denote services rendered (1) on behalf of the poor at Jerusalem; (2) to the Lord; (3) on behalf of Paul, in personal ministration to his needs; (4) on behalf of the people, through the priestly office.

In Rom. 15:27 the service is obligatory. In this passage the idea of obligation to perform the services seems to be moral rather than civic or legal as in 247.

In the Scriptures these terms seem to be associated with religious services, and generally with the priestly function. In the inscriptions this religious or sacerdotal aspect of the services does not appear. Generically the terms have the same meaning in the New Testament as in the inscriptions, but specifically they are used with reference to different kinds of services. The idea that the λειτουργίαι are services rendered on behalf of the people is common to both.



# XI.

## νόμος

(1)

349

Μο. σης ὁ Γρηγόριος [ταύτη]ν Θ(ε)ῶ σκηνὴν ἐγείρας τὸν θεόγραφον νόμον  
ἔθνη τὰ Μυσῶν ἐκιδάσκει πανσόφως. \*Εἰσιωκ.

The whole of this inscription is extant and is here transcribed. It was found in a church in Achrida, Macedonia, and belongs to the year 1312 A.D., at which time this church was rebuilt by Gregory. It reads: "Gregory, having erected this tabernacle to God, teaches all-wisely the nations of the Mysians the divinely written law."

The νόμος is described as θεόγραφος, thus indicating that it is thought of as a written law and as coming from God. The date of this inscription is so late that this usage of νόμος cannot be cited as evidence for the usage of νόμος in the first century A.D. It is, however, interesting to observe that the usage of νόμος which is found here is the one most common in the New Testament, where, with two exceptions, it occurs in the singular number, generally denoting a body of statutes.

(2)

666

2

Αἱ μὲν δοθεῖσαι τῷ θεόπτη πρὶν πλάκες.  
νόμους σκιώδεις εἶχον ἐγγεγραμμένους.

The whole of this inscription is extant, except parts of the last two lines. It was found in a Greek church in Thessalonica, and the lines transcribed read as follows: "The tablets given aforetime to the seer had shadowy laws written on them."

The plural, νόμους, which occurs in l. 2 denotes individual statutes. This usage of the term νόμος is quite exceptional in the New Testament, being found only in Heb. 8:10; 10:16, out of one hundred and ninety-five occurrences of the word. There being but two instances of νόμος in the inscriptions, we should not be justified in entering into an extended comparison of the word in the New Testament. As already noted, the two usages of the inscriptions find a parallel in the New Testament, one of the two being quite unusual in the New Testament, while the other is the one most commonly found there.

## XII.

## πολιτάρχης

For an exhaustive treatment of the term *πολιτάρχης* see *The Politarachs in Macedonia and Elsewhere*, by Ernest DeWitt Burton.

Brief mention will here be made concerning the functions of the *πολιτάρχαι*, and their relationship to the *βουλή* or governing body of the city in which they held office. In the Macedonian inscriptions the noun *πολιτάρχης* occurs seven times (217:24, 36, 40; 258:5; 675:2, 48; 738:4), and the verb *πολιταρχέω* ten times (2:2; 248:6; 260:3; 364:1; 365:10; 366:7; 367:13; 368:1; 683:4; 886:4).

In 248 the office of *πολιτάρχης* is mentioned as one of several offices successively held by a certain man in the city of Lyncestis. This man held the office of *πολιτάρχης* and of *ταμίας* at the same time. The *πολιτάρχαι* are represented as being subject to the command of the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* (248, 258, 365, etc.). In Idranizi a *δόγμα* was passed by the *πολιτάρχης* and the *πολίται*, and on the same occasion the *πολιτάρχης* was enjoined to see that the *δόγμα* was enforced (217). The text is deficient at this point, but it appears as if the *πολιτάρχης* were subject to a double fine (to the imperial treasury and to the city) if he should in any way attempt to set aside the *δόγμα* which had been enacted.

It thus appears that the *πολιτάρχης* was an officer of prominence in the city, and that he exercised both legislative and executive functions. In Tzepikobon the *πολιτάρχαι* assembled the *βουλευτήριον* (258:5). In Lete they introduced the *προβούλευμα* in the *ἐκκλησία*. The *πολιτάρχαι* and the treasurer of the city were commanded by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* to inscribe the decree and erect the stele (675:2, 46). In 365 the *πολιτάρχαι* are associated with the *ἀρχιερεῖς* and both are subject to the command of the *βουλή*. On this occasion the *πολιτάρχαι* were the officers delegated to see that the decree was executed.

This is of special significance to us because it occurred in Thessalonica where Jason and the brethren were brought before the *πολιτάρχαι* (Acts 17:6-8) who seem to have been acting in a capacity similar to that of the *πολιτάρχαι* mentioned in the inscriptions. In the inscriptions as in the Acts passage they appear as executive officers, a part of whose duties was to see that the laws were enforced. It appears then that the only mention of the *πολιτάρχαι* in the New Testament pertains

to a Macedonian city, and that they were executive officers subject to the βουλή or governing body of the city. They were responsible for the maintenance of order and the enforcement of the law in accordance with the statutes of the city in which they held office. In Thessalonica they were associated with the ἀρχιερεύς and probably were subordinate in authority to him (365).

## XIII.

## πραιτώριον

(1)

281

Τι(βέριον) Κλαύδιον Φόρτιον, Ου̐ετρανὸν  
στρατευσάμενον ἐν πραιτωρίῳ

For place and date and translation of this inscription see III. (3). Only a part of it is extant.

It is here asserted that Tiberius Claudius served as a soldier ἐν πραιτωρίῳ. The word πραιτώριον is simply a transliteration of the Latin word *praetorium*, and is not found in the Greek earlier than the first century A.D. To understand the meaning of this term in Greek it may be necessary to consider its usage in Latin. The following are the various possible meanings which have been assigned to it in the Latin.

1. The tent of a general (Liv. 10:33).
2. The official residence of the governor of a province (Tertull. *ad Scap.* § 3; Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, § 28).
3. Any spacious villa or palace (Plut. *Tib.* 39; Juv. *Sat.* 1:75).
4. The camp of the praetorian guard (Pitiscus, *Thesaur. antiq.* iii. 174; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 2).
5. The praetorian guard itself (*CIL*, 3365).
6. The residence of the emperor at Baiae (cf. *Hermes*, IV, 102, l. 2).

In the lines transcribed above (281:2) the term πραιτώριον must come under either No. 4 or 5, as the context seems to exclude the other meanings. From the Latin inscriptions it is seen that the phrase, *miles in praetorio* (*CIL*, 5777), refers to the soldiers of the praetorian guard, and *militavit in praetorio* (*CIL*, 7328) is precisely analogous to the expression στρατευσάμενον ἐν πραιτωρίῳ. The Latin phrase means that he served as a soldier in the praetorian guard. There is then a strong probability that ἐν πραιτωρίῳ refers to the praetorian guard rather than to the camp.

(2)

282

Τι(βεριος) Κλαύδιος Ῥοῦφος Ου̐-  
ετρανὸς ἐκ πραιτω-  
ρίου δράκοντι τῷ  
ὧδε τειμω-  
μένῳ



The whole of this inscription is extant and is here transcribed. It was found between Plethar and Troiak and belongs to the same period as the preceding one. It reads: "Tiberius Claudius Rufus a veteranus of the praetorium to the serpent which is here honored."

Here again the Latin inscriptions throw light upon the interpretation of the phrase ἐκ πραιτωρίου. The phrase *veteranus ex praetorio* occurs six times (*CIL*, 3365, 5412, 5595, 7596, 10198, 10286). Here it is used of a veteran of the praetorian guard. Following this analogy the phrase, ἐκ πραιτωρίου, seems to indicate that Tiberius was a member of the praetorian guard. It denotes the soldiers themselves, and not their place of encampment.

This usage of the term in the Latin and in the Macedonian Greek inscriptions affords some light on a much-disputed passage in the New Testament.

In Phil. 1:13 there has been much controversy as to the meaning of πραιτώριον. Meyer and others contend that it refers to the camp or barracks of the praetorian guard, while Lightfoot, with many others, maintains that it refers to the praetorian guard itself. While the inscriptions do not furnish conclusive proof on this question, they tend to sustain the interpretation of Lightfoot in rendering it "praetorian guard."

It should be observed as against Meyer in his *Commentary on Phil.* (4th ed. of the German) that so far as the word itself is concerned or its then current usage, it is not impossible that it might be used with reference to the residence of the emperor. See the edict of Claudius in the year 46 A.D.

Bais in praetorio edictum

Ti Claudi Caesaris Augusti Germanici propositum fuit  
id quod infra scriptum est.

This edict of Claudius was issued at the town of Baiae "in praetorio," that is in the residence or palace of the emperor at Baiae (cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, IV, 102). For the fact that the emperors had villas or palaces at Baiae consult Varr. *R. R.*, iii. 17. 9; Seneca *Ep.* 51; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 9.



The name of the person to whom the envoy was sent is broken off. The object of his mission is not mentioned, but he was evidently acting in a political capacity, going as an envoy for the Dasseretae to some emperor. The verb *πρεσβεύω* is here used in a technical sense, denoting an official action.

(3)

The word *ἐπρεσβ(ε)ύσ(αντ)ο* occurs in inscription 370, which was found in Thessalonica, but the ends of all the lines are broken off, so that the inscription is wholly unintelligible.

The verb *πρεσβεύω* has the same technical meaning in the New Testament as in the inscriptions. It occurs only in II Cor. 5:20 and Eph. 6:20, where Paul uses it in a figurative sense of himself as an envoy of Christ. Here as in the inscriptions it denotes official action of a representative. This usage of *πρεσβεύω* throws some light on how Paul thought of himself as related to Christ in his work as a preacher of the gospel.

B.

*πρεσβεία*

(1)

37

*ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὥς*

5

*υἱο(ῦ)ς αὐτοῦ πρεσβ[ε]ίαις καὶ εὐχαῖς π[άντων]  
ἀγγέλων [καὶ] προφητῶν*

For the place, date, and translation of this inscription see I. A. (2).

The term *πρεσβείαις* (l. 5) is co-ordinate with *εὐχαῖς* and is used in a prayer, evidently denoting intercessions.

(2)

The accusative singular of the noun *πρεσβεία* occurs in a fragment of an inscription (253) found in the region of Moglia, to the north of Bitolia, but there is not sufficient context extant to enable us to determine what the inscription was about. There is then only one occurrence of *πρεσβεία* in the inscriptions in which its meaning is clear to us.

The usage which we have found in 37 has no parallel in the New Testament. The word occurs in Luke 14:32 and 19:14. In Luke 14:32 one king sends a *πρεσβεία* to another king to ask him for peace. In 19:14 the *πολῖται* send a *πρεσβεία* to their own ruler. This usage of *πρεσβεία* is in accord with that of the corresponding verb, *πρεσβεύω*, in the inscriptions.

- C. πρεσβευτής  
 (1) 217  
 45 τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα ἔ-  
δοξε τῷ διέποντι τὴν ἐπαρ-  
χίαν Ἰουνίῳ Ῥουφίνῳ διὰ  
τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τοῦ . . . . .

For the place and date of this inscription see IV. (2). The whole of the inscription is extant in a somewhat fragmentary condition. The part transcribed above reads: "this decree is decreed by Junius Rufinus who is governing the eparchy by the *πρεσβευταί*."

As respects the *πρεσβευταί* they are acting in an official capacity, and are subordinate to Rufinus the governor. They are executive officers under the authority of the governor. Their office seems here to have more or less of permanency. It is not limited to a single event, and in this respect it is more closely related to the conception of the office of *πρεσβευτής* which Paul had when he called himself an ambassador of Christ.

- (2) 671  
 36 ἀποστείλαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτὴν  
. . . . .  
 45 πρεσβευτὴς εἰρέθη Τυννωνος.  
. . . . .  
 48 παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποσταλέντος πρεσβευτοῦ  
. . . . .  
 58 ἀποσταλεῖς πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν  
. . . . .

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only the phrases containing the term *πρεσβευτής* are here transcribed. For its place and date, and a translation of it see I. A. (9).

The word *πρεσβευτής* occurs four times, referring in each case to the same man. Boulon was appointed a *πρεσβευτής* by the *δῆμος* of Delos (l. 57), to go to Thessalonica on a specific mission. He was received in Thessalonica in the *ἐκκλησία*, and was permitted to present to that body the matters contained in the decree. Having accomplished his purpose, he returned to Delos with the answer of the *ἐκκλησία*. He was not merely an official messenger whose duty ended with the delivery of the document in his charge. He endeavored to present his cause in as persuasive a manner as possible and so win the approval and co-operation of the *ἐκκλησία*.



Only one *πρεσβευτής* was sent on this occasion. The number of men commissioned on an embassy was variable. In 675 there are three, and probably also in 217.

(3)	675
40	ἐλίσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτάς
49	καὶ εἰρέθησαν πρεσβευταὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only the phrases containing the word under consideration are transcribed. For its place and date see I. A. (10).

In this instance the *πρεσβευταί* were chosen from the members of the *βουλή*, and were three in number. They were chosen by the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* and were commissioned to convey to the Roman treasurer the decree of honor passed on his behalf, and to urge upon him the acceptance of the honor.

The noun *πρεσβευτής* is not found in the New Testament in this form, but *πρεσβύτες* in Philem., vs. 9, is apparently the same word, with this slight variation in spelling. In the original inscriptions as in the original text of the New Testament, the words are without accent, and would appear thus, *πρεσβευτης* and *πρεσβυτης*. The interchange of *ευ* and *υ* in Greek orthography is of common occurrence. So far then as the accent and the orthography are concerned, there is no reason for making a distinction between *πρεσβευτής* in the inscriptions and *πρεσβύτες* in Philem., vs. 9. See Hort., *N.T.*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 136.

The *πρεσβευταί* seem to have been chosen from men of influence, as in *Lete*, from members of the *βουλή*. They were representative officers and generally were appointed for some particular purpose pertaining to the welfare of the people.

In the Epistle to Philemon when Paul designates himself as *πρεσβύτες* it is under circumstances similar to that under which the *πρεσβευταί* of the inscriptions held office. According to Paul's own statement he is in the act of pleading for Onesimus when he uses this title of himself. Orthography and accent are variable and cannot in this instance be used as an argument to show that *πρεσβύτες* has a different meaning from that of *πρεσβευτής*. It seems then to be clear that ambassador is a possible interpretation of *πρεσβύτες* in Philemon, or rather, that *πρεσβύτες* ("old man") is a transcriptional error for *πρεσβευτής*.

- D. πρεσβύτερος  
 (1) 110  
Μημόριον Εὐγενίου  
πρεσβυτέρου
- (2) 111  
Μημόριον  
Θεοδούλου κ[αὶ  
Εὐτροπίου πρεσβυτέρου.

The whole of each of these inscriptions is extant, and is here transcribed. They were found in Beroea. The Latin word *μημόριον* for *μνημεῖον*, and the word *Θεόδουλος* both point to a late date for this inscription, probably as late as the first century A.D.

It does not seem possible in these inscriptions to decide whether *πρεσβύτερος* is used as a noun or as an adjective. It may be used here as an official designation, or it may be an adjective referring to age.

- (3) 1324  
Παίστρατος Κτησιφώντος πρεσβύτε[ρος]  
Παίστρατος Κτησιφώντος  
νεώτερος.

The whole of this inscription is extant and is here transcribed. It was found in Thasos.

From the manifest antithesis of *πρεσβύτερος* and *νεώτερος* it is evident that both words refer to age. Two men of the same name, *Παίστρατος*, are distinguished by terms denoting their relative ages.

A striking parallel to this usage of *πρεσβύτερος* is found in I Tim. 5:1, 2, and in I Pet. 5:5. Alford, Köhl, and von Soden take *πρεσβύτερος* in these passages as referring to official position and not to age. The above inscription affords us an example of these two words, *πρεσβύτερος* and *νεώτερος*, used in contrast to each other where both words refer to age. This tends to sustain those who interpret *πρεσβύτερος* with reference to age in the scripture passages.

The almost universal usage of *πρεσβύτερος* in the New Testament is as an official designation. For an excellent discussion as to the origin of this technical usage see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 154-57, 233-35. This official usage was common in Egypt, and in all probability in Asia Minor before the first century A.D. (Cf. *Flind. Petr.*, *Pap.*, II, iv, 6, 13<sup>2</sup>; *CIG*, 1417).

## XV.

## στρατηγός

(1)

346

5

Φίλιππος Μουν-  
τανου̐ ἀνέθηκαν  
στρατηγῷ Νικία.

The whole of this inscription of six lines is extant, and the last three are here transcribed. It was found near Lake Lychnidos in Macedonian Illyria. It reads as follows: "Epicadus the son of Genthius and Philip the son of Mountanus set up [this monument] to Nicias a στρατηγός."

Only one man is mentioned as holding the office of *στρατηγός*, and nothing is said as to his functions. This inscription seems to have been inscribed to his memory by private individuals rather than by the city.

(2)

The word *στρατηγός* occurs in inscriptions 622, 630, 631, 649, 650, 651, and 660. They were found at Thessalonica and belong to the ninth century A.D., which is too late to be of value in this investigation. At this late date the office seems to have been held by but one man, and to have pertained to a city or province: that is, it was political.

(3)

675

12

ἐφ' οὗς καὶ ἐκπαρευθέ[ντ]ος Σέξτου  
Πομπηίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ παραταξαμένου  
μετὰ τ]ῶν ιδίων στρατιωτῶν.

The whole of this large inscription of fifty lines is extant. The portion transcribed illustrates the usage of *στρατηγός*. For the place and date of this inscription see I. A. (10).

The word *στρατηγός* is here a military term, applied to the well-known Sextus Pompeius, general of the army.

The inscription is in honor of Marcus Annii the Roman treasurer, and in recounting the favors which he had done for the city of Lete, and the enemies against whom he had fought in their behalf, reference is here made to certain enemies, "against whom also Sextus Pompeius the *στρατηγός* went forth, and drew up in battle order with his own soldiers."

(4)

Reference is made to the *στρατηγός* of Thessalonica in inscriptions, 711, 714, 715, 716, and 717, but nothing is said as to the duties of his office.

It appears then that the term *στρατηγός* is used to designate (1) a military officer, (2) an officer of a city, (3) an officer of a province. The third sense is common in papyri.

Unfortunately most of the inscriptions in which the *στρατηγός* is mentioned are very brief, and no reference is made in them to his functions, except in the case of Sextus Pompeius. With this one exception the form of the title seems to indicate that the office of *στρατηγός* pertained to civic or political matters, rather than to military. It was not a title limited to the designation of one particular office. In this respect its use here is similar to that of *στρατηγός* in the New Testament.

The word is used only by Luke. It occurs seven times in the plural number (Luke 22:4, 52; Acts 16:20, 22, 35, 36, 38), and three times in the singular number (Acts 4:1; 5:24, 26). In Acts 5:26 the *στρατηγός* of the temple goes with the *ὑπηρέται* to make an arrest. In Luke 22:55 the *στρατηγοί* of the temple are among those who come to arrest Jesus. In the sixteenth chapter of Acts the *στρατηγοί* of Philippi exercise judicial functions. The *κύριοι* of a slave girl led Paul and Silas to the *στρατηγοί* of the city for judgment. The *στρατηγοί* had authority to beat, imprison, or set free, except in the case of Roman citizens who could demand a formal trial.

In Latin the corresponding term *praefectus* is used in the same manner as *στρατηγός* in the inscriptions. In neither case is the term limited to the designation of a particular office. The functions pertaining to the various offices were specific, but the term denoting the office was general. This will account for the use of the word *στρατηγός* in the New Testament, in referring to men holding different kinds of offices.



## XVI.

## ταμείον

(1)

180

7

Εἰ δὲ ὁ κληρονόμος ὁ ἐμὸς  
 παραπέμψῃ τι, δώσει  
 τῷ ταμείῳ προστίμου δηνάρια ψν.

The whole of this inscription of nine lines is extant, but only the last three lines are transcribed. For its place and date see VII. (1).

A certain woman erected a tomb for herself and husband and made this provision: "but if my heir pass over anything he shall pay to the treasury a fine of 750 denarii."

It is clear that *ταμείον* here denotes the treasury, in all probability the treasury of the city.

(2)

413

4

δῶσ[ε]ι τῷ τα[μ]ιεῖψ \*φ.

Only the latter portion of this inscription is preserved, and only a part of the last line is transcribed.

The extant portion reads: "but if any one, having opened the tomb, dare to bury another without the consent of my wife, he shall pay to the treasury five hundred denarii." It belongs to Thessalonica. The date has not been ascertained. Money is to be paid to the *ταμείον*, that is, to the treasury.

(3)

420

3 εἰ δὲ μ[ή, δ]ῶσ[ε]ι τῷ ταμ[ε]ίψ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστη[ς] ληνοῦ \* . . . .

Only a small fragment of this inscription is preserved. It was found in Thessalonica. The part transcribed is the only intelligible statement in the extant portion. Reference is here made to the payment of a certain sum of money to the *ταμείον*.

(4)

426

5

δώσει τῷ [ιε]ρωτάτῳ ταμείῳ προστίμου \* μύ.

The whole of this inscription of five lines is extant, and the last line is here transcribed. It was found in Thessalonica.

A husband and wife built for themselves a tomb and made this provision: "but whoever dares to bury any other person besides those added in writing, he shall pay to the most sacred treasury a fine of 440 denarii."

(5)

447

3

δώσει τῷ κυριακῷ ταμείῳ

δηνάρια πέντε χιλιάδας.

The whole of this inscription of four lines is extant, but only the last clause of it is transcribed. It was found at Kalamaria near Thessalonica. It reads: "Gaius Julius Eutychus, while living, built this tomb for himself, and if any person, after I am buried, open it and bury another, he shall pay to the imperial treasury 5,000 denarii." This reference to the imperial treasury shows that the inscription belongs to some time in the imperial period.

(6)

740

8

δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμ[ε]ίῳ

\* μύρια

The whole of this inscription is extant, but only the last two lines are transcribed. It was found in Sokho which lies between Thessalonica and Sirrhæ. Dimitzas dates it about the first or second century A.D. (Μακ., II, 602).

A certain man, Dionysius, erected a tomb for his son and provided that if any other person should use this tomb for burial, he must pay to the most sacred treasury 12,000 denarii.

(7)

781

4

δώσει προστείμον τῷ ταμείῳ \* ,β καὶ τῇ πόλει ,β.

The whole of this inscription of five lines is extant, and the fourth line is transcribed. The inscription was found in Amphipolis, and belongs to the year 205 A.D.

A certain man built a tomb for himself and his wife and on it he wrote the following: "And if any other man shall dare to open [this tomb], or to bury another body in it, he shall pay a fine to the treasury of 10,000 denarii, and to the city 12,000 denarii." In this case the ταμείον does not refer to the treasury of the city, as one fine is paid to the ταμείον and one to the city.

(8)

829

\*Ἔστιν γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν

ἀνθρώπων σωτηρία τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου

15

ις ὠφελεία.

The whole of this inscription containing eighty-seven lines is preserved, except the first eight lines of it. Beginning at the middle of l. 13 a line and a half is transcribed above.

In this inscription a protest is made against certain unjust practices of the ruling classes in oppressing the common people, and it is asked not only that their demands be granted, but that they be inscribed and set up in some public place. In support of their protest they say in the lines transcribed above: "Such a thing is for the safety of men and for the advantage of the sacred treasury." In this instance the interests of the sacred treasury are closely associated with the welfare of men in general.

(9)

1220

7

οὗτος δώσει τῇ Θεσίῳ πόλει δηνάρια  $\bar{B}$ καὶ τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ἄλλα δηνάρια  $\bar{B}$ .

The whole of this inscription is extant, and the last two lines are here transcribed. For its place and date, and a translation of it see VII. (5).

In this inscription, as in 781 above, money is to be paid both to the ταμείον and to the city.

This dissertation presupposes that we no longer regard the Greek of the New Testament as an isolated language. Its sources are to be found in (1) the Greek inscriptions, (2) the non-literary Greek papyri of Egypt, (3) the current Greek literature of that period, (4) the Septuagint. In these four sources there is essential unity, with some slight variations.

The Septuagint is in "translation Greek." It is the Greek in common use at that time, with some modifications in construction conforming to the Hebrew idioms which it translated. Ideas and concepts appeared in the Hebrew Scriptures which were foreign to the Greeks, and so new Greek words, in some cases at least, were formed to express these new concepts. In other instances familiar Greek words were used with a different shade of meaning.

In the non-literary Greek papyri the language of everyday life is used. Many private letters have been found which preserve for us the vernacular of the common people.

As respects inscriptions they were scattered over the whole area of the Greek-speaking world, and are an important factor in showing that the Greek spoken throughout the Roman empire was in the main homogeneous. While they were written in the Greek then current, they are probably farther removed from the spoken language than are the non-literary Greek papyri. The inscriptions were intended for the public, and so were more formal, more nearly in accord with the literary usage of the time, than were the personal letters found in the papyri. They were for the most part of a legal or technical character, and so were expressed in a more formal manner than the spoken language.

The prose literature of that period might be taken as a sufficient source for the New Testament Greek, were it not that it seems to be pretty well established that writers of the New Testament drew more largely from the oral language of the common people than did such writers as Polybius, Josephus, or Philo. In this respect a closer parallel to the Greek of the New Testament is to be found in the Greek papyri. A wider range of usage may be obtained from the inscriptions than from a single writer.

This treatise is concerned with only one of these sources, the Greek inscriptions, and that from a definite geographical area. The inscriptions from Macedonia are rather intimately related to the writings of the New Testament. Some of the first gentile Christian churches were founded in Macedonia. Some of the first epistles written by Paul were to churches in Macedonia. Most of these inscriptions belong to the time in which the *κοινή* was the current language, and are themselves written in this "common" Greek.

In view of these facts it is evident that any lexical research in the field of the inscriptions will have a bearing upon the language of the New Testament. Those inscriptions which contain legal and governmental terms are in the very nature of the case connected with official business, and such terms have almost invariably a strictly technical meaning in the inscriptions. In the New Testament these legal and governmental terms are generally used in a figurative sense, in religious phraseology. It is not therefore to be supposed that there will be an exact parallelism of usage in these two fields, but their figurative usage in the New Testament depends for its significance upon the strictly technical meaning assigned to the terms in literature which is mani-



festly intended to be official and technical. In this respect it is hoped that this investigation may, in some measure, make a contribution toward a better understanding of the writings of the New Testament, and that the word-index will be of value to all those who desire to make further investigations in the field of the Macedonian inscriptions.

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The Christology of the Epistle  
to the Hebrews





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# The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews

Including Its Relation to the Developing  
Christology of the Primitive  
Church

By

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## LIST OF ERRATA

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For	אֱלֹהֵי	read	אֱלֹהֵי	page 71, lines 2, 5, and 10.
"	אֱלֹהֵי	"	אֱלֹהֵי	" 72, lines 18 and 21.
"	אֱלֹהֵי	"	אֱלֹהֵי	" 73, line 20.
"	אֱלֹהֵי	"	אֱלֹהֵי	" 71, line 14.
"	אֱלֹהֵי	"	אֱלֹהֵי	" 71, line 8.
"	אֱלֹהֵי	"	אֱלֹהֵי	" 71, line 15.
"	אֱלֹהֵי	"	אֱלֹהֵי	" 72, line 22.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 72, line 9 and note 4.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 73, line 19.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 72, lines 15 and 19.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 73, lines 4 and 16.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 75, line 23.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 78, line 13.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 72, note 1.
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 72, note 4.
"	חֵלֶל	"	חֵלֶל	" 72, note 3 (end).
"	מִן	"	מִן	" 72, note 4.
"	יְהוָה	"	יְהוָה	" 73, note 2.
"	יְהוָה	"	יְהוָה	" 75, note 3.
"	μαρνάθα	"	μαρὰν ἀθά	page 72, line 8.

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## INTRODUCTORY

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## II. INTRODUCTION TO THE EPISTLE

The Epistle to the Hebrews, from many points of view, is one of the most remarkable and virile pieces of writing in the New Testament. From the literary point of view it stands supreme in the New Testament as the work of a conscious literary artist. This holds true even if we are not ready to go as far as von Soden<sup>1</sup> in attributing to the writer conscious and precise conformity to the rhetorical laws of Greek literary construction. In any case it is clear that the writer is perfectly at home in his use of the Greek language. It is vain to attempt to show that this epistle is a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic. If the author was himself a Jew, as seems altogether likely, he nevertheless had a thorough training in the use of Greek, for he has given us the best exhibition of good Greek in the New Testament.

<sup>1</sup> *Handcommentar zum Neuen Testament*, "Einleitung zu Hebräer," V, S. 10.

The effort to establish the identity of the author is probably a hopeless one. Fortunately the epistle itself enables us to gain a sufficiently clear and full picture of his personality and attitude. The case is somewhat the same with the readers. A full discussion of questions of introduction is not required here. It is only necessary to give a general statement with emphasis upon matters which have a bearing upon the Christology.

The *terminus ad quem* of the epistle is fortunately fixed about 95 A.D. by its evident use in Clement *Ad Cor.* 1, which was written about 96 A.D. Unfortunately the *terminus a quo* is not so certain, though according to the view here held there are various converging lines of evidence which point to 85 to 90 A.D. It must, however, be admitted that so far as specific statements go, the earlier date 65 to 70 A.D. is not impossible. The letter itself shows us that the writer and his readers belong to the second generation of Christians (2:3, 4). Their conversion lies considerably in the past (5:12). They have passed through one severe persecution, apparently shortly after their conversion (10:32), and, whether literally interpreted or not, "resisted unto blood" (12:4) implies that they are in the throes of another persecution in the face of which they are not manifesting the enthusiastic, courageous spirit which they manifested in the former persecution (12:12).

There is too great a tendency, in fixing dates by persecutions, to consider only the definite and widespread persecutions of the Roman government, viz., those of Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and Trajan. There may have been other persecutions, not merely local but comparatively widespread, in addition to the historical persecutions of the Roman government known to us. But in the case of the readers of this epistle, it seems very natural to consider the first persecution mentioned, to be the one under Nero (64 A.D.). This would fit nicely the date of their conversion (2:3; 10:32), while the persecution under Domitian (81-96 A.D.) would be the one in which the readers at present find themselves. Inasmuch as this persecution has not yet reached its height (12:4), one is inclined to place it in the earlier part of Domitian's reign. It is impossible to consider the second persecution as that under Trajan (98-117 A.D.), for that would bring us beyond our *terminus ad quem*. These facts would lead us to place the epistle about 85 A.D., perhaps rather shortly after that date.

Many still feel it an insuperable objection to any date after 70 A.D. that the writer should know of the destruction of Jerusalem with the cessation of all the sacrificial service of the temple and yet fail to clinch



his argument by reference to this great fact. And indeed such a passage as 8:4, which surely seems to imply that there are still those on earth who offer gifts according to the law, offers considerable difficulty. We know that such sacrificial service ceased after 70 A.D. That the old covenant and its institutions should be spoken of as "nigh unto disappearing" (8:13) presents the same difficulty. These and other similar references lead many to adopt the view that the epistle was written to warn the readers against lapsing back into Judaism and to place the epistle before 70 A.D. But the whole difficulty diminishes, even vanishes, if we remind ourselves repeatedly that the author's whole thought revolves, not around the temple in Jerusalem, but around the tabernacle in the wilderness. It may indeed be that the reason for this was just the fact that the temple service was gone, but it is much more likely that it was because the author had nothing to do with the temple at Jerusalem. Philo went to Jerusalem only once, so far as we know.<sup>1</sup> It may be that our author never saw the temple. At any rate it is clear that the picture which fills his mind is not that of the temple but that of the tabernacle of Old Testament Scripture. Moreover the importance of the destruction of Jerusalem for the purpose of dating documents of the period has been exaggerated. It is an event that is not often referred to in contemporary literature. The Greeks once fined a playwright for making reference in his play to the destruction of the splendid city of Miletus 494 B.C. The Jews may have felt a similar reserve in regard to mentioning the destruction of Jerusalem.

There are, on the other hand, references to Jerusalem which have more significance if the temple is destroyed (13:14). The present tenses which seem to be used of the temple sacrifices must be explained as historic presents. The verb in 8:13b is a present expressing a general truth, an inference from what precedes, and is understood by the author as applying to the Old Covenant when the quotation from Jeremiah was originally written. The difficulty of the statement in 8:4 is relieved at once when we keep to its context and notice that the writer is speaking of the tabernacle, not of the temple.

As regards the readers and their situation, indications point perhaps most plausibly, all things considered, to Rome; though the church at Antioch might well be the recipient of the letter written from Rome or Italy (13:24). Too much, perhaps, has been made of the question as to whether the readers were Jews or gentiles. That the church or churches addressed were a unit does not necessarily mean, as Zahn contends, that

<sup>1</sup> Philo, *De Providentia*, II, sec. 107.

the membership consisted either of all Jews or all gentiles.<sup>1</sup> There was unity in the Antioch church before the Judaizers came and stirred up trouble between the Jews and the gentiles. So with the church at Rome to which Paul wrote. If, as we have suggested, we are to think of the letter as addressed to a church or churches in Rome we may possibly see in Hebrews a testimony to the success of Paul's great Epistle to the Romans. The church was composed of Jews and gentiles, the latter predominating; and Paul wrote them chiefly with the purpose of forestalling some threatened Judaizing influence. His work here as elsewhere was successful and by the time Hebrews was written, possibly to the same church, the danger is over, the whole controversy has died down, and there is again no distinction between Jews and gentiles.

If it be objected that general statements in the letter can refer only to gentiles (3:12; 5:12; 6:1 ff.; 9:14), it may be replied that the difficulty is relieved by two considerations, viz., that the majority of readers were gentiles, and also that it is altogether likely that even the Jews among them were inclined to fall back into a state of materialistic and formal irreligion rather than back to their former faith. There were different types of Jews, especially among those of the Dispersion; and it is altogether natural that those in this church should fall into careless discouragement when they found that their new venture into Christianity was not fulfilling expectations. At any rate it is clear from the epistle that the author, who is thoroughly aware of their situation, fears, not the attractive power of any definite form of religion, but rather the subtle power of unbelief, indifference, and formalism. The whole weight and wording of his warnings is against a negative rather than a positive danger, against neglect (2:3), against losing their "boldness and boasting" (3:6), against an "evil heart of unbelief" (3:12) and the "deceitfulness" of sin (3:13), this latter phrase implying that they might find themselves in the fatal situation without being themselves aware of it.

Their danger was, in a measure, like that against which the ancient prophets thundered, the danger of being content to have the form of godliness without the power thereof. Therefore the exhortation to hold fast the beginning of their confidence firm unto the end (3:14, 15) as the essential condition of really being partakers of the Christ. With this agrees the rebuke of their backward and imperfect state in the

<sup>1</sup> Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, II, 349. The discord in the Corinthian church was not at all racial; and per contra, at the time of the writing of Hebrews racial differences need not cause discord.

digression (5:11—6:20). So the exhortation (10:19 ff.) is full of thoughts which are naturally directed against listlessness, indifference, and neglect. In 10:29 the attitude pictured is one of neglect and despite of the grace received, and the warning of 10:31 would not be well directed to faithful observance of legalistic Judaism. It is rather a judgment on irreligion and godlessness. In fact the exhortations and warnings of the whole epistle (6:11, 12; 10:35, 36, 39), while they certainly imply a falling away from Christianity, imply little or nothing as to any positive form of religion which attracts the readers.

The warning of 13:9 ff. is perhaps an exception to this, in that the Christian readers seem to be attracted by some form of sacrificial meals which they think will strengthen their religious life but which the author feels are worthless for that purpose and have no place in Christianity. In this passage it is quite unnatural to make the "they" of vs. 10 denote the same persons as the "we" of the same verse, viz., Christian believers. The verse must be accepted as indicating some relation, however indirect ("strange," vs. 8), between the meats which are attractive to the readers and the Jewish customs. Even this would not necessitate the assumption of Jewish readers, for the propaganda of Hellenistic Judaism exerted just such a counter-attraction to Christianity over gentiles. But granted that it requires Jewish readers, this does not interfere with the thesis above expressed, viz., that the warnings indicate the main danger of the readers to be listlessness, formalism, lax morality, in fact a general religious criminal negligence without any special attention being paid to whether they are Jews or gentiles.

The contrast with Paul's Epistle to the Galatians is marked in that in the latter the defection is a positive one to a positive form of teaching clearly revealed in the epistle itself. The cause of the defection in Hebrews is in the main evidently twofold, viz., persecution both more intense (12:3 ff.) and less intense (13:13), and disappointment in the hopes that they had entertained in embracing Christianity (6:13-20; 10:25; 10:36; 12:1). Trying outward circumstances, combined with the failure of the lapse of years to bring the good things promised in Christ, had evidently made them secretly or openly question whether Christianity really contained that which could adequately reward such sacrifice and suffering.<sup>1</sup>

It is to meet this grave tendency to formalism, materialism, irreligion, and atheism that the author writes this epistle. He has been with them or at least has known their circumstances from the first. For some

<sup>1</sup> McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, 1903, p. 469.



reason he is now separated from them. But the need is so urgent and their situation so grave that, though he expects to return to them soon in person, he must write this word of exhortation (13:22) to arrest their threatened defection. And it is here that the christological significance of the epistle becomes evident. For the author feels that the grave situation, their threatened defection, is in a large measure due to their own ignorance of the glory, power, and finality of their Christian profession. They do not fully comprehend that which they have professed—its significance, its grandeur, its supremacy, its finality. And the sum-total of all this supreme significance of their profession is found in Jesus Christ, the Son of God who is High Priest forever after the order of Melchizedek. The whole epistle is an exposition of the mediatorial work of Christ based upon the supreme significance of his person.

It is tempting but futile to continue speculation upon the identity of the author. Some modern writers think favorably of Barnabas.<sup>1</sup> For Luther's famous suggestion of Apollos it can at least be said that Apollos could very well have written it; there is no evidence whatever that he actually did write it.<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this study, it is not necessary to determine the identity of the author.

It is well however to get a clear conception of the writer's training and attitude of mind, and so to speak, of the general climatic conditions of thought which could produce such a writing. It is clear that the author has been under Philonian influence more than any other New Testament writer.<sup>3</sup> This marks him off with more or less distinctness from those with whom his teaching has a certain amount of agreement.<sup>4</sup> It does not mean that the author must have been an Alexandrian in the sense of having lived or even having received his training there. But he was a more or less technical disciple of Philonian views and methods before his conversion to Christianity. It is to be noted, however, that Alexandrianism was a part of the general religious milieu of the time to a greater degree than has hitherto been recognized.

It is easy to make too much of real or alleged blunders in connection with his descriptions of Old Testament ritual. But there is, nevertheless, an element of uncertainty that suggests that the author gained his knowledge of Judaism by academic study. It was not altogether native to him. Philonian views and methods were native to him but his knowledge of both Judaism and Christianity came by earnest continued

<sup>1</sup> Ayles, *Goodspeed*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> McGiffert; *op. cit.*, p. 480, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Paul and the primitive church.



study and meditation.<sup>1</sup> It will be shown in detail later that the author was also influenced, at least indirectly, by elements from the mystery-religions of his time. If a Jew, as is likely, he was a Jew of the Dispersion, not a Palestinian Jew.

Where, outside of Palestine, could such an author have written such a writing? Possibly in Alexandria, but more likely in Asia Minor or Syria where the Christian movement secured such a strong foothold. The atmosphere here was strongly Philonian. Rome is the most plausible destination, but there is nothing incongruous in supposing the church at Antioch to be the recipient of the letter. Perdelwitz combines the two.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, the Epistle to the Hebrews was written *ca.* 85 A.D. by an anonymous writer, probably a Jew of the Dispersion, who, before his conversion, had had a more or less technical training in Alexandrian philosophy and had been a careful student of classic Judaism. He writes probably to a church or section of a church in Rome, but possibly to the church at Antioch or to some other church in Syria or Asia Minor. This church is composed probably of both gentiles and Jews, the former predominating, but there are no signs of division within the church itself. They have become disheartened, however, through hopes deferred and because of renewed persecution, and they are ready to fall back into empty formalism or into actual repudiation of their Christian profession. The author writes to call them back to their first faith and enthusiasm, and as a means to this end he sets forth the supreme greatness and glory of Christ, the Son of God, and of the salvation which he has brought to them.

### III. GENERAL DOCTRINAL VIEWS AND FRAMEWORK

A brief discussion of the general method and doctrinal content of the epistle is necessary to an adequate understanding of its Christology. From the theological no less than from the literary point of view the Epistle to the Hebrews is one of the most thoroughly and consciously artistic of all the New Testament writings. From the literary point of view this is made manifest not only by the writer's splendid diction, his play upon words, and the general rhythmic movement of his language,<sup>3</sup> but also by the dignity and even sublimity of his thought. The letter

<sup>1</sup> McGiffert, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Das literarische Problem des Hebräerbriefs," *Z.f.N.T.W.*, 1910, S. 59, 105.

<sup>3</sup> Von Soden in *Handcommentar zum N.T.*, "Einleitung zu Hebräer," IV.

reveals a carefully constructed plan with skilful transitions and judicious insinuations of words and anticipations of ideas.

But his general theological attitude is that which is of importance in this connection. It is to be noted first of all that the letter is not in any sense an exhaustive theological treatise. It manifests some traits which are somewhat puzzling and which incline many to think that it is a treatise or homily rather than a letter. But it bears the marks of a genuine letter to people with whom the writer had been closely associated and in whom he was personally interested. It is therefore eminently practical. Certain great doctrinal features stand out clearly in the epistle, though the letter does not furnish a complete presentation of Christianity as the writer conceived it. There are many gaps, much that is assumed, and the doctrinal ideas that are presented are such as contribute to the intensely practical purpose of the writer.

Though Alexandrian in training, the author has a somewhat elaborate eschatology that is in general harmony with that of the early Christians. The writer considers himself and his readers to stand at the close of one of the great periods or "aeons" of the world's history (1:2) and to be looking forward to the second great period or "aeon" which is imminent and which will be ushered in at the parousia of Christ (10:25, 37). Between these two great periods are what seem to be days of transition, the end of the one period and the beginning of the next, days which the rabbis called the "days of the Messiah" before the messianic kingdom proper. These last days are the period of trial and persecution for the readers and believers, and the whole purpose of the writer is directed toward strengthening them for these days until the better days of the second period shall have fully set in.

In this second period occurs the judgment of God which looms large and terrible in the vision of the writer. In one passage the judgment is put after death (9:27), but not necessarily immediately after death. The general judgment is evidently put at the inauguration of the second period immediately after the coming of Christ. The faithful and obedient pass into full salvation, the realization and enjoyment of the promises; the neglectful and disobedient into destruction (10:39; cf. 2:3; 5:9; 6:9; 11:40). This judgment is final (6:2). It is repeatedly ascribed to God (10:30, 31; 12:9; 12:23), though the writer's method of ascribing an act to God (2:10) and again to Christ (1:10) or to Christ under God (1:2b) does not absolutely forbid the thought of Christ having charge of judgment under God. Of the intervening state of the faithful who have died the writer says nothing definitely, though he

implies that they are in some sort of close association with God and Jesus and the angels (12:23). In life, the faithful not only anticipate but in large measure realize by faith the salvation which comes in its fulness only after the second coming of Christ.

As the old and the new revelations, though different, are yet one (1:1, 2), so the old and the new are also one in that the good things brought by Christ are conceived as another, a new covenant. This new covenant has come in God's good time according to promise (1:2; 8:8, 13). It is better than the old in every way, its superiority being pictured under the Platonic-Philonic concept of type and reality. The old was but shadow, the new is substance. The old was type, the new is reality. The old was earthly, the new is heavenly. And this superiority belongs to the new covenant all through. It had a superior priesthood in Jesus who was High Priest after the order of Melchizedek. It had a superior law, written upon the heart. It had a superior sacrifice, even the perfect, final, and effective sacrifice of Jesus himself in his voluntary death. It had the perfect sanctuary, not of this world but in heaven itself in the very presence of God. It may be, though this is hardly likely, that the writer considered the old covenant with all its ceremonies and ordinances as in every particular typical and in everything having its real fulfilment in Christianity, the new covenant.

While the old covenant, because of its weakness and imperfection, failed to accomplish its real purpose—forgiveness of sins and true fellowship between God and his covenant people—Christianity, the new covenant mediated by Jesus, secures this very thing, namely, full and final forgiveness, cleansing of the conscience, entrance into the very presence of God, and finally perfection and participation in God's own Sabbath rest. This is the "eternal salvation" (5:9) which is due to Jesus as its cause and is often spoken of as an inheritance, as inheriting the promises (6:17; 9:15). The chief thought of the epistle, however, is that of Jesus as eternal High Priest who mediates this covenant and secures this salvation to those who come to God through him (7:25). The writer fails to make quite clear the picture he gives of the future age after the parousia of Christ. At times he seems to conceive it locally and materially (2:5) as a renovated earth (12:27); again as the kingdom of abiding spiritual reality (12:28), the heavenly Jerusalem (12:22). It is likely that the blending of the two ideas did not seem incongruous to him.

The virtues of the Christian life are faith, hope, love, fidelity, obedience, patience, and hospitality. Most prominent in the writer's



presentation are faith and obedience. These are considered as the essential conditions, and yet not as the purchase price of salvation. They are closely related in the writer's thought, in fact, are almost interchangeable. Faith is the anticipatory realization of the unseen and invisible which impels to obedience and endurance (11:1).

The universal fatherhood and sovereignty of God are emphasized in the epistle (12:9). Jesus as Son is heir of all things, but always under God. He is victor over death and the devil, as the deliverer of his people (2:15); himself the great shepherd of the sheep raised from the dead by God (13:20). But the chief picture of Jesus' person, character, and work is presented in the description of him as High Priest of the new order, a picture drawn on the background of Judaism.

It is thus clear that the comparison with Judaism is fundamental in the presentation of the writer, not only because he is firmly convinced that the roots of this new faith are found in Judaism, but also because for the people among whom he moved and for whom he wrote—whether Jew or gentile—Judaism was accepted without dispute as supreme in the realm of religion. Only Christianity could be compared to it; but as the writer compares them it is clear that not only is Christianity, the new covenant, far better—it is the perfect and final fulfilment of Judaism. It is the final religion of which Judaism was only a shadow or symbol. And it is here that the peculiar world-view of the writer comes to his aid. He is an Alexandrian, steeped in the ideas and phraseology of that school, probably before his conversion a more or less technical disciple of that school. With the utmost ease and naturalness he does what every Christian thinker and preacher does, viz., runs the content of his new Christian experience into the forms of his own training and thinking. One of these Alexandrian thought-forms was the contrast of the "intelligible" and the "perceptible" world, the world of ideas and the world of sense, the world of the eternal and permanent, and the world of the temporal and passing, the world of the unseen perfect realities and the world of the visible imperfect copies. Using this familiar Alexandrian contrast, the writer puts the stamp of perfection and finality upon Christianity by identifying it with the "intelligible" world of abiding ideas and realities. The new religion of Jesus is supreme, perfect, final, eternal, and that which makes it the final religion is the person (i.e., order, rank) and work of Jesus Christ. Though this thought-content is cast in a philosophical mold it is clearly the product not of his philosophy, but of his own Christian experience and that of his fellow-Christians.



## I. HUMAN ELEMENTS IN THE CHRIST-CONCEPTION OF THE EPISTLE

### I. THE WRITER'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS

In considering the christological material proper, the first question that naturally arises is that which relates to the nature and extent of the writer's knowledge of the historical Jesus. It is clear that the writer considers Jesus to be the Messiah and that he holds to the Palestinian eschatological conception of the division of time into ages or aeons made by the coming of the Messiah. This would not be conclusively shown by his frequent use of the phrases "unto the aeon" and "unto the aeons of aeons" (13:21) which might be general expressions meaning "forever." But that the author did hold to the messianic eschatological division of time is shown by such expressions as "the coming aeon." It is shown also by the phrase with which he describes God's message as given in a Son compared with that given long ago in the prophets, the phrase "at [the] end of these days." This phrase denotes the period of Jesus' life and teaching while he was on earth, that which is called today the period of his public ministry. The phrase is a thoroughly Jewish one and reveals an element in the writer that is distinct from his Philonian tendency, for it is decidedly messianic in its tone. It represents the viewpoint especially of later Judaism, though similar conceptions are common in the Septuagint. There is the *αἰὼν οὗτος*, "this age," set sharply over against the *αἰὼν μέλλον*, "[the] coming age." The "days of the Messiah" are evidently conceived as falling, partly at the end of "this aeon" and partly at the beginning of the "coming aeon," but the appearance of the Messiah is regularly placed at the end of "this aeon." The phrase *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν*, "at [the] last of the days" (or its equivalent), which in the Old Testament is regularly used to denote future time, comes to refer generally in late Judaism and the New Testament to the closing of "this age." The writer, therefore, makes free to add *τούτων*, thus making the reference to this age more emphatic. The expression, then, denotes the same as *ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων* (9:26), found in the Synoptic Gospels. It is also equivalent to *καιρὸς διορθώσεως* (9:10), "time of reformation." All of these terms denote the period of Christ's life, ministry, death, and exaltation.

It may be said here that the writer does not distinguish sharply between the "last of these days" and the "age to come." But the distinction is fundamental with him nevertheless. The world to come is the theme of his epistle (2:5). The old covenant belongs to "this age," the new covenant to the "age to come." But the "age to come" is initiated by the first appearance of Jesus and consummated by his second appearance (9:28b). This consummation at the second appearance of Christ is the "day" that is approaching (10:25b). This word "approaching" has, probably, a larger content than temporal, and indicates the pressure of the powers of the "age to come" into the "last of these days" (6:5). There are, then, only two clearly defined periods in the world-view of the writer, "this age" and "the age to come." But the powers of the "age to come" are in a measure manifested and realized in the present. The "last of these days" is at once the close of "this age" and the beginning of the "age to come." And the "age to come," when consummated at the second appearing of Christ, is the inhabited world that is to be (1:6), or the heavenly Jerusalem (12:22).

The phrase "at the end of these days" (1:2), therefore, denotes the time then present to the writer but as evidently goes back to, and includes, the period of the ministry and teaching of Jesus. But all that the introductory verse tells us is that in these final and momentous days, as contrasted with the days of old, God spoke a message in a Son, later in the epistle identified with Jesus (2:9), who as representative man suffered humiliation in his death and, being made perfect by these sufferings, was exalted to his present estate because of them. In these verses the fact of the death of Jesus and the sufferings in connection therewith are doubtless in the writer's mind but are not in any way historically described. The death of Jesus, however, is the supreme act, as we learn not only from this passage but from many other passages in the epistle.

Of more weight for this section is the view of the writer as to what was necessary that this supreme act of sacrifice in death might be effected and thus death and its master, the devil, be subdued and the children of God delivered. This was, that Jesus himself should share in flesh and blood as did the children whom he would deliver. For it is the conception of the writer that the deliverer must be altogether like those whom he would save. Strictly speaking, however, these are not references to the historical Jesus but rather an exposition of how the writer conceived and explained to himself and his readers the genuine humanity of Jesus. We have here indeed the conception of the writer that Jesus

was a being who did thus condescend to participate in flesh and blood, i.e., in genuine human nature.

The writer in no way attempts to explain *how* this participation in full human nature came to be. But this should not lead us to discount or doubt what he here plainly means to state, viz., that this Jesus was not a ghost or angel, for it was not with ghosts or angels that he had to do but with men who should become his followers (2:16). He therefore also shared in, took part in, this genuine human nature with all that it essentially involved of suffering and temptation in order that he might be qualified to deliver men. The author has the conception of a being, in part at least, developing under the strain of hard experience. The result of this experience was a genuine sympathy with men in their weaknesses, and an ability to minister seasonable help to those in distress.

But a more decided reference to the events of the life of Jesus is found in 5:7-10, "who in the days of his flesh," etc. This is a distinct reference to the historical life of Jesus, specifically to his experience in the Garden of Gethsemane. The phrase, "with strong crying and tears," while not at all out of harmony with the account of Mark and Matthew, throws much more emphasis upon a natural human weakness on the part of Jesus. This additional emphasis may possibly be due to the author himself, but much more likely it is a variant from oral tradition which seems to ring true to the actual behavior of Jesus in Gethsemane. In either case it is a touch which puts striking emphasis upon the author's view of the genuine humanity of Jesus. The rest of the description likewise puts emphasis upon the truly human and submissive aspect of Jesus' attitude in this crisis, in order to emphasize the point of the preceding verses, viz., that Jesus did not take this office of High Priest to himself but was called to it by God. The attitude of the devout, God-fearing man is ascribed to him in the phrase "having been heard for his godly fear." This seems to be the best and most natural meaning to give to this phrase and it need not call for anything more by way of an answer to his prayer than is implied in the Matthew and Markan accounts where Jesus is finally strengthened to say "Thy will be done."

The whole picture of this section is so characteristically that of a devout, God-fearing man in the midst of suffering and trial, that the writer feels constrained to add that "although he was a Son" he thus suffered and learned obedience by what he suffered. The writer was quite conscious of the hiatus between this picture of a devout, praying, tempted, God-fearing man and the conception of a Son to whom one



would expect obedience to be natural, and not require such arduous discipline and suffering for its development. This phrase, "even though being a Son," in this particular context shows plainly that the author applies the word Son to Jesus as he would not and does not apply it to men in general or to any other created beings. Suffering is the common lot of men. It is the means of learning obedience for all Christians (12:4ff.), but the strange thing is that it is also fitting and necessary even for Jesus, a Son. It is just this submission and victory in and through this experience of suffering that makes him efficient in his work as Savior and High Priest and causes God to address him as such.

As to the manner in which the Son partook of flesh and blood, the writer has nothing specific to say. His statement that it is evident our Lord sprang out of Judah (7:14) may only echo the common tradition of the church independently of the question as to whether this descent is traced through Joseph or Mary. It can hardly be used as evidence that Mary was of David's line, nor can it be used to prove that the author held the doctrine of the miraculous conception. The author refers to Jesus' coming into the world (10:5) by quotation of Ps. 40:6-8, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body didst thou prepare for me." The writer is here following the Septuagint, as he regularly does. This gives him an entirely different thought from that of the original Hebrew, "mine ears hast thou pierced"; but this need cause no difficulty as it is the writer's own thought that is being considered. The words evidently denote for him the incarnation of Jesus. It might be considered that this phrase favored the miraculous conception, but it would surely be pressing the words too far to say that they demand this view. In fact the words might be used of anyone by one who holds the doctrine of pre-existence, as the speaker in Wisdom of Solomon says (8:19, 20): "Nay rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled," although he had just said (7:2): "And in the womb of my mother was I moulded into flesh in the time of ten months, being compacted in blood of the seed of man," etc. It cannot be said, therefore, that the writer of Hebrews anywhere reveals how he conceived the incarnation to have taken place. This may be considered as an argument so far forth that he thought of it as perfectly normal. In any case it is this body which has been prepared for him by God which makes possible his offering and sacrifice (10:10), which in turn leads to sanctification. It is this body that is the veil, and the offering of it in death is the removal of the veil which opens the new and living way into the true holy place (10:20).

It seems evident that although the writer is not concerned with the



earthly life and ministry and teaching of Jesus, he is nevertheless reliably informed about it (2:3) and sets a high value upon it. He speaks of the great salvation spoken first by the Lord himself. With him, as with Paul, it is not a question of ignorance but rather of emphasis and of the particular purpose in view. Where the events of Jesus' life specially illustrate his purpose and his thought he shows his knowledge of them (5:7). It is true of course that this knowledge is not first-hand (2:3), but full weight should be given to the author's statement that he possessed good second-hand testimony. This passage however does not necessarily or even probably mean that the author was a personal companion of the apostles. The writer's description of the course of events in the primitive church during the Apostolic age is an accurate one (2:4) judging it by other accounts. On the whole it would seem that the author has a fuller knowledge of the historic Jesus than he has occasion to manifest or use. His work is rather interpretative and theological. His interest centers about the sacrificial death and High-Priestly work of Jesus.

## II. HUMAN ELEMENTS IN HARMONY WITH HIS HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

In advancing beyond actual events to consider what appear to be genuinely human elements ascribed to the character of Jesus by the writer, there is found an emphasis quite beyond that of Paul in the same sphere. Indeed, it may be said that in appreciation of human character and its development in the midst of work and suffering the writer of Hebrews is far in advance of other New Testament writers with the possible exception of the synoptists.

There are some passages in the epistle which, while evidently based on some knowledge of the historical Jesus, at the same time exhibit a development toward the speculative or theological, yet without going beyond human characteristics. Such, for instance, is the call to consider the patient endurance which Jesus manifested in the face of the senseless and inconsistent opposition at the hands of his opponents, called sinners (12:3). The writer evidently has in mind more particularly the actions of the rulers, the people, and probably the Roman soldiers in connection with Jesus' trial and crucifixion. The word "such" of vs. 3 points back naturally to "endured the cross, despising the shame" of vs. 2. But the point to be noted is that the human attribute of patient endurance in the face of exasperating opposition against righteousness is here emphasized. It is a characteristic of Jesus' attitude under persecution which is held up as an example to the readers.

The thoughts in 12:2 are similar. There are a number of difficulties in this verse which touch vital points. The chief cause of difference of opinion is as to whether these statements apply to Jesus in his earthly life or to the Son in his pre-existent state. One is tempted with the older interpreters (and indeed some of the latest; cf. von Soden, *Good-speed*) to take this passage as a parallel in substance and color to Paul's famous statement in Phil. 2:6 and perhaps the original and natural meaning of ἀντί, viz., "instead of," would seem to favor this view. But it is against this view that no such thought is found elsewhere in the epistle, and its occurrence here, while not inconsistent with the author's view of Jesus, seems strange and the interpretation which finds it here is very likely the result of the widespread influence of the Pauline passage and possibly of the view of Pauline authorship. This is the more likely in that, while the context in the Philippian passage leaves no doubt as to the reference being to the pre-existent Christ, the context in the Hebrews passage is decidedly against such a reference. In both passages Jesus (Phil. 2:6, "Christ," "Christ Jesus") is presented as an example—in the Philippian passage as an example of splendid self-denial and sacrifice, in the Hebrews passage as an example of patient endurance in the face of persecuting opposition and ridicule. But it is just this difference that turns the scale in favor of reference to the earthly life of Jesus in the Hebrews passage. The whole exhortation is to patient endurance as exemplified in the attitude of Jesus in the midst of his trying earthly experiences (cf. vs. 3 which is closely connected with the previous verse by "for"). It may be answered that this might still be true with the view which refers the "joy" to the preincarnate life of Jesus. But such reference to a "joy" of the preincarnate life would at least be a disconcerting thought detracting from the real point of the exhortation. It is therefore more natural to translate "because of the joy that was set before him" and interpret the "joy" to be that of the "crowning with glory and honor" with the sons whom he leads to glory with him. This view is favored, too, by the fact that while there are no parallels to the former view in the epistle, there are parallels to the latter, viz., 1:9 and 2:9. This, then, means that, in the view of the writer, the anticipated feeling of joy, the courage that endured the cross, the patience that bore contradiction, ridicule, and shame were all of them genuine human characteristics of the earthly Jesus which constituted him, quite above the heroes of faith enumerated in chap. 11, the supreme example to the sorely tempted readers of the epistle.

But the secret of this much-needed endurance is faith and this again

is a true human quality characteristic of the earthly Jesus, and is expressed in this verse by "author and perfecter of faith" and emphasized repeatedly by the writer throughout the epistle. It was by no divine magic, no mere "breath, turn of eye, wave of hand," that he "joined issue with death," but by the power of that genuinely human faith which had inspired others in the past, faith in the characteristic sense of the writer (11:1) which is convinced of things unseen and gives substance to things hoped for. This is another reason for translating the phrase "because of the joy that was set before him," since, so translated, it presents a splendid example of a high human faith in the writer's characteristic sense which is entirely fitting in this context but which would be quite lost by the other translation. Faith is simply unwavering confidence in the hopes and promises that relate to the future. This it is that begets endurance in the hard lot of the present, and it was just this confidence in the joy that lay before him that enabled Jesus to bear the cross. This same faith is evident in the passage already considered (5:7-10), although faith is not there named.

The writer, therefore, places Jesus in the same class in regard to faith as that in which all believers in God are placed (11:6; cf. 2:13). But the phrase of 12:2, "author and perfecter of faith," puts Jesus, in another sense, in a class by himself as supreme exponent and example of this faith. The word translated "author" denotes primarily "chief leader" or "captain," a use common in the Septuagint. But the word also shades readily into the idea of "author" or "cause." In 2:10 the context almost requires "captain" or "leader," but not, perhaps, to the exclusion of "author" or "cause," which latter would at any rate express an idea clearly held by the writer (5:9). In this passage (12:2), again, the context favors taking ἀρχηγός as "captain" or "leader," i.e., in the sense of supreme example or exponent of faith as an active principle in human life. Since the idea of faith is so emphatic and characteristic in this writer, there is no adequate reason for giving the word faith in this passage any meaning (as, e.g., the Christian system) different from that in the rest of the epistle. It denotes here also that attitude of thought and life which confidently anticipates the future and realizes and acts in view of, the unseen. Of all the heroes of faith Jesus, though not the first in time, is the first in rank, the great exemplar, the supreme exponent of this attitude of faith.

Closely related to this truly human characteristic of faith in Jesus is that of faithfulness or fidelity. To Moses and Jesus alike (3:2) this quality is assigned; but to Moses as servant (3:5), to Jesus as Son (3:6).



This quality of faithfulness is also assigned to Jesus as High Priest (2:17), and with it is combined the quality of mercy (2:17), which the context shows is also attributed to him as a human acquirement, gained by his human experience. And on this last quality of mercy in its various shades the author lays great emphasis, in what appear at first sight to be two different ways but which really blend into one. Jesus is subject to suffering and temptation exactly (*παραπλησίως*, 2:14) as other men. This is described as having two objects in view, first, that he might become a merciful and faithful High Priest (2:17), the adjectives here used perhaps corresponding respectively to the verbs in another passage (*συνπαθῆσαι*, 4:15), "to sympathize," and (*μετριοπαθεῖν*, 5:2), "to deal moderately or fairly"; secondly, that the captain of salvation might himself be perfected (2:10).

It is probable, however, that these two apparently divergent results really blend, in that the perfecting of Jesus consists in the fact that through suffering and temptation he becomes a merciful and faithful High Priest and leader. But the notion of *τελείωσις* involves more than this. In 2:10 the context indicates that it denotes that condition which leads, dominates, and commands effectually. According to the psalm quoted, the dominion was promised to man. But man has not proved worthy of it, with the exception of Jesus who, though humbled for a season, through the very sufferings of his humiliation, has gained that perfection which secures or will secure to him this universal dominion. As an accompaniment or result of this high condition of perfection he is crowned with glory and honor. In 5:9 these two shades of the notion of perfection, viz., ability to save and inner worth or character, are more closely joined. It is held by many that *τελείωσις* denotes in this epistle only official perfection, i.e., ability to save men through sympathy.<sup>1</sup> But to speak of Jesus as learning obedience from that which he suffered shows the conception of the development of a devout character of personal worth in relation to God. The passage 7:28 further shows that this perfection denotes a condition of character which has become superior to and therefore now free from the weakness of the flesh that continually attends other men, even priests. This weakness, indeed, Jesus has shared in the days of his flesh (5:2, 7); and memory of experiences in it still abides with him (2:18) to give him sympathy and fairness (5:2; 4:15). But the state of perfection free from this weakness is ascribed to him, and he is therefore described in the terms of 7:26 as "holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners and made

<sup>1</sup> So A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, pp. 207 f.; cf. Perdelwitz, *op. cit.*, S. 105 f.



higher than the heavens," being perfected forevermore. This last passage indicates that, as will be shown later, there are elements from the mystery-religions, in the writer's conception of perfection.

### III. GENERAL STATEMENT

The above goes to support the statement that, with the possible exception of the synoptists, there is no other writing in the New Testament which throws into such bold relief the human elements in the personality of Jesus. And it is a question whether the synoptists should be excepted. For they set out with the purpose of giving an account of the life and teaching of Jesus while on earth. It is therefore only natural that they should have a larger amount of the human element.

The peculiar characteristic of the writer to the Hebrews is that he views character developmentally and applies this developmental view to the character of Jesus. The fact that the language of 5:14 refers rather to the discernment of true and false teaching does not alter the fact that the language and thought is Stoic and was generally used to refer to conduct and to the development of character. And the fact that the writer uses this language implies that he would hold the same view of development in character. The language is probably mediated to the writer through later Stoicism and through Philo.<sup>1</sup> At any rate this developmental view is the one that the writer presents of Jesus with an emphasis and an insight that is unusual in the New Testament.

<sup>1</sup> The language of 5:14 reminds one of the Stoic Wise Man; cf. Philo, *Leg. Alleg.*, III, 64, p. 94 E; 83, p. 104 D; cf. Sanday, *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, p. 180.

## II. TRANSCENDENT ELEMENTS IN THE CHRIST-CONCEPTION OF HEBREWS

### I. THE THREE PERIODS IN JESUS' CAREER

Preparatory to a consideration of the transcendent elements in the Christ-conception of the writer of Hebrews, it may be well to present a survey of the writer's conception of the total career of Jesus Christ.

The author considers that there were two pivotal points in the total career of this person for whom his most common appellation is Jesus. The first of these is described as "sharing in flesh and blood" (an aorist tense), because his brethren whom he would save from the fear of death partook of these. It was, therefore, necessary that he be made like his brethren in all things (2:14, 17). Again this is referred to (10:5*a*) as coming "into the world," and in the same verse it is described from the divine point of view in the words of Ps. 40:6 ff. which are interpreted messianically and therefore put in the mouth of Jesus as he is conceived to address God saying, "a body didst thou prepare for me." The author gives no hint as to how he conceived this incarnation to have taken place. It is simply stated as a pivotal point, a coming into the world, which doubtless means an entrance into this human life of men upon earth, the period spoken of as "the days of his flesh" (5:7).

The second pivotal point in the career of this Jesus is one that cannot be so clearly defined, but which may best be stated as his entrance upon his exalted state, which is described as taking his seat at the right hand of God (1:13) by the command of God himself. This event in the career of Jesus is frequently mentioned in the epistle (10:12; 10:13; 10:37; 12:2). It is referred to as an entrance into the heavenly world (6:20), the real sanctuary (9:24), heaven itself, as the first is referred to as an entrance into this world, this earthly life (10:5*a*). Closely associated with this event, though not identical in point of time, are the death (10:12*a*), resurrection (13:20*a*), ascension (4:14*a*), and anointing of Jesus (1:9*b*).

In addition to these two pivotal points, there are other events in the career of Jesus less definitely indicated. How, for instance, did the writer conceive Jesus to have been or to have become the Son of God? In 1:5 and 5:5 the author seems to consider the person Jesus to have been at a certain fixed time constituted and hailed Son by God. Not to

any of his fellows, the angels (1:9b), did God ever address such words; but to this person called Jesus he said, "Thou art my Son, I today have begotten thee, and again, I will be to him a Father and he shall be to me a Son." But the author does not enable us to discern clearly when that time was. It must be inferred from 5:8 that Jesus was considered Son during his earthly period and therefore the reference can hardly be to his resurrection (as in Rom. 1:4) or to his exaltation. There is no evidence to show that these words contain a specific reference either to the eternal generation or to the incarnation. If they are not to be taken as denoting a fixed point at which Jesus was constituted and hailed Son by adoption it must simply be considered a highly figurative, rhetorical way of recognizing in time the Sonship of Jesus which the writer considers continual and timeless. This view might be taken without going so far as to say with von Soden that "today" in the writer's mind actually denoted the timeless eternity of God. The writer's eschatological division of time forbids giving this meaning to the word, especially in the discussion of the "rest of God" in the third and fourth chapters (cf. 3:13; 4:7).

Another special point in the career of Jesus would seem to be indicated in 5:5 where it is said that the Christ did not glorify himself to become High Priest but rather that the honor of appointment came from God who had said to him, "Thou art my Son. I today have begotten thee"; and who also said "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." But here again it does not seem that the writer concerns himself with being precise in regard to a time when Christ thus became High Priest. It must be recognized that the whole framework of Old Testament ritual, though viewed and set forth by the writer as proof of what he presents, is in reality only a fitting but imperfect and incomplete illustration or analogy of what Jesus was and did. In other words, what is true of New Testament writers in general is especially true of the writer of Hebrews—they see Jesus in the Old Testament only *ex post facto*. There is something startling in the analogies, or at least in the impression made by their sum-total, and one may not lightly say that the author's elaborate system of analogies between the old and the new covenants is only an ingenious patchwork. It is the same God who spake to the fathers in the prophets and who speaks at last in a Son (1:2). There is a genuine unity. But the point is, that what is primary with this writer, as with all the New Testament writers, is the impression of Jesus himself. The Old Testament is seen from the standpoint of the impression of Jesus; it is not Jesus that is seen from the standpoint of the Old Testament.



For this reason it is plain that, to say nothing of the analogies not being proofs, many of them are imperfect and even misleading analogies. There need be nothing surprising in this. The surprise rather is that the author finds so much that contributes splendidly to the exposition of the new in the ritual of the old. But it would surely be unwise of us today to try to press the analogies farther than the author himself has pushed them. This many are inclined to do (e.g., Bruce) when they try to state a definite time at which Jesus became High Priest. The author perhaps has in mind that, as entrance into the Holiest was the great act of the Aaronic high priest, so Jesus when he passed through the heavens (4:14) and became manifested on men's behalf in the very presence of God (9:24) entered upon his Priesthood. And most of what is said on this point in the epistle attributes his High-Priestly work to this stage (cf. 7:24; 8:3; 9:14). But the writer also considers him priest outside of this sphere (7:27; 9:14; 10:10), especially in offering himself once for all in death. It would seem therefore that it is forcing the author into too precise a consideration of time to compel him to say just when Jesus became High Priest. This and many other difficulties in interpreting the Priesthood and High Priesthood of Jesus arise from forcing the typology of the epistle, from forgetting that in reality the typology is an illustration *ex post facto* and not a proof. In the view of the writer Jesus' High-Priestly acts constitute him High Priest rather than any inauguration to his office at a specific time.

Still one other point appears of signal importance in the career of Jesus, viz., that at which all his enemies are to be made the footstool of his feet. This is no doubt identical with the time of his second appearance in the world of men (1:6), which is also to be the point of time when the full salvation is brought in (9:28), when the full *sabbatismos* or rest of God is realized (4:9), when all the faithful of the old and the new covenants shall together realize the fulfilment of God's promise of full perfection, delayed so long for the sake of those of the latter days (11:39, 40). The writer sees this day approaching (10:25b) and therefore urges greater earnestness, diligence, and endurance; for in the words of Habakkuk the coming one will come quickly (10:37). Associated with the events of this time is the idea of the new heavens and the new earth so far as it is held by this author (12:26, 27), and the complete establishment of the kingdom of God, perfect and unchangeable (12:28, 29). This subordinate point of time, therefore, is one which the author presents with much more singleness and definiteness than either that of the acquirement of the Sonship or that of the acquirement of the Priesthood.



By the two pivotal points already indicated which we may call the incarnation and the exaltation, the career of Jesus as presented by the writer is divided into three definite states or stages which may be termed the period of pre-existence, the earthly period of the days of his flesh, and the period of exaltation. They might be termed technically, pre-incarnate, incarnate, and postincarnate. These are sharply defined but it is clear that the epistle considers them as different stages in the career of one and the same person. The most common name which the writer uses is the simple historical name Jesus, while the most exalted name is Son or Son of God, though these latter are titles rather than names. One would almost expect him to confine the use of the name Jesus to the period of the days of his flesh, but he does not do so.

As to the preincarnate period it is stated of this person Jesus that he made the worlds ("aeons," 1:2; 1:10 ff.), that he was the effulgence of God's glory and the express image of his substance, that he sustained the universe by the word of his (God's) power (1:3). That he was in the beginning is implied (1:10), and that the heavens and earth are transitory while he is unchanging and eternal is stated in 1:11, 12. In 2:11 it is implied that even in this preincarnate state he bore some special relation to men which ("for which reason," 2:11) constituted them, or at least led him to call them, brethren. And just because these brethren had their lot in flesh and blood he, too, partook of the same. But the reason for this was that it was necessary in order to do for them that which he wanted to do or felt obliged to do just because, in his preincarnate state, there already existed a bond between them, since both sanctifier and sanctified were all of one (2:11) (as we might say, "all of a piece"). It is hardly satisfactory to the context and the general thought of the writer to take this, as most interpreters do, to denote that they have a common origin in God; for God, in the thought of the writer, is the common origin of all things (2:10)—angels, demons, men, and worlds. It is more likely that the phrase means "of a piece," for this harmonizes better both with the preceding and the following verses. The sanctifier and sanctified are all "of a piece," i.e., both the captain of salvation and the "sons" belong to the same company: they form a unit. The captain is not a foreign ruler imposed upon the company, but is one with them. And the three citations which follow (vs. 11) emphasize this same thought, viz., the community and identity of the captain with his company. If it be said that this community or identity is presented rather as holding good in the preincarnate state, even before being realized in the earthly period, it is perhaps best explained as being

carried back in thought from the earthly period and applied to the pre-incarnate period though it does not strictly belong there. This is not an unusual thing in our writer. If it is still felt that this is not enough to account for the ascription of relationship in the preincarnate state, that relationship should be found in something more special than simply a common, otherwise undefined, origin from God. It might consist of the special relationship of "sons" (2:10), which is such as to exclude having anything to do with angels or other beings. It might hint at the common pre-existence of all souls.

It is unnecessary to present again the material which is found in the writer concerning Jesus during the earthly period spoken of as "the days of his flesh." This has already been fully presented under the headings of the writer's knowledge of the historical Jesus and human elements in harmony with this knowledge.

It remains to present the material coming under the third, the heavenly or exalted, state of Jesus. There is considerable vagueness with regard to the initial stages of this postincarnate period. The line between the postincarnate period and the earthly period is not clearly marked, there being a number of events that belong to both. There is, so to speak, a vestibule or entrance to the postincarnate period proper. To this vestibule belongs the great sacrificial act—the voluntary death (7:27); also the resurrection (13:20) and the ascension of Jesus (4:14), though the writer does not give a detailed description of them. Of the ascension, it is not certain that the author had such a conception as that which the writer of Acts gives, though the phrase "passed through the heavens" might naturally correspond (cf. 4:14; 9:24). Following this is the exaltation, which ushers in the postincarnate period. It is spoken of as an anointing (1:9), as being crowned with glory and honor (2:9), as sitting down at the right hand of God (1:13; 10:12).

This is a solemn inauguration into the state which the writer considers supreme in Jesus' career, the state of exaltation. It is the period in which Jesus exercises his real and efficient ministry. It is the important period for which the preceding period was but preparation. Positive activities are assigned to Jesus in the preincarnate period, viz., the creation of the world and the sustaining of it. And in the incarnate period he is spoken of as being the first to proclaim the salvation (2:3). But the emphasis on his activity in these periods is exceedingly slight. His real activity is in the postincarnate period. In this period he receives his inheritance (1:2). It is difficult to say whether the words "the effulgence of his glory and the very image of his substance" apply

only to the preincarnate and postincarnate periods or cover his whole career. It is in this period of exaltation that his death is efficacious in delivering his followers from the fear of death (2:14, 15) and in their sanctification (10:10, 14). Though the author is indefinite as to the time of Jesus' becoming High Priest, it is in this period, clearly, that he considers him as fully exercising his High-Priestly office (6:20; 7:28; 8:1-3; 10:21) on behalf of men before God (9:24), in securing the forgiveness of sins committed under the old covenant (9:15), the cleansing of the conscience from dead works (9:14), and full and free access to God (4:16; 10:19). It is through his High-Priestly activity in this period that he brings to bear those qualities and capacities gained in the experiences of the earthly life by delivering from temptation (2:18), laying hold of men to help them (2:16), making propitiation for the sins of the people (2:17), and in being merciful and faithful (2:17; 3:1). In short, he is now the cause of eternal salvation to those who obey him (5:9) and is so continually and completely because he is now exercising as High Priest the power of an endless life (7:16, 24). To this period pre-eminently applies the statement that he, Jesus Christ, is the same yesterday, today, and forever (13:8). He is the mediator and sponsor of a better covenant (7:22; 12:24), the Apostle and High Priest of our confession (3:1), to whom believers must look as the supreme example and the author and perfecter of faith (12:2).

It is during this period that Jesus waits (10:13) until his enemies be made the footstool of his feet (1:13). Just what is implied in this the writer does not say. But he evidently holds to a division of this period of exaltation by a definite time at which Jesus shall come again (9:28). At this time all enemies shall have been subjected to him. With this time shall come the judgment, though this judgment is ascribed to God—not to Jesus (4:13<sup>b</sup>; 6:7, 8; 10:30; 12:23, 25, 26, 29; 13:4). With it shall come what in our writer corresponds to the new heavens and the new earth of Paul, the shaking of the things that are superficial and transitory and the bringing in of the kingdom that cannot be shaken, the kingdom of abiding realities which belongs to believers (12:27). This is the ushering in of the full fruition of faith (11:39), the realization of the full salvation (9:28), the perfect rest of God long deferred (4:9). Though little is said as to Jesus' position in this new world of perfect and abiding reality, it would appear that the best interpretation of 2:5 would make it subject to Jesus as heir of all things under God (1:2). This second part of the postincarnate period is conceived of as the final and eternal realization of the good things brought through Jesus (9:11; 10:1),



of the completed house of God over which Jesus presides (3:6). It is the better thing of 11:39, viz., the united realization, on the part of all believers past and present, of the promise of God, not granted to the heroes of the old covenant in spite of their faithfulness, that all might enjoy it together.

These three periods, preincarnate, incarnate, and postincarnate, constitute the career of Jesus, the latter period being divided by the second coming to inaugurate the kingdom which cannot be shaken. These are not progressive stages, though they are clearly stages in the career of one and the same person. It is remarkable how little is said that applies to the preincarnate stage. Yet what little is said is of such a high tenor that it forbids the conception that in his real character and nature this person experienced a continuous development from lower to higher or from imperfect to perfect. The writer, indeed, dwells much on the "perfecting" of Jesus through sufferings but this does not involve continuous progression through three periods. One who was the Son of God, through whom he made the worlds and probably the supporter of those worlds, the effulgence of God's glory and impress of his substance in the preincarnate state, could not be conceived of as progressing through these three stages. Moreover, the earthly career of Jesus would render impossible such a conception. Such an exalted preincarnate condition, even though comparatively little is said about it, would compel the author to present the earthly period as one of humiliation.

But the case is quite different when considered from the point of view of Jesus' office and work, the preparation for it and the glory attending it. Here it would seem that the author wishes to give us the picture of progression. The earthly stage of his career is a humiliation to be sure, a diminishing in dignity as compared with the angels (2:9), but it is only for a short time and for a glorious purpose, viz., the bringing of many sons into glory. For this reason he too shared in flesh and blood as the rest of these sons. For this reason also it was eminently fitting that God should perfect him through suffering, that is, perfect him for the fulfilment of this high and glorious task. And it is the accomplishment of this high task in its full perfection that is the joy set before him (12:2), the gladness that he enjoys beyond his fellows (1:9). This is the kingdom which he inherits (1:2) as the permanent representative of God, for the author of Hebrews has no statement of Jesus' giving up the kingdom to God such as characterizes Paul's view.

There is, therefore, a progress through these three stages, but it is in the career of Jesus rather than in his character and person. It is



true, however, that the experiences necessary to the fulfilment of his vocation reacted upon his character, calling forth and developing such genuinely human qualities as faith, fidelity, compassion, fair dealing (5:2), reverence (5:7), obedience (5:8), patient endurance (12:3), all of which, though viewed by the writer as qualities essential to the successful carrying out of his vocation, must at the same time have been viewed by him as noble human qualities as well.

## II. CHRIST AS SUPERIOR TO THE ANGELS AND MOSES

In seeking to show the transcendent elements which enter into the character and nature of this person it will be well to begin with his superiority to the angels. This the writer emphasizes strongly and with considerable detail. The suddenness with which the writer descends from the beautiful and exalted language and thought of the first three verses of the first chapter, which form an imposing vestibule to a noble edifice, to the apparently insipid statement of vs. 4, "having become by so much better than the angels as he has inherited a more excellent name than they," is at first disappointing; but such a feeling and attitude is modern, betraying a failure to enter into the thought, view, and situation of the writer. It is not even necessary to say with Bruce that the writer here, in true apologetic fashion, is accommodating himself to the peculiar views of the readers who made much of angels and considered Jesus an angel. There is no evidence from the epistle that the writer considered his readers to hold heretical views or even exaggerated views concerning the angels. He depreciates the dignity and work of the angels only in contrast with the superior dignity and work of Christ.

This is perfectly natural and reasonable when we consider what a prominent part angels played in the ancient religious economy. It is evident that in various ways the author himself shared these views concerning the high office of angels. He speaks of entertaining strangers as possibly entertaining angels unawares (13:12); he speaks of "myriads" of angels, even a festal assembly and convocation of firstborn who are enrolled in heaven.<sup>1</sup> Of itself this reveals a high conception of angels on the part of the writer. He speaks of the specific and ordinary function of angels as being that of ministering spirits sent forth to minister on behalf of those who shall be heirs of salvation (1:14). But it is not of angels that Jesus lays hold to help (2:15), nor is the world to come, the future kingdom of abiding reality, to be subjected to angels (2:5). The reason for his making this latter statement is, doubtless, the idea con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Peake, *Hebrews*, *ad. loc.*, p. 233.

tained in the phrase "the word spoken through the angels proved steadfast" (2:2). The writer evidently has the conception, more clearly expressed by Paul and common to the primitive Christians, that the old covenant, with its law and promises and warnings, was mediated through angels.

This, then, is the conception that causes and justifies the extended contrast between Christ and the angels which is put prominently first in the epistle (1:5-14). If the word of the old covenant spoken through angels was steadfast and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense, they surely cannot expect to escape who neglect a word that is spoken through the Lord who is so superior in dignity and person to the angels. The degree of this superiority is expressed in 1:4, "having become by so much better than the angels as he has inherited a more excellent name than they." The word translated "better" is indefinite; it means "superior" without denoting in what the superiority consists. There is no reference in the word to moral worth or character. Clement of Rome (*Ad Cor.* 1:36) was probably unconsciously influenced by the true shade of meaning here when, in quoting this passage, he substituted the word *μείζων* for *κρείττων*, i.e., "greater," "superior" in point of dignity and rank, since he is seated on the right hand of the majesty on high.

But the reason for this high place in dignity and rank above the angels is, that he has inherited a more excellent name than they. Earlier interpreters took this word "name" in the general sense so frequent in Scripture, as denoting "dignity," "glory," "fame" (cf. Phil. 2:9). Modern interpreters, however, largely agree in understanding the author to have in mind the specific name "Son." This seems at first natural, as the next two verses contain the name "Son" and are closely connected with the preceding by the word "for": "For to what one of the angels did he ever say, Thou art my Son, I today have begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father and he shall be to me a Son." But vs. 6 continues the thought of the high dignity of Christ without any reference to the specific name "Son." Moreover, the rest of the quotations in this chapter have no reference to the specific name "Son." It seems better therefore to hold to the older interpretation. The word "name" denotes the higher dignity, rank, worth, and fame of Christ. This is shown from Old Testament Scripture in vss. 5 and 6 by the fact that the intimate relation denoted by the word "son" exists between him and God, a term which Scripture has never used of any one of the angels; also by the fact that when Christ comes a second time into the world

all the angels of God are to worship him. Vss. 7-12 show the superiority of Christ over the angels in that while they are changeable forms of being that pass into the forces of Nature at the will of God, Christ is not like the angels, subject to such change into the elements, for under God (1:2), he himself made the world, the heavens, and the forces of Nature; and thus, though they change, he changes not but abides the same eternally. Moreover, God never called any angel to share with him his throne (1:13) and with it universal dominion. Thus Christ is superior to the angels in that he enjoys the intimate relationship of Son to God, eternal dignity and worth which are superior to world-changes, and finally, royal rank in sharing with God his throne and promised universal dominion.

More obvious to us is the effort of the author to show the superiority of Christ over Moses. Even today we appreciate the exalted part which Moses played in connection with the establishment of the old covenant, though we scarcely accord him the great glory with which not only the Jews, but also the devout gentiles of antiquity, encircled his name. His name was prominent among the Jews. And the author of Hebrews does not by any means intend to depreciate his glory. He considers him the great apostle—perhaps also priest—of the old covenant, the mediator between God and his people. In 11:23 ff. he describes him among the other heroes of faith with exceptionally vivid touches; he speaks of him as choosing the reproach of the Christ, by which phrase he designates the sufferings both of the Old Testament and the New Testament people of God (11:26). Moses is the great example of faith under the old covenant as Jesus himself is under the new (12:2). The commands of the old covenant he calls the "law of Moses" (10:28), a law that was strictly and terribly enforced. Moses was the great leader of the people from Egypt (4:16) and the one who was directed by God and intrusted with the task of making the tabernacle according to the pattern revealed to him in the Mount (8:5).

The writer, therefore, holds the high opinion of the place of Moses peculiar to his people. He is careful not to offend his readers in his discussion of the superiority of Jesus. For in 3:1-6 he begins by placing them on a par in the quality of faithfulness which both Moses and Jesus manifested in their respective missions. This was a quality displayed in the fulfilment of their official tasks. But in the nature and glory of his person and position Jesus is far superior to Moses. He is as superior in glory as the builder of a house is superior in glory to the house itself. The word "house" is not used here only in the limited sense of a



"building" but in the fuller sense of the "household." In fact it is used in a still larger sense as denoting that over which anyone has control or jurisdiction, as a king's people or kingdom was spoken of as his "house." The three meanings of "building," "household," and "people" or "kingdom" are here involved.<sup>1</sup>

The most natural and consistent interpretation of this seems to be that Moses, great though he was, was himself only a part of God's house, a servant in the house, one of the people, while Jesus is the one who established this house and is over it. A house must be built or established by someone: it does not grow of itself. And the one who established God's house was Jesus. He is therein far superior to Moses who was himself only a member of the household. The thought here seems to be somewhat different from that in 2:11 where Christ is closely associated as one with those who are sanctified. But the two thoughts while contrasted are not contradictory. In 3:3 the thought is, perhaps, hardly to be pressed so far as to imply that Christ is conceived by the writer as the actual author of the dispensation of the old covenant, though this would not be out of accord with the writer's general point of view which considers Christ as the representative of God in all things. The thought that God is back of all that Christ does would then be emphasized and guarded by 3:4b which is careful to make God the ultimate source of all things (cf. Ps. 127:1a). It is, however, unlikely that the author is here thinking of the preincarnate Christ as the builder of the Old Testament portion of the house; rather, he is thinking of God's house as one and Christ its builder without distinguishing sharply between old and new. Again, Jesus is superior in position and person in relation to this house, for while Moses was but a servant, Jesus was Son over God's house. This unique relation denoted by Son must be left for further consideration.

The author considers Jesus, by virtue of his dignity as Son, superior to all the prophets of the Old Testament dispensation. This superiority is set forth concisely and yet decisively in the first two verses of the epistle. In all these comparisons it has been noted that Christ is superior because of his superior dignity and position and this superior dignity and position is expressed though not defined in the word Son.

It may not be amiss to call attention to the fact here that, though no comparison is openly expressed, a comparison is implied between Christ on the one hand and Moses and Joshua on the other, in that while they both failed to lead the people of the old covenant into the promised rest

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philo, *De plantat. Noe*, sec. 16, p. 224A.



of God (3:16; 4:8), Christ is the one who succeeds in doing so. The comparison, however, is not so decisive, since the emphasis is rather upon the failure through the disobedience and unbelief of the people themselves than upon the failure or success of their leaders.

### III. CHRIST SUPERIOR AS HIGH PRIEST AFTER THE ORDER OF MELCHIZEDEK

We reach the heart of the epistle when we come to consider the main thesis of the writer, that Jesus is superior to the priests and more especially to the High Priest of the old covenant. This is the main constructive portion of the epistle (4:14—10:18). It shows the superiority of Christ as High Priest after the order of Melchizedek and will naturally include consideration of him as Mediator of a new covenant, as sinless, and as Author of eternal salvation.

#### I. CHRIST THE MEDIATOR OF A BETTER COVENANT

That Jesus as High Priest of the new covenant is superior to Aaron and the Levitical priests of the old is the great thesis of the epistle. That Jesus is presented as High Priest is almost a unique thesis in the New Testament. Paul hints at the thought when he says that Christ Jesus makes intercession at the right hand of God for us (Rom. 8:34b), but he does not develop the idea. The Book of Revelation has the thought of believers as being priests unto God, but not of Christ as Priest or High Priest. In Hebrews the thesis is worked out with a fulness of detail and richness of moral and spiritual truth that is remarkable. It is altogether probable that the emphasis and detail are due to the influence either of Alexandrianism or of the mystery-religions or of both. It seems clear from the epistle itself (4:14) that the general thesis formed part of the contents of what was regarded as a regular confession which Christian converts made and which the readers, under the stress of opposition and persecution, were in danger of breaking.

The writer, however, has seized upon this thesis of Jesus as High Priest of a new covenant and has constructed his whole theology and Christian teaching about it. He has attempted to express the whole significance of Jesus through it. In the Old Testament, he thinks chiefly of the ministry of the High Priest on the great Day of Atonement. That whole system, he says, God-given though it was, was only typical. Its priesthood, its ministry, and its law were imperfect. They failed to clear the consciences of men from the sense and burden of sins. From the Old Testament story of Genesis, helped by touches from Philo of Alexandria, he sets forth the superiority of Jesus as High Priest under

the strange, weird figure of Melchizedek. Melchizedek is king of righteousness and king of peace: so is Jesus. He is superior to the patriarch Abraham and therefore also to the sons of Levi in that he, the greater, gave to Abraham his priestly blessing. Abraham, on the other hand, gave to Melchizedek a tenth of the spoils he had taken from the kings. The Levites were mortal men but, arguing like Philo from the silence of Scripture, Melchizedek's priesthood had no beginning and no end; so too with Christ. On account of the fact that he abides forever Christ has an unchangeable priesthood, a priesthood that does not pass from him to another. They were appointed priests according to the law of a carnal commandment, i.e., according to a law of physical descent which could only be a temporary arrangement: Jesus was appointed priest according to the power of an indissoluble life, i.e., a life of such high moral and spiritual quality that it cannot be broken by death and therefore insures a permanent priesthood. And it is this that sums up his superiority as High Priest of the new covenant. To be sure, he is superior in other respects. He is appointed by oath of God; he presents a better offering, himself; he ministers in the true tabernacle, in heaven itself, in the very presence of God (8:2) whither he has entered, having passed through the intermediate heavens (4:14), as forerunner (4:16; 6:20).

But the reiterated expression that reveals his superiority over the Levitical high priests is that he is called by God (5:5) High Priest according to the order or rank of Melchizedek, who was himself superior to the Levitical priests in that being without father, without mother, without genealogy as priest, he is made like the Son of God and abideth a priest forever. It is the person of Jesus as Son of God and the fact that being such he abides a priest forever that constitutes his superiority over the Levitical priests. There is probably no thought of distinction in the writer's mind between Christ as Priest and as High Priest. It is probably not necessary here to go farther into the perplexities of chap. 7 which deals with Melchizedek as a type of Christ. There is in it a strongly Philonian coloring. The gist of it for our purpose is plain, viz., to show how great this strange figure of Melchizedek was as it darted across the pathway of Old Testament history, suddenly rising and as suddenly disappearing. It had the halo of eternity about it and shadowed forth a new and better priesthood. The statement of Scripture (Ps. 110:4) that the Messiah was called by God High Priest after the order of Melchizedek gives the proof-text he wishes and furnishes the writer solid ground for transferring this superiority of Melchizedek to Jesus.

It is especially plain in this case that while appearing to work from Melchizedek as type toward Christ, the author is really working from Jesus back to Melchizedek and seeing in Melchizedek largely what he needs to see in order to express his confidence in the supremacy of Jesus. It is a typical piece of Alexandrian exegesis.

While this figure of Melchizedek suggests the main points in which the superiority of Jesus consists, viz., his Sonship to God and his permanency as priest, there are other points of superiority to the Levitical priests which it does not touch. Jesus is superior to the Levitical priests in that he is also the mediator (8:6; 9:15) and sponsor (7:22), or surety by his death (9:15), for a better covenant established upon better promises and having a more excellent ministry. The reason given in this passage (7:20 ff.) for the superiority of the covenant is the fact that this new covenant is mediated and guaranteed by a priest who was appointed by oath of God. But the new covenant or law is superior in itself also because under it the end of religion, viz., the full forgiveness of sins, is finally and forever secured (10:16-18). The new law is better also because it is inward and personal. With keen insight he seizes upon the passage in Jer. 31:31 ff. that speaks of a new dispensation in which religion shall be inward and personal, whereby he finds in the Old Testament itself, as he did in the case of Melchizedek (Ps. 110:4), support for his thesis that there is to be a new and better covenant written not on tables of stone but on fleshly tables of the heart and mind. But it is interesting to note how carefully the writer subordinates the covenant or law to the priesthood. With him it is axiomatic that a change of priesthood automatically necessitates a change of law. This appears in 7:11-19. He has already shown that according to Scripture (Ps. 110:4) Melchizedek prefigures a new and different priesthood. That means a new law (vs. 12), because Jesus, being of the tribe of Judah, is, like Melchizedek, of a different order. That the old law should be a failure (vss. 11, 18), that Melchizedek should picture a different and higher priesthood, that Jesus should actually come from the tribe of Judah—all these harmonize with and confirm one another and unite in making clearer (vs. 15) the main point of the whole section, viz., that the Levitical priesthood and the old law have both failed in accomplishing the essential and ultimate end of religion and therefore have given place to a new priesthood and a new law. This new and better covenant he identifies with the full and final word of revelation given by God in his Son (1:2) and spoken first by the Lord himself (2:3). But the efficient virtue of this new law or covenant rests ultimately upon the



personnel of the priesthood, that is, upon the personal worth and character of Jesus who is at once mediator, surety, and priest of this new and better covenant. As Moses and the angels were mediators of the old, so Jesus is mediator of the new, and is as far superior to them as the new is superior to the old. It may be that here again the author implicitly considers Moses priest as well as prophet, thus making the parallel with Jesus as High Priest more complete.

## 2. SINLESSNESS OF JESUS

Another part of Jesus' superiority as High Priest is indicated in the characterization "holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners and made higher than the heavens" (7:26). The latter phrase denotes his superior glory as having entered into the true tabernacle, the innermost heaven which is the abode of the full presence of God. But in the rest of the terms applied to Jesus as High Priest in this passage, we have a statement of his perfect purity and sinlessness. Closely connected with this is the statement of 7:28 that the law appointeth men high priests who have weakness, while the word of the oath of God appoints a Son perfected forevermore, i.e., without weakness. It is not contradictory to this that the writer in another place (5:1-3), while giving the necessary qualities of every high priest, says that he is girt (or encompassed) with weakness. This must not be pressed so as to apply to Jesus as High Priest in his exalted state. In this same passage the author also says that the High Priest must make offering not for the people only but also for himself. This certainly the author does not mean to apply to Jesus as High Priest, for he distinctly says that he had no need to make offering for himself. It is probable that during the earthly existence he considers Christ as encompassed with weakness, while in his exaltation, where he is considered as pre-eminently High Priest, he is perfected and therefore completely free from weakness. Of the rest of the terms of 7:26 "holy" is used of relationship to God, "guileless" of the personal character, and "undefiled" of freedom from ceremonial contamination from the outside. The phrase "separated from sinners" lies midway between the preceding and following phrases. It suggests, on the one hand, the seven-days' separation of the high-priest before the great Day of Atonement in order to avoid ceremonial contamination and, on the other, it finds its complement in the phrase "made higher than the heavens," which denotes the place of supreme honor and dignity in the ineffable presence of God. The whole passage carries the atmosphere of the mystery-religions and emphasizes the



perfect ceremonial and personal purity of the High Priest Jesus in his official capacity both before God and before men. The most striking passage on this topic, however, refers to the period of preparation for his High-Priestly office, the earthly period of temptation. In 4:15 it is said of him that he was "tempted in all things in like manner [with us] without sin." Here the sinlessness of Jesus is more specifically stated but it is spoken of as an achievement, a concrete thing rather than an abstract, absolute thing, a positive thing rather than a negative thing. For the meaning of the author here evidently is, that Christ has the quality of sympathy because he has actually been tempted in all things (i.e., exactly in the same way) as we are tempted. But he was victorious in all his temptations and therefore sinless. This sinlessness was an acquirement rather than an endowment.

### 3. JESUS AS AUTHOR OF ETERNAL SALVATION

There is still another phase of his High-Priestly work which, in the presentation of the writer, sets forth the exalted superiority of Jesus. It may be summed up in the characteristic phrase of the writer that Jesus is the cause or author of eternal salvation (5:9). This salvation is conceived by the author as primarily future (9:28). The whole epistle is written upon the view that the realization of their hopes lies in the future, in that time when Christ shall come again and usher in that rest of God which God has been waiting to share with his people since the finishing of creation (4:8 ff.). Then all enemies shall have been subdued beneath his feet and for his followers anticipation shall have passed into realization. Meanwhile they must hope, believe, endure, struggle, and hold fast their confession, since he is faithful that promised (6:12; 6:13 ff.; 10:23), and their time for waiting is not long (10:37)—the ancient heroes have had to wait much longer (11:40). But this feature of the author's presentation may easily be overemphasized at the expense of the elements of salvation that are realized during the earthly career of the believer. It is an error easy to make if one holds the author of Hebrews strictly to his somewhat fantastic intellectual scheme of things. But one must recognize that such a writer breaks through his own framework. The old bottles will not hold the new wine. There are many clear indications that while the picture the writer presents is that of persons waiting sick at heart for the fulfilment of a promise that seems to fail them, like watchmen in the night waiting for the day that never seems to dawn, as a matter of fact the blessings of that day of realization are continually breaking in upon the darkness of their faith. Realization

is not wholly in the future. This will appear more fully after presenting the writer's conception of eternal salvation.

As already noted, the writer says that Jesus himself began the proclamation of this great salvation (2:3). The word of this higher revelation was a word of salvation in contrast with the word of the old dispensation. The mediators of the old were Moses and the angels, but the mediator of the new was a Son, Jesus. Therefore is this salvation so great as to be final and authoritative. The writer does not here reveal precisely in what he considered this salvation first proclaimed by the Lord to consist. The words of 2:4 exhibit the condition of the early Christian church with considerable verisimilitude when compared with the introductory chapters of Acts. It is likely that the writer considered himself to be in essential harmony with the primitive church in his conception of this salvation. It consisted of the proclamation that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, that his death, resurrection, and exaltation at God's right hand brought the boon of the forgiveness of sins through him. The promise of his return to inaugurate the kingdom of God and restore all things was added. The author was probably not conscious to himself of having advanced upon this primitive message or of having altered it in any way. He cast the common message into his own peculiar intellectual mold for the purpose of interpretation, exhortation, and enforcement. But to be more certain of his conception it is necessary to go to his own full and characteristic elucidation of this eternal salvation.

To begin with, the great lines on which he constructs his framework, viz., covenant, priesthood, sacrifice, etc., demand and secure a unique and supreme emphasis upon the death of Jesus. The purpose of his humiliation in comparison with the angels, and of his sharing in flesh and blood like his brethren, was just that he might undergo the experience of death on their behalf (2:14, possibly 2:9), thus delivering them from the fear of death. How Jesus' death could accomplish this the writer shows more clearly in 10:5 ff., where he states that Jesus' death is a sacrifice cheerfully undertaken by him in accordance with the will of God because of the evident ineffectiveness of the sacrifices under the old covenant (10:1-4). "Ineffectiveness" is perhaps too mild a word to use, as the author seems to mingle with his statements here a slight touch of quiet scorn. But the death of Jesus is by no means ineffective. It is the one final sacrifice of the superior new covenant, while those of the old covenant were many and continually repeated. It is emphasized in various solemn and emphatic words (9:26; 10:12). It is the sacrifice of himself, a strikingly new thing (9:14), an offering that is faultless

(9:14). Since his death is sacrificial, it secures the forgiveness of sins fully and finally—at least to those who add on their part all diligence (10:18). How precisely it does this or could do this the writer does not attempt to say simply because neither he nor his readers had any thought of going behind the cardinal conception of their day, viz., that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins (9:22). This death of Jesus in its relation to sins is probably conceived as timeless. At least it is retroactive in its efficacy, opening up the promised eternal inheritance by the removing of the sins committed under the old covenant (9:15). It is probable also that the writer conceives the virtue of this sacrificial death of Jesus to extend to sins of the future as of the past, though he says nothing definitely about it. It is true that he has a strange reservation in regard to wilful sins, but it is hardly fair to his presentation to maintain as some have done that it has no provision for any sins committed after enlightenment or conversion, and that from this arises his stern and somber view of God as the consuming fire and terrible judge. Without minimizing the latter fact, it is however more likely that he conceived the sacrificial death of Jesus as timeless in its efficacy availing for sins past, present, and future. And it must further be said that the writer does not conceive of this purification of sins made by the sacrificial death of Jesus (1:3) as an external, mechanical, forensic thing. It does not in the least degree release the believer from the intense exercise of all the virtues of the Christian life. It is not a mere ceremonial thing like the old sacrifices (9:13), but reaches to the inmost being, cleansing the conscience from dead works to serve a living God (9:14). It purifies and sanctifies (9:23; 10:2; 10:10; 13:12). Doubtless these words originally and generally in Scripture, and in this epistle, have a static, aoristic sense; but historic development, the general atmosphere of the epistle, and in particular such a passage as 12:10, indicate that in addition they possess in Hebrews a strong ethical and spiritual coloring. Entrance by faith into the true holy place of God's real presence is gained through this sacrificial death of Jesus (10:19, 20). We must not minimize the moral and spiritual strength of this thought simply because God is conceived as inhabiting a local dwelling-place. If to the sacrificial death of Jesus we add its sequel, the resurrection and exaltation, we shall arrive at the full import of the phrase "eternal salvation" as the end of the High-Priesthood of Jesus. The word "eternal," as used in this epistle, is qualitative as well as temporal in its content. It implies a bringing into full covenant relation with God so that there shall be harmony and free, glad intercourse, that the people shall be God's



people and God shall be their God (8:10). And though the idea of a covenant people is always prominent with this writer he, of course, thinks also of the individual and his relation to God. Jesus as exalted High Priest is able to save completely, that is, not only eternally but perfectly, those who come unto God through him (7:25). And this complete salvation finds its perfection in that full realization of the covenant relation which is described as the eternal inheritance (9:15), the *sabbatismos* of the people of God. This, however, is to be realized only at the second coming of Christ when a new order shall prevail and the world of eternal and spiritual realities shall be fully revealed.

In the view of the epistle, then, the whole of this imposing structure rests upon the one central essential point of Jesus' sacrificial death as the necessary death of the testator of the new covenant (9:16). The writer was not at all concerned to question the logical or theological necessity of this death, nor to wonder how such virtue could reasonably and consistently be attached to it. That is a modern question. With the writer the necessity was wholly religious and practical; in this, as in many other features of the epistle, we have evidence that not philosophy or theory but experience is fundamental. If, however, the author were asked the question he would reply, as indeed he actually does declare in the epistle, that the reason Jesus' death does have such large results religiously and ethically is that it is the death of one who is appointed of God to be High Priest after the order of Melchizedek—that is, one whose personal inner nature, worth, and position as Son of God were such that his death could have these results (5:5, 6). He was the spotless High Priest (9:14) who needed not to make any offering for himself but offered himself through eternal spirit to God (9:14). This latter probably means that while the sacrifices of the old covenant were only fleshly or physical (9:13), performed by a priest appointed by physical descent (7:16), Jesus' sacrifice moved in the realm of the spiritual, was voluntary, perfect, and therefore eternal (7:16), and spiritual in its effects. In a word, the significance of Jesus' death in the thought of the writer depends directly upon the nature and worth of his person. By his entrance into the heavenly and true holy place and his unchangeable priesthood (7:24), upon the basis of his sacrificial death, he has secured the forgiveness of sins, the continued sanctification and ultimate perfection of his people. It is true, of course, that what really fills the writer's vision and constitutes the sum of his thought is the continued activity of Jesus as exalted High Priest. The actual death is but one event, yet it is original and fundamental.



Although the author uses the framework of the old covenant as the vehicle of his thought, he clearly has no superficial, merely ceremonial conception of sin and salvation. He has the original ceremonial meaning of the terms "holiness," "sanctification," "purification," and "perfection," yet it is evident from the general tone of the writing that these words carry a weight which their original meanings will not bear. In a large degree religion has become ethical, so that there is a deeply moral and religious meaning in these terms and in the whole content of the salvation provided by the new covenant. This is expressed in the writer's scheme by saying that the old covenant is merely type while the new is the reality, the old is shadow while the new is substance. But the writer in many other ways reveals the strongly ethical tone of his system. He insists continually, sternly, almost monotonously upon the absolute necessity of perseverance and obedience. With him unbelief is equivalent to disobedience (cf. 3:12 with 4:6). Even Jesus himself learned obedience through that which he suffered (5:8). The perfect among believers are those, who, by reason of use or habit, have their senses trained to distinguish between good and bad (5:14). The thought as well as the words here reveal a strain of the Stoic philosopher with his emphasis on morals. This obedience, indeed, is to a new law (7:12; 8:6)—a law that is inward, personal, and universal (8:10 ff.). And the high character of this obedience is shown very clearly in the Doxology (13:20). It is pursuing of the good in accordance with the will of God as Jesus himself did (10:5). It is not a merely human and natural pursuit but is aided by the inspiration of the leadership and example of Jesus (12:2), by the impartation of the Holy Spirit (6:4), and by the whole High-Priestly activity and sympathy of Jesus (2:18; 5:9). This obedience avoids the legalism of Pharisaic Judaism on the one hand and the mystical element of Paulinism on the other. It is more lofty than the one and more humble than the other.

It is held by many<sup>1</sup> that the eternal salvation thus gained is an entirely future thing. This again, is putting a greater burden on the writer's philosophical world-view than it should be expected to bear. Even if it be true (which can hardly be granted) that the word "salvation" whenever used always refers to the perfected believer in the future perfect state, the consummated rest of God, it would still not necessarily follow that nothing of what we today call salvation was realized by the believers of the epistle during their earthly life. It depends on how much we include in the writer's term "salvation." We may, if we wish, force

<sup>1</sup> Scott, *Apologetic of the New Testament*, p. 202; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 473.

the word into the narrow limits of the perfected final state. But there still remains much in the epistle which Jesus does for believers during their earthly life. It is unnatural to interpret otherwise such passages as 2:10; 2:14-18; 4:16; 7:25; 12:28, and especially 13:20, 21. The context and the present tenses used, demand a reference to present benefits. Whether these benefits are included by the writer in his word "salvation" or not is, in any case, largely a matter of words not of reality. The benefits are clearly such as are necessary to the realization of the covenant relation, viz., the relation of harmony and communion with God. It is much more natural, therefore, to say that by the term "salvation," the writer denotes all the benefits received under the inspiration or by the help of Jesus, which benefits are necessary to the realization of the new covenant relation, viz., entrance into and full enjoyment of the presence of God. This is partially realized before, and fully realized only after, the parousia of Christ (9:28). Delitzsch's words on 7:25 are pertinent here:

This all-embracing salvation is vouchsafed to those who through him approach to God, that is, those who in faith make use of the way of access which he has opened, and which remains open to him; nay more, this very access to free and joyous communion with God, made by the removal of the barrier of sin, is in itself the all-including commencement of that perfect "salvation."

Thus the author of the Hebrews emphasizes the future and passes lightly over the present, while we emphasize the present and pass lightly over the future. The important thing to notice here is that this salvation whether in its partial realization in the present or in its completed realization in the future is mediated through Jesus and is what it is because of what he is and does. He is the cause of this eternal salvation, being himself eternal.

#### IV. CHRIST AS ETERNAL

##### I. COSMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRIST

It will be well to consider first the writer's conception of the cosmic significance of Christ. It is through him that God has made the ages, that is, the world (1:2). This great thought, distinct though it is, is neither emphasized nor amplified in the epistle. Elsewhere the writer attributes the work of creation directly to God as both the final and efficient cause (2:10). In another passage this work is attributed to the word of God (11:3). This contrast is not to be interpreted as a contradiction within the thought of the writer. It is rather to be considered as another of many indications in the epistle (cf. 3:4b) that

God is supreme in the writer's thought. This thought of Christ as agent of creation under God is more emphatic in the Fourth Gospel (1:2, 3) and in Colossians (1:16) than in Hebrews. It is pre-Gnostic and with the author of Hebrews probably Philonian in origin. Its importance here is that it expresses the author's belief in the pre-incarnate activity of Christ.

But not only did God make the world through Christ; he also made him heir of all things (1:2). The same thought is to be inferred from 2:8, 9 and from 1:13. But while these passages indicate something received as an inheritance, something occurring progressively in time, the middle portion of 1:3 indicates an activity at least coextensive with the universe itself, since the Son bears all things by the word of God's power. Here again the clearness with which this cosmic activity of the Son is subordinated to that of God is noteworthy as compared with a closely parallel passage in Colossians (1:17b).

But it is in contrast with this cosmic activity of the Son that his eternal significance is first manifested clearly (1:10-12). This is done, indeed, by use of a quotation from Ps. 102 which the author applies directly and confidently to Jesus as Messiah. That the original referred to God himself is of no significance here since the object is the thought of the writer on the topic considered. The earth and the heavens, it is true, are the work of the Christ as Son and Messiah. But they are temporary and fleeting. Like garments they shall become old and threadbare and so shall be changed for new ones (1:11, 12). They shall perish, but the Son abides the same with no aging with the lapse of years (vs. 12b). The angels pass at the will of God into winds or flames (1:7), but the Son's throne is forever (1:8). Thus over against the universe which the author, with the common thought of his time, conceives to be fleeting and changeable, the eternity of the Son is set forth.

The eternity of Christ is also emphasized in connection with the eternal salvation which he provides. He is the Son perfected forever (7:28). He is able to save completely since he lives forever (7:25), and thus in contrast with the priests of the old dispensation has a priesthood that does not pass to another (7:24). By his offering through eternal spirit (9:14), he has obtained eternal redemption (9:12b), has secured to believers the promise of an eternal inheritance (9:15b).

## 2. RELATION OF CHRIST TO MEN

Of Christ's relation to men in general this epistle has little to say directly, but there are some significant hints. The author thinks of



what we call conversion as occurring at a definite time and speaks of it, as do the mystery-religions, as an enlightenment (6:4) and as becoming partners with Christ (3:14). Although in both of the above passages the danger and possibility of falling away is strongly emphasized, still conversion, in the view of the writer, divides men into two distinct classes. Naturally what the writer has to say regarding Christ's relation to men concerns his relation to believers chiefly. Yet he says that he tasted death for everyone (2:9), that he lays hold not of angels but of the seed of Abraham (2:16). In this latter passage the context shows that the seed of Abraham denotes human nature as such in contrast with the spirit nature of angels. The author does not say seed of Adam, as we might expect, because along with his idea of human nature as such he has strongly in mind here, as everywhere, the thought of salvation, and the inheritors of this salvation are not human beings as such but just the seed of Abraham in the figurative or spiritual sense of the term, the true Israel. The point that is pertinent here, however, is that this language concerning Christ's relation to men implies pre-existence as did also the author's language regarding Christ's relation to the world, his cosmic significance. This thought of pre-existence in relation to men stands out still more clearly in the author's statement as to Christ's relation to Melchizedek (7:3), viz., that Melchizedek was made like to the Son of God in being without father, without mother, without genealogy, without beginning of days, and without end of life. This statement is the more striking as it reverses the thought of the context in which Melchizedek is presented as the type of Christ. Pre-existence is not a necessary inference from this phrase, but it is the natural one in the light of the epistle as a whole. The same thought of pre-existence is clearer in the passage 2:11-14; also more fully in 10:5-10.

In the consideration of Christ as eternal, thus far, it has become plain that the writer holds clearly and emphatically to what might be called the future eternity of Christ. There has been considerable evidence also pointing to his pre-existence. But the writer has not been so clear and emphatic on what may be called the past eternity of Christ. Evidence for the writer's view on this point will fall more naturally under the relation of Christ to God.

### 3. RELATION OF CHRIST TO GOD

a) *Conception of God.*—The conception of God found in the Epistle to the Hebrews is a lofty one. There is a somber element in the character of God in Hebrews that does not appear elsewhere in the New Testament



writings. There is but one God. The God of the Old Testament is the God of the New (1:1). There is thus unity in the universe and unity in revelation. But the God of the old dispensation revealed himself in ways more terrible than those of the new (12:18-24). Yet ultimately he is the same terrible God whose gracious (2:9) and persistent (1:1) efforts to reach and save men can be neglected only with terrible peril (12:25-29). Neglect of his supreme revelation in Jesus, his Son, can only bring the greater condemnation (2:3). This thought, to be sure, is one common to New Testament writers, but it is emphasized in Hebrews in a way that is repellent to modern views (6:4-8). It springs from the author's whole conception of life as well as from his conception of God. His view of life as a whole is somber and stern. This element in the writer's conception of God and life many commentators have tried to minimize by forced interpretations of such passages as 6:4-8. But we need to recognize this stern and somber element and accept it as inhering in the writer's view of God and life. It may, indeed, be said that this stern and somber element does not belong to the writer's conception positively but only negatively. It is called forth only by man's carelessness and wicked rejection of light and truth.

This conception is fundamentally the Hebrew conception, touched however with the Greek (Platonic and Philonian) idea of the remoteness of God. God is difficult of access for men and yet access to God is the true ideal, the very thing that in the writer's view constitutes salvation. God spake to the fathers of old in the prophets, but now in a Son, who is become the sole and sufficient mediator and means of true access to God. God is frequently spoken of as the living God (3:12; 9:14; 10:31; 12:22). This expression denotes God as ever living and therefore watchful against wickedness and powerful to punish. It is a terrible thing to fall into his hands. God is judge and vengeance and punishment belong to him (4:12; 10:30). He is a consuming fire (12:29). He is the invisible one whom faith must realize (11:6; 11:27).

But God as judge, avenger, and consuming fire is terrible only to the unrighteous. He is holy, and without holiness no man shall see the Lord (12:14). But he is also the God of his covenant people (9:20) and is not ashamed to be called their God, having prepared for them a city (11:16b). He received Abel's gifts, translated Enoch, richly rewarded faithfulness and righteousness in the past, and has provided still better things for his people of the present than for those of the past (11:40). His very chastening is out of love and with the purpose of imparting holiness (12:10). The readers' ministrations to the saints are reckoned

as done to himself and will not be forgotten (6:10). Their services and sacrifices are well-pleasing to him (13:16). In the general sense God is father of all spirits (12:9) but he is specially gracious to his covenant people.

In relation to the universe God is its creator. This primary postulate is given to us by faith (11:3). The meaning of this verse is much-disputed, but the natural interpretation is gained by falling back upon the Philonian views of the writer. The reference then, in *μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων*, is not to primitive chaotic matter, the *ἕλη* of Plato and the Greek philosophers in general, but to the archetypal ideas which in creation are embodied in visible form. That this is not doing violence to the writer can be seen from a comparison with 8:5. Creation is the divine act analogous to the task assigned to Moses in the making of the tabernacle. Creation is directly attributed to God in another phrase which is frequent in Plato and Philo; God is the final and efficient cause of all things (2:10). In a miniature parable (6:7, 8) God is represented as blessing or rejecting the earth according as it is either fertile or barren for men.

Indeed, God is over all and back of all and in all. The works of power in the Apostolic age were according to his will (2:4). He it is who is bringing many sons to glory (2:10). He is the God of peace who raised the Lord Jesus from the dead (13:20). The movements of Nature are the expression of his will. His voice shook the earth at Sinai and his voice shall shake both earth and heaven at the great metathesis when the kingdom of God shall be fully and finally established (12:26-29). God is the ultimate and efficient mover of all things (3:4b).

*b) God's attitude to Jesus.*—It is evident even from a cursory reading of the epistle that while God is supreme, Jesus stands in a unique relation to him. God's attitude to Jesus is expressed in a number of statements. In the comparison with the angels God is represented as saying that all the angels must worship Jesus when God again brings him into the inhabited earth (1:6). In 1:8a either God is said to be the throne of Jesus, the Son, or the Son is himself addressed as God. In 1:13 God bids Jesus to sit at his right hand till he puts the enemies of Jesus beneath his feet. In 10:13 Jesus is represented as taking this exalted position and waiting till the promised subjection of his enemies should be fulfilled to him by God. Von Soden is right in reminding us that we have here only quotations which have been warped from their original meaning by rabbinical exegesis, but he is mistaken in thinking that for that reason they are of no service in determining the Christology

of the author himself. The fact that the author uses such quotations is of significance, though they are not to be interpreted as if they were his own writing. In 1:9<sup>b</sup> God is spoken of as anointing Jesus above his fellows, the angels, and he is there spoken of as the God of Jesus ("God, thy God"). As God exalted Jesus above the angels, so he humbled him for a time beneath the angels (2:9), and this is the act of God who is the prime mover in the matter of the salvation of men (2:10). It is God who perfects Jesus through suffering (2:10), as he perfects through chastening and suffering all the sons whom he receives (12:6 ff.). It is God who glorifies Christ by making him High Priest after the order of Melchizedek. Christ did not take this honor to himself (5:5-10). It is God who raised Jesus from the dead (13:20). God prepared a body for Jesus (10:5).

c) *Jesus' attitude to God.*—The converse of this is Jesus' attitude or relation to God. As already shown, he is represented in the attitude of a devout and humble man praying to God with strong crying and tears and as being heard because of his piety (5:7 ff.). His sacrifice is voluntary: he offered himself to God blameless (9:14). Perceiving the fruitlessness of sacrifices, offerings, and holocausts in reference to sin, which are offered according to the law, perceiving also that they are neither desired by God nor acceptable to him, he, that is, Jesus Christ said, "Behold I am come, in the roll of the book it is written of me, to do Thy will O God" (10:7). The writer then repeats the quotation, separating the two parts in order to emphasize the close logical relation between them. To the first part of the quotation he adds the expression, "such as are offered according to the law," to indicate that it is not against sacrifices as such that he speaks but against the formal and ineffective sacrifices enjoined by the law. So too the will of God here spoken of is not the will of God ethically conceived, relating to life and conduct only and requiring no sacrifice of any kind. There was probably more of this latter thought in the Old Testament passages themselves than in the quotations as the author of Hebrews understood and used them. At any rate it is clear, both from the immediate context and from the general view of the writer as seen in the rest of the book, that what is here meant is not the will of God conceived in somewhat modern fashion as the ethical standard of life and conduct, but the will of God in relation to a concrete situation, viz., the forgiveness of sin and the sanctification and perfecting of men. For this purpose the sacrifices which were according to the law were of no avail—could be of no avail. For the blood of beasts could never take away sin. But it was far different with the



sacrifice of such a one as Jesus Christ who offered himself blameless to God (9:14). Such a sacrifice could purge away sin (1:3), cleanse the conscience (9:14b), and sanctify finally (10:10). The writer represents the preincarnate Christ as realizing this and accepting the challenge which the possibility offered. Christ disregards and sets aside the sacrifices according to the law that he may establish the will of God; 10:10 shows that this will of God means the sanctification of men by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, that body which God had prepared for him (10:5). This passage, then, is an approach in thought to the famous passage of Paul in Philippians (2:6-9). In the author's view it is decisive for the pre-existence of Christ. It expresses also Christ's voluntary obedience to God, not however, in general, but as directed along the single line of securing the salvation of men by the sacrifice of himself.

Christ's attitude to God is, further, one of faith like that of his brethren (2:13; 11:6). Christ is mediator between God and men, the mediator of the new covenant (8:6; 9:15; 12:24). He is appointed on behalf of men in things pertaining to God (5:1).

The consideration of God, and Jesus' relation to God, thus far carried out has yielded material on Jesus' official relation to God rather than on his essential relation to God. The writer fully reveals both expressly and incidentally, that God is supreme, while Christ, superior though he is to angels, prophets, and priests, is distinctly subordinate to God. This supremacy of God and subordination of Christ is more distinct and continuous in Hebrews than in any other writing of the New Testament. At the same time this subordination is not in any degree pictured as one derogatory to Christ. In his human relation to God as man, in his official relations as agent of creation, as captain of salvation, as mediator of the new covenant and High Priest, in all these Christ is subordinate to God. So too in the future age of perfect realization. The angels are to worship Christ, but it is God that bids them do so (1:6). Christ's pre-existence has been re-emphasized, but no further evidence is offered on the past eternity of Christ.

d) *Interpretation of the introduction, Heb. 1:1-4.*—It is in place to consider here the introduction of the epistle which consists of the first four verses—or more strictly speaking of the first three verses, for the fourth verse is transitional to the next section. These introductory verses are to be considered, however, in their specific bearing on the relation of Jesus to God.

Again postponing consideration of the phrase "in a Son" (1:2) till the whole question of Sonship is taken up, the fact is here to be noted



that owing to the position given it, the phrase, ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, is to be taken in close association with the immediately preceding phrase "in a Son." His heirship depends upon, or at least is the natural result of, his sonship and still more because he is the firstborn son πρωτότοκος (1:3). As Riehm says,<sup>1</sup> his heirship denotes the genuineness of his Sonship as well as the permanence of his Lordship. This appointment as heir of all things is natural and right not only because he is Son but also because it was through him that God made the worlds.

In endeavoring to settle the question as to whether this appointment to heirship is conceived by the writer to be quasi-timeless or as referring to the preincarnate Christ or as referring to the exalted Christ one is inclined, as in several other places in this epistle, to thrust aside the arguments for the various views and re-read the passage with intent to take the natural and evident meaning. In that case two things stand out clear. First, the position of the word καί indicates that the making of the worlds took place before the appointment to heirship, for otherwise the καί would have been placed first in its clause. Secondly, the verb ἔθηκεν, since it is not definitely modified here, refers to a definite time at which Christ was "placed" heir of all things. The fact that this heirship is repeatedly referred to as not complete or not yet fully realized (1:6; 1:13; 9:28; 10:13), but as requiring time for its completion, is also in favor of considering the appointment as occurring in time. If this is so, then the most natural time for the appointment to heirship is the time of the exaltation of Christ, when, according to the bidding of God (1:13), he sat down at the right hand of God in the heavens (8:1). This, however, is not to be so understood as to minimize the preincarnate activity of the Son which has been already spoken of. Rather, the heirship is to be considered as an additional gift to Christ, a fitting reward for one who had endured the cross, despising the shame, and so had taken his seat at the right hand of the throne of God (12:2). On account of Christ's relation to God as Son and on account of his relation to the world as the agent of its creation, his appointment to the heirship of all things is not surprising, but rather the natural and eminently fitting thing.

Thus far the external or official relation of Christ to God has been considered. There is only one passage in the epistle (1:3) which sets forth the internal or essential relation of Christ to God, and this verse appears in the introduction.

<sup>1</sup> *Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs*, p. 297, note, quoting Chrysostom.

The meaning of this passage has been much discussed, with comparatively little agreement as to result. The chief difference of opinion concerns the word ἀπαύγασμα. There are three possibilities as to the meaning. The word comes from the verb ἀπαυγάζω, "to shine forth." The three possible meanings therefore are: (1) "a shining or flashing forth," referring to the process or action; (2) "that which is flashed forth," viz., "beam," "ray," "brightness," "emanation," referring to the result; (3) a second or further result, viz., "reflected radiance," "reflection." For the noun form ἀπαύγασμα only the last two are likely meanings, since the word by its formation should denote result. The proper word for the first meaning, "shining forth," is ἀπαυγασμός. This word is found in Plutarch.<sup>1</sup> Cremer is surely wrong in making this word denote here the final result of the action, viz., "reflection," though it may possibly denote the intermediate result, viz., "brightness," "splendor."

The difference of opinion, then, is as to which of the last two meanings the word ἀπαύγασμα bears in this passage. Does it mean "effulgence," "emanation," German *Ausglanz*, or "reflection," German *Abglanz*? Modern opinion is almost equally divided, a slight majority, perhaps, being in favor of the former meaning, viz., "effulgence," "radiance," *Ausglanz*. The means of decision between the two meanings must be an impartial study of the passages in which the word occurs. That practically all the Greek fathers take the word here in the former meaning, viz., "effulgence," *Ausglanz*, is not without weight since it must be admitted that they knew Greek. But it is clear that, for an impartial consideration of the meaning of the word, earlier and contemporaneous usage must be considered rather than subsequent usage. The word however is a rare one, and in earlier usage is found only in the Wisdom of Solomon and in Philo. This is of itself significant, however, since on numerous grounds the Epistle to the Hebrews is known to be intimately related to these two works.

A careful consideration of the four passages in Philo and Wisdom of Solomon in which this word occurs is not absolutely decisive in result. In Philo, *De plantatione Noe*, sec. 12, there is every probability that the word means "reflection," *Abglanz*. In Philo, *De concupisc.*, sec. 11, on the other hand there is every probability that the word means "effulgence," "emanation," as the writer is there speaking of the πνεῦμα as breathed into man by God. In Philo, *De mund. op.*, sec. 51, Cremer says that there is a clear case of the word meaning "effulgence," while

<sup>1</sup> *Mor.* 934D.

Westcott says that the more appropriate meaning of the word in this passage is "reflection." It is impossible to decide firmly and clearly as to which meaning is required in this passage. The balance of probability however lies in favor of the meaning "emanation," *Ausglanz*.

The passage in Wisd. 7:26 is a famous one. There can be no doubt that the writer of Hebrews was acquainted with it and was influenced by it whether consciously or unconsciously. The writer is speaking of Wisdom as the glorious attribute and attendant of God, and enumerating its qualities. Cremer says the associations and synonyms require the meaning "effulgence" and von Soden<sup>1</sup> agrees with him. Grimm, on the other hand<sup>2</sup> argues very cogently for the meaning "reflection." Again, however, the balance of probability decides for the meaning "effulgence." Of the four passages only one requires the meaning "reflection." So far as previous usage requires, therefore, the balance of probability lies in favor of the meaning "effulgence," *Ausglanz*.

With this information the passage in Hebrews must itself be considered. This involves a consideration of the other words and thoughts of 1:3 to see whether, of the two meanings, the context decisively supports either one or the other.

The word *χαρακτήρ*, which originally denotes an instrument to stamp with, such as a seal, comes to mean either the stamp (or figure) on the seal or the impression which such a stamp would make. With this word, too, then there is the possibility of a double meaning. Von Soden seems to want to combine these two meanings in the passage, as also the two meanings of *ἀπαύγασμα*, but his way of working it out is rather ingenious than convincing. Either meaning of the word, not both, may be taken here, provided it be remembered that only the relation of the Son to God is here spoken of, not the relation of the Son to the world or to men. Von Soden is no doubt right in comparing the use here with the use in the passage of Philo where the divine Logos is spoken of as the *χαρακτήρ τῆς σφραγίδος θεοῦ*.<sup>3</sup> But he is wrong in carrying over into the Hebrews passage the idea of instrument which is in the Philo passage. The Philo phrase means "the impress or engraving which is on the seal of God," and the context shows that this engraving is used to make an impression on man and the world. But this latter idea is not at all found in the Hebrews phrase or its context, and is wrongly transferred to it from the Philo passage by von Soden. But the

<sup>1</sup> *Handcommentar zum N.T.*, "Der Hebräerbrief," S. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des A. T.*, *Buch der Weisheit*, VII, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *De plant. Noe*, sec. 5; cf. Philo, *Quod det. pot. insid.*, sec. 23.



first meaning is no doubt the right meaning to assign to the word in Hebrews, namely, "the impress [or stamp or engraving] which is upon the *ὑπόστασις* of God," not the "impression which the *ὑπόστασις* of God makes." The word in this sense is most closely allied to its frequent use to denote the mark or stamp upon coin which, as Westcott says<sup>1</sup> "determines," or, as he might better say, "expresses" "the nature and value" of that coin.<sup>2</sup> He says rightly that the word "express," if the English had such a noun, would better denote the idea of the word than "impress." It is that which reveals in characteristic outline the nature of that with which it is connected. It is thus closely related to *εἰκών*.

The word *ὑπόστασις* denotes "that which stands under," specifically, that which underlies phenomena or appearance, namely reality. The word then means the "underlying reality," the "essence," as the Germans would say *das Wesen*. Its use for personality or person is a later development that does not belong here.

As the seal and the stamp are closely related, so closely is the Son related to God and related in such a way that he, the Son, is both the likeness and revelation of the underlying essence or nature of God.

It was hoped that within this verse (1:3) itself something would be found which would decide clearly between the two meanings of the word *ἀπαύγασμα*. This has not turned out to be the case. But the fact that the word *χαρακτήρ* is so closely related to *εἰκών* in meaning and that this meaning is almost identical with the second meaning of *ἀπαύγασμα*, viz., "reflection," makes it altogether probable that the writer would make use of the meaning of *ἀπαύγασμα* which is further removed from that of *εἰκών*. In brief, *ἀπαύγασμα* meaning "reflection" and *χαρακτήρ* meaning "likeness" are too slightly differentiated to give sufficient point to the writer's use of *χαρακτήρ* as an additional alternative to *ἀπαύγασμα*. It may be added that as "likeness" goes suitably with *ὑπόστασις*, so "effulgence" rather than "reflection" goes suitably with *δόξα*.

This gives increased probability to the evidence for the meaning "effulgence," gathered from earlier usage in Philo and Wisdom of Solomon. The fact that the Greek fathers uniformly take the word *ἀπαύγασμα* as meaning "effulgence" adds still further to the probability. This part of vs. 3 may then be translated, "who being the radiance of his glory and the express image of his essence."

<sup>1</sup> *Epistle to the Hebrews*, ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. *El.* 559 f.; Arist. *Pol.* 1:9.



These phrases have been considered with the purpose of eliciting the information they give or imply as to the relation of the Son to God. There can be no doubt that as Philo and Wisdom of Solomon apply these and similar terms to the Logos and Wisdom, so the writer of Hebrews applies them to the Son as preincarnate, with whom (as will be seen later) he has identified the Logos. If this identification of the historical Jesus with the Logos (or, as it might better be expressed, the substitution of the idea of the preincarnate Son for the Logos idea of Philo) be accepted, then there can be no reasonable doubt that these phrases introduced by the participle *ὄν*, as well as the one introduced by the participle *φέρων*, refer to this preincarnate Son, for they were certainly used of the Logos by Philo.

In the same way it follows that the relation of the Logos to God denoted by these words in Philo forms the model or type, so to speak, which the author has in mind as he uses the phrases of the pre-existent Son. This is not to be pressed so far as to mean that the author is a mere slavish imitator of Philo in his views and method of presentation. But it does mean that in his effort to set forth the significance and supremacy of the historical Jesus he has gone beyond the limits of history, has passed beyond the Jewish identification of Jesus with the Messiah, and has entered the field of Greek thought and philosophy. He has identified Jesus with the Greek Logos, and, having so identified him, he assigns to him as the preincarnate Son some at least of the attributes and relations of the Logos, specifically his relations to God as expressed in the phrases of vs. 3 which we have been considering. This identification having been made by the author of Hebrews, it is necessary to interpret expressions which are used of the Logos as referring not to the historical Jesus only, nor even to the exalted Christ only, but to this personality viewed as continuous, that is to say, though expressed less accurately, to the preincarnate Son. These phrases of vs. 3 are, then, to be interpreted as denoting the inner or essential relation of the preincarnate Son to God.

The last phrase of vs. 3 introduced by *φέρων* refers to the pre-existent Son. The natural reading of the verse would make the *αὐτοῦ* after *δυνάμεως* have the same reference as the *αὐτοῦ* after *ὑποστάσεως*, viz., to God. While, therefore, this phrase denotes primarily a relation of the Son to the world, it also denotes a relation to God. The thought is much the same as that of Col. 1:17, but is expressed in a more external way and emphasizes the subordinate relation of the Son to God. The particle *τε*, which is "adjunctive," not

"conjunctive,"<sup>1</sup> implies that the close relation to God indicated in the immediately preceding phrases is the inner ground of the relation of the Son to the world of time and space. It may be noticed in passing that this phrase is a close parallel, both in thought and in word, to several passages of Philo in regard to the Logos.<sup>2</sup>

But the inner and essential relation of the pre-existent Son to God must be inferred primarily from the first two phrases of the verse. The phrase "radiance of his glory," interpreted by following the similar description of the Logos and Wisdom given in the passage quoted from Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon, indicates that the Son is a revelation of the glory of God but in such a way that the Son himself has a glory which is similar to, indeed the same as, that of God but which is derived from God. Whether the author of Hebrews thought any more definitely of the person of the preincarnate Son than Philo thought of the person of the Logos or than the writer of Wisdom of Solomon thought of the person of Wisdom it may be very difficult to say. The very fact that he identifies the historical Jesus with the Logos would probably cause him to think of the preincarnate Son as a definite person (cf. 10:5 ff.). But it must be remembered that the phrase "effulgence of his glory" is at bottom a metaphor. Without doubt there is a deep reality underlying the expression of the writer, but that reality is described in a figure, the figure of radiating light. That he conceived the nature of the preincarnate Son to be like to and derived from that of God is clear. But his thought was not directed toward unfolding the implications which later theologians saw latent in the phrase, such as that of the eternal generation, *φῶς ἐκ φωτός*, as that watchword was later used in the church. Delitzsch<sup>3</sup> says that the proper consequences to be drawn from this phrase are: (1) that the Son must be substantial with the Father, inasmuch as what emanates from light must itself have the nature of light, and (2) that the divine generation of the Son must be at once a free and a necessary process within the Godhead, inasmuch as *ἡ αὐγή οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκλάμπει, κατὰ δέ τι τῆς οὐσίας συμβεβηκὸς ἀχώριστον*. With Lunemann<sup>4</sup> he might have added the notion of independent existence and the notion of resemblance. And it must be true that some such notions of the Logos and his nature underlay

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thayer under *τε*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Quis rer. div. haer.*, sec. 7; *de somn.*, I, 41; *de mut. nom.*, sec. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistle to the Hebrews*, I, 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Meyer Commentary on the N.T.*, "Hebrews," p. 79.

this phrase. But the mistake of these commentators consists in using what is only an analogy, a metaphor, as if it were a syllogism and in making inferences from it toward which the mind of the writer when he wrote the phrase was not directed. If the writer had been a modern logician, or even one of the early Greek physical philosophers, such procedure might be permissible. As it is, the most we should say is that, expressed by a metaphor, the Logos originally, and hence the Son, as an independent or semi-independent being (expressed by the passive form ἀπαύγασμα) shares in and expresses the glory that belongs primarily to the being of God.

The second phrase, "express image of his essence," goes a step farther, saying that the Logos originally—and hence the Son—is a picture or revelation to the world of the true being or nature of God the one who is in himself invisible (11:27). The first phrase spoke only of the "glory" of God, this phrase speaks of the "essence," the true being of which that glory was but the expression. The phrase is not to be understood as saying that the Logos, and hence the Son, is that true being or essence, or even that he partakes of that essence. This is rather said by the former phrase. The second phrase says rather that the Logos, and hence the Son, is the exact (though not necessarily "detailed") and trustworthy expression of the underlying reality or essence which gives rise to all the divine glory. The word "essence" is not to be limited to metaphysical substance but is to be considered as denoting the whole reality, whatever it may be, which underlies and produces the aesthetic, the mental, the moral, and the spiritual, which are assigned to the divine and are concentrated in the Son.

Combining the two phrases, it is evident that they set forth an essential relation of a unique being to God. As has been shown, this being is supreme over angels, over Moses and Joshua, over priests and prophets. Such is he in himself and such is his relation to God and men that no man, angel, or spirit could do the work that he has done in sacrifice and redemption or be assigned to the place of honor to which he is assigned at the right hand of the majesty on high. And yet, though sharing in and expressing the glory of God and picturing in himself at once metaphysically, mentally, morally, and spiritually the very nature and being of God, he is continuously dependent on God, alike in his historical manifestation as Jesus and in his pre-existent life as Son.

As yet it must be admitted that the evidence for the past eternity of this unique being, the Son, is not clear. Even the phrases of vs. 3 are not strong enough, not definite enough, too metaphorical, to permit



the view that the doctrine of eternal generation was in the mind of the writer. His thought is not directed backward but forward, not to the past eternity or origin of the Son, but to his practical religious and saving work in the world of men. How the Son could be the radiance of God's glory and the express image of his essence was no more an object of thought for the writer than how the shedding of blood could secure the remission of sins. The one was an assumption from his Alexandrian training, the other from his Jewish training.<sup>1</sup> The striking thoughts of this verse are not again referred to even when the writer touches upon the same general topic (cf. 11:3).

e) *Interpretation of Heb. 13:8.*—The passage in 13:8, "Jesus Christ yesterday and today the same, and forever," must be interpreted in its context. It is connected in thought both with what precedes and with what follows. The first leaders of the church to which the epistle is addressed had died, probably as martyrs to their faith. The readers were in imminent danger of forgetting their high example. They themselves were evidently in danger of thinking their faith not worth the payment of such a price. And this was because they were tempted to think that Jesus Christ was now no longer so real and powerful as in those early days of their first enthusiasm. He had failed to fulfil many of their expectations and so could no longer be counted on to make such costly sacrifice worth while. As an answer to their faithless forebodings the writer assures them that what Jesus Christ was in that earlier time "yesterday" that he is also in the present time "today." The change is in themselves, not in him. The writer is contrasting the two periods and saying that Christ is the same in both. But after he has said this, his thought extends and he adds what he had not at first expected to say, viz., that Jesus Christ is the same "forever." So interpreted, this verse has nothing to say with regard to the past eternity of Christ, but does assert very distinctly his future eternity.

## V. VARIOUS TITLES OF CHRIST

### 1. THE CHRIST (ὁ χριστός)

The title ὁ χριστός with the article occurs in the epistle six times, viz., 3:14; 5:5; 6:1; 9:14; 9:28; 11:26; without the article three times, viz., 3:6; 9:11; 9:24. The use of the title signifies that the historical person whom the writer nine times calls Jesus has been identified with the Jewish Messiah. But it is evident too that by this time the idea has become a common one, for in the three passages mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Cf. von Soden, *Handcommentar zum N.T.*, III, "Der Brief an die Hebräer," S. 19.



above the title is used without the article simply as a proper name, with no particular descriptive force. At the same time there is an atmosphere about the name "Christ" that is different from that about the name "Jesus." The latter denotes the human and the historical; the former approaches somewhat to the official and eternal.

From a study of the six passages in which the phrase "the Christ" occurs it is plain that the writer uses the word of the preincarnate person who is called the Christ. This appears from the passage in 5:5, where it is said that the Christ did not glorify himself to become High Priest. Rather it was God who glorified him thus when he said, "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." It is true that the writer does not expressly indicate the time at which Christ entered on his office of priest or became priest. But he seems to speak at least of his appointment to the office as occurring in the preincarnate period. It is closely associated with God's address to him in 5:5 as Son: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." This would seem to show that the writer uses the title "the Christ" of the preincarnate person. This seems the more likely as the writer immediately after speaks of this person whom he has just before called "the Christ" as offering prayers and learning obedience "*in the days of his flesh*."

The difficult phrase in 11:26, "esteeming the reproach of the Christ greater wealth than the treasures of Egypt," is also most naturally interpreted by taking the Christ to denote the preincarnate person, the Logos. The phrase must be taken as an exact parallel of the thought in 13:13. The latter verse in its context can only mean that that reproach (strictly speaking only a similar reproach) which the Christ bore in being ignominiously thrust out of the city and crucified, they too must bear as partners with him who is the ever-living one. Transferring this interpretation to the phrase "the reproach of the Christ" in 11:26, it means that in suffering with the people of God Moses was bearing such reproach as the Christ bore in his life and death on earth. But how could the writer of Hebrews say this truly of Moses? The most natural explanation seems to be that here too the writer uses the title "the Christ" of the preincarnate one, the Logos. This view is strengthened by the fact that Philo too conceives the Logos to be active in the Old Testament history of Israel.

There are several who insist strongly on the full mystical significance of these passages (11:26; 13:13), notably Delitzsch.<sup>1</sup> The thought is similar indeed to that of Paul, especially as expressed in I Cor. 10:4;

<sup>1</sup> *Epistle to the Hebrews*, II, transl.

II Cor. 1:5; Col. 1:24. But the Pauline mysticism is not found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and one must guard against attributing it to the writer here. It is true that these two passages (11:26; 13:13) indicate a participation in the sufferings and reproach of Christ, but they do not carry the deep mysticism of Paul. They do not justify speaking of Moses and the New Testament Christians as suffering as members of Christ. This Bleek does when he says that the reproach is that "welche er [Christus] in seinen Gliedern zu erdulden hat."<sup>1</sup> Bleek's view of the passage is essentially right, but he is unduly influenced by the dominant Pauline view when he speaks of believers as suffering as members of the body of Christ. That is a Pauline and also a Johannine figure, but a conception which does not belong to the writer of Hebrews. This is one of the numerous instances in which the thoughts of the writer of Hebrews approach very closely to the thoughts of Paul, yet are to be carefully differentiated in form, content, and point of view.

In the two passages just considered, as also in the four remaining passages (3:14; 6:1; 9:14; 9:28), the title "the Christ" denotes the Messiah in his official function. In 3:14, "For we are become partners of the Christ," etc., the title is used of the official position of Jesus as captain of salvation, the bearer of the blessings of salvation in which believers share with him. It is the same thought as in 11:26 and 13:13 except that there believers were partners with the Christ in reproach and sufferings, here they share in the blessings of salvation which he brings as Messiah. In 6:1 the title is used of the Messiah in his earthly manifestation. It is not, however, the political and economic Messiah of the primitive Christian conception. The doctrine of the Messiah is twofold, elemental and advanced. But even the elemental doctrine, the "doctrine of the beginning of the Christ" (cf. 5:12), consists of the catechetical doctrines of the developed church, doctrines connected with the salvation which he brought who was the anointed of God (cf. 2:3). In the remaining two passages the messianic reference, though present, is not so distinctive (9:14, 28).

The title *ὁ χριστός* denotes the Messiah, not as the Jews conceived him in the earlier Christian period, political and economic and saving, but as saving only. He is the fulfiller of Old Testament prophecies and promises (9:28). He is the official one from God who established the new covenant and mediated through his sacrifice and High-Priesthood (9:14 ff.) the blessings of salvation and of the future messianic age. As such he is also pre-existent, active in Old Testament history and in the

<sup>1</sup> Bleek, *Commentar über den Hebräer-Brief*, II, S. 803.

creation of the world. This conception, however, is rather that of the Logos than that of the pre-existent Messiah of late Judaism. In Hebrews the title has largely lost its original import and has become a conventional term or a mere name.

## 2. THE APOSTLE (ὁ ἀπόστολος)

The word ἀπόστολος in the double title applied to Jesus (Heb. 3:1) is, as Bleek says,<sup>1</sup> "ganz eigenthümlich." But perhaps not so altogether peculiar as it has seemed to Bleek and to many early interpreters on account of the fact that there has been a persistent but entirely mistaken tendency to associate the term with the twelve apostles, including Paul. This application of the term to the twelve persons who had seen the Lord and who could do characteristic apostolic deeds<sup>2</sup> is apparently an altogether special and almost technical use of the word. This use may have developed in a measure owing to the insistence of Paul that he too belonged to this select apostolic circle because he had seen the Lord.<sup>3</sup> At any rate it is clear that this technical use of the word had been over-emphasized to the exclusion of the general force of the word which held good both before and after this technical use.<sup>4</sup>

This undue emphasis on the technical use has led some to try to relate the force of the word in Heb. 3:1 to the twelve apostles.<sup>5</sup> It has led others to resort to the rabbinic-talmudic use of שְׁלִיחַ as the delegate, deputy, or representative of the Sanhedrin or community on the Day of Atonement.<sup>6</sup>

The word ἀπόστολος here (Heb. 3:1) has no special reference to the twelve apostles and probably no relation with the talmudic usage. The perplexity<sup>7</sup> vanishes when it is recognized that though the technical use of the word ἀπόστολος overshadowed the regular use, it did not

<sup>1</sup> Bleek, *Commentar über den Hebräer-Brief*, I, S. 379.

<sup>2</sup> *Real-Encykl. f. protest. Theologie u. Kirche*, I, art. "Apostel."

<sup>3</sup> Gebhardt u. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchrist. Literatur*, II, i-ii, S. 116 *fin*.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt unduly emphasizes the technical use when he limits the term to the twelve: *Real-Encykl. f. protest. Theologie u. Kirche*, I, S. 701.

<sup>5</sup> Bleek, *Commentar über den Hebräer-Brief*, I, S. 380.

<sup>6</sup> Tholuck, *Hebrews*, I-II, p. 190; cf. Berach., *Joma.*, I, 5 der Mischna; also Wolf, Wetstein, Stuart.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Tholuck, *op. cit.*, I-II, p. 18 f.: "This passage contains the only example of the predicate ὁ ἀπόστολος applied to Jesus and has given rise to the puzzling question, 'In what passage of the New Testament is Jesus numbered among the *Apostles*?' These reasons oblige us to look around for some other explanation."



destroy it. The Didache shows plainly that the apostles were professional itinerant missionary preachers and teachers of the gospel<sup>1</sup> who were expected to observe carefully the rules laid down by the Lord in Matt. 10:5 ff. Lucian<sup>2</sup> tells us of Peregrinus, one of these professional, wandering missionary apostles,<sup>3</sup> who fleeced the flock. Harnack says that the whole story of Peregrinus is a splendid illustration of chap. 11 of the Didache.<sup>4</sup>

This helps to remove the difficulty which Tholuck felt so keenly and which hindered him from giving to the word here (3:1) the meaning which he felt was fitting, namely, that Jesus is the "immediate *ἀπόστολος τοῦ θεοῦ*." This is the thought brought out strongly in Justin Martyr.<sup>5</sup> It is true indeed that this is apparently the only place where the noun *ἀπόστολος* is used of Jesus, and this is striking and perhaps suggestive, as Bruce says,<sup>6</sup> of the fresh creative genius of the writer and of the unconventional nature of his style. But the thought of this particular relation to God is common enough and the corresponding verb (*ἀποστέλλω*) is frequently found.<sup>7</sup>

In this passage (3:1) the writer is evidently thinking of the contrast he is about to make between Moses and Jesus. It is better therefore to consider that he applies both titles "apostle" and "high priest" to Moses rather than the latter to Aaron as Keil thinks.<sup>8</sup> This is supported by the fact that Philo speaks of Moses as *βασιλεὺς τε καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προφήτης*.<sup>9</sup> The word "confession," rarely used in the New Testament,<sup>10</sup> wavers here as Delitzsch says between the subjective<sup>11</sup> and objective,<sup>12</sup> being specifically neither the one nor the other but inclusive of both. It denotes not an objective statement or creed<sup>13</sup> but rather the public attitude or avowal of allegiance to Christianity taken upon themselves by all Christians. It is objective, not in the sense of denoting any definite statement or creed, but as denoting a

<sup>1</sup> Didache 11:3 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Texte und Untersuchungen*, II, i-ii S. 38.

<sup>2</sup> 125-200 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial.* 75.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian, *Peregr. Prot.*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> Luke 4:43; 9:48; 10:16; Acts 3:20-26; Gal. 4:4; John 17:3-18, *et passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Keil, *Commentar über den Hebräer-Brief*, S. 87.

<sup>9</sup> *De vita Mosis*, II, (Cohn ed., III).

<sup>10</sup> Only in II Cor. 9:13; I Tim. 6:12, 13, outside of Heb. 3:1; 4:14; 10:23.

<sup>11</sup> See Thayer, *N.T. Lexicon*, s.v.

<sup>12</sup> Preuschen, *Handwörterbuch zum N.T.*, says active and passive.

<sup>13</sup> Georg Hollmann, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2. Aufl. II, S. 456.



great new system in which Jesus is God's delegate and representative in contrast with the old in which Moses was God's delegate and representative. The significance of the word "apostle" (3:1) is therefore an expression of the thought of λαλεῖν, as used in 1:1, 2 of the Son as a revealer of God superior to the prophets, and in 2:2 f., as a revealer of God superior to the angels. The phrase λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ is the phrase regularly used of the professional itinerant apostles, both in Hebrews (cf. 13:7, 17, 24) and in the church generally. Compared with these apostles Jesus is *the* apostle of the confession who really brings salvation. He is God's commissioned delegate and representative both to declare and to consummate the salvation which is the heart of the new confession (5:10).<sup>1</sup>

### 3. THE FIRSTBORN (ὁ πρωτότοκος)

The title ὁ πρωτότοκος used of Christ only in 1:6 is rather difficult of explanation. It is a word that is exceedingly common in its literal meaning in the Septuagint and comparatively common there in its figurative uses. It is found four times in the Apostolic Fathers—twice in its literal use, twice in its figurative use. The word ὁ πρωτόγονος, which is identical in meaning, is used frequently by Philo of the Logos. This form is found also in one passage in the Septuagint (Sir. 36:17), though even here one manuscript has the other form. It is an evidence of the dominating power of the strictly Palestinian literature and thought that the form πρωτότοκος is the only one found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and indeed in the New Testament.

Outside of Hebrews this word "firstborn" occurs five times in the New Testament, viz., Luke 2:7; Rom. 8:29; Col. 1:15, 18; Rev. 1:5, and in each case it is modified in some definite way. In Hebrews it is found in three passages, viz., 1:6; 11:28; 12:23. In its literal meaning of "firstborn" it needs no explanation. In its figurative use it has two meanings. First, it denotes, not physical origin, but a relationship of likeness or similarity of character, such as generally springs from physical origin. This use of the word is not found in the New Testament, but the thought is found in Jesus' words to the Jews accusing them that they were of their father the devil (John 8:44). Two cases of this use of the word are found in the Apostolic Fathers. In the Martyrdom of Polycarp, Epilogue 2, as given in the Moscow MS, Polycarp says to the heretic Marcion, "I recognize, I recognize the firstborn of Satan."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this whole subject Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 92 ff., and especially Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, II, i-ii, S. 93 ff., specifically S. 110, n. 23.1.

The same phrase recurs in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians 7:1. The word in this use denotes the highest possible degree of likeness and similarity of character.

In the second figurative use of the word the two ideas of relationship and likeness prominent in the first use become more or less latent, and the two ideas of priority and superiority or pre-eminence are strongly emphasized. These two ideas are also abstracted very easily and naturally from the literal meaning "firstborn." Priority in time is especially emphasized in Col. 1:18; Rev. 1:5, and Heb. 12:23, though the ideas of relationship and superiority are not altogether lacking, as the context in each case plainly shows. In Col. 1:15 and Rom. 8:29, on the other hand, the emphasis is on rank. It denotes the superiority, supremacy, pre-eminence such as belongs only to a firstborn son. In these two passages also, as the context shows, the idea of relationship (not physical, of course, but possibly metaphysical) is comparatively strong.

Of the three passages in Hebrews containing the word, that in 11:28 is literal and simple. In 12:23 the use of the word, and the whole passage in which it occurs, cause considerable difficulty. That interpretation is most natural which makes the word "firstborn" refer not to men (men are referred to later under the category of "just men made perfect"), but to the angels, who are firstborn in the sense of having been created before men.

There are, thus, three prominent ideas in the figurative use of *πρωτότοκος*: (1) priority in time; (2) relationship of some sort not physical, issuing in ethical likeness, similarity of character; (3) superiority, supremacy, pre-eminence such as the firstborn son enjoys; but that in which precisely this pre-eminence consists must be gathered from the general context.

It is a plausible suggestion that the word "firstborn" here denotes a relation of Christ primarily to the world. There is something in the immediate context to support this. And there is a very interesting parallel to the middle phrase of 1:2 in the Septuagint, Ps. 88 (89):25-28, where God is spoken of as exalting his chosen and anointed servant David over the sea and the rivers and the earth and the kings of the earth. The psalm was interpreted messianically and has many striking parallels to Hebrews. In vs. 27, "I also will make him my firstborn the highest of the kings of the earth," the same word is used as in Heb. 1:2, "whom He made heir of all things." The psalm must have been familiar to the writer of Hebrews and probably this passage was in his mind. One

might then assume that in the thought of the writer *πρωτότοκος* was synonymous with *κληρονόμον πάντων* of 1:2, and that therefore the word denotes here primarily a relation of Christ to the world as the sum-total of things. But the context does not sufficiently support this exceedingly plausible interpretation of the word. The word translated "world" in this verse does not denote the world as the sum-total of things, but rather the world as the dwelling-place of human beings, the inhabited earth. Thus there is no ground in the context for identifying the firstborn in 1:6 with the heir of all things in 1:2. Moreover, the relation of 1:2 with Ps. 88 (89):28, while probable enough, would not justify the extreme inference of identifying "firstborn" of 1:6 with "heir of all things" of 1:2.

That the word "firstborn" of 1:6 should be used so absolutely and without any qualifications suggests rather that its significance must be taken from the immediate context. If so, it must be taken as practically equal to *ὁ νῆος*, and denotes therefore primarily a relation to God, a relation which is not further defined, a relation such as angels do not enjoy, viz., the relation of honor, responsibility, love, and devotion to God which can most fittingly be described as the relation of a firstborn son to a father.

It is difficult to state more definitely the author's idea of this relationship of Christ to God. Its uniqueness is emphasized by contrast with the world of angels, men, and things. As in the ancient world the relationship of the firstborn son to the father was superior to that of the other sons and daughters, so the relation of Christ to God was superior to that of the angels. The word in itself need not imply pre-existence and essential relationship to God (cf. Exod. 4:22; Jer. (31:9), but in our writer's thought it probably implies both.

#### 4. THE LORD (*ὁ κύριος*)

For the interpretation of this title it will be well, first, to present an outline of the development of the meaning of *κύριος* in the New Testament writings, showing that the word in its meaning is Hebraic and Aramaic, not Greek in origin, and that the meaning of the word was greatly influenced by associations with the Jewish messianic concept and later by associations with the actual Greek word *κύριος* as it was used in the Graeco-Roman world, so that it came to have a greatly heightened significance, a significance never indeed equal to *θεός* yet closely approaching it. In the second place, we must investigate the use of the title *κύριος* in Hebrews, and its place in the general development.



There were three Hebrew words which in the Septuagint were translated by *κύριος*, יְהוָה, אֱלֹהִים, and אֲדֹנָי. Of these three, the first, יְהוָה, is the peculiar name of the God of the Israelites, which came later to be reckoned as too sacred for pronounciation. Hence the word אֲדֹנָי was pronounced in its place. The second word, אֱלֹהִים, was occasionally translated by *κύριος* in the Septuagint, but more frequently by *θεός*, which is its regular equivalent in the New Testament. Two words, אֵל, and the possibly later אֱלֹהִים, which are singular forms and which seem to be related to אֱלֹהִים<sup>1</sup>, are also translated by *κύριος*, but they occur rarely. The third word, אֲדֹנָי, "my Lord," does not often occur in reference to God but is translated by *κύριος*. *Κύριος* thus does triple work in the Septuagint as a designation for God, and this in addition to its being used to translate some of these words when they do not denote God, especially אֲדֹנָי, since all except יְהוָה and אֱלֹהִים have other uses in addition to denoting God.

Thus the word *κύριος* was exceedingly well known to the New Testament writers from Old Testament usage. For this reason it would come readily to the mind of New Testament writers as a title of Christ when they spoke of him or wrote of him in Greek. This would be especially true after Christ's resurrection and exaltation,<sup>2</sup> because of numerous Old Testament quotations in which *κύριος* is applied to Christ as Messiah even where in the original the application was clearly to God (cf. Heb. 1:10). Wernle holds that Paul substituted *κύριος* for *Χριστός* as being more suggestive and meaningful to Greeks;<sup>3</sup> and Deissmann emphasizes strongly the fact that Paul's usage of the term as well as the New Testament usage in general arises as at the same time a parallel to, and a contrast with, oriental usage of the word in designation of princes and kings. This oriental usage conquered the western world, being applied to the Roman emperors, probably to Nero first.<sup>4</sup> But this is putting a greater weight on Greek influence than the facts warrant. No doubt Graeco-Roman usage influenced Christian usage, but as Case<sup>5</sup> shows, there is some evidence and much probability that an equivalent

<sup>1</sup> Many scholars hold that אֵל, the plural of which would be אֱלִים, is not related to אֱלֹהִים; cf. Brown, Briggs, and Driver, and Buhl's Geseuius.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Paul, Phil. 2:9 ff., which implies that the confession is a result of the exaltation.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 2. Aufl., S. 176.

<sup>4</sup> *Licht vom Osten*, S. 257.

<sup>5</sup> "*Κύριος* as a title for Christ," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXVI, 1907.



of the Greek title *κύριος* was applied to Jesus during his life. In the first place, this would be entirely natural to Semitic usage. Oriental usage in general, both in the present day and as far back as early Egyptian times, uses a title like *κύριος*<sup>1</sup> only for persons recognized as superiors in education, station in life, etc. In the second place, more definite justification for carrying this title back to the Aramaic-speaking Jews of Christ's own lifetime is found in the preservation of the watch-word *μαρνάθα*, "Our Lord cometh," or "Come, O Lord!" (cf. I Cor. 16:22) by Paul. Here *ܡܪܝܢ* is the Aramaic for "Our Lord,"<sup>2</sup> and must be a stray bit of primitive tradition fortunately preserved for us by Paul.<sup>3</sup>

This introduces the intermediate element of Aramaic usage, for it is agreed that the originals of Jesus' teachings were given in Aramaic. It is agreed too that the first disciples of Jesus spoke of him as "Lord," and so must have used some form of *ܡܪ*,<sup>4</sup> to say nothing of *ܪܒ*.

Thus three distinct factors contributed to the significance of the title *κύριος* in the New Testament field. First, there was the Old Testament usage, especially of *אֲדֹנָי* as it is met by and passes into the Aramaic usage of *ܡܪ*, which is no doubt, as Case shows, the origin of the application of the title "Lord" to Christ.<sup>5</sup> Concomitant with this there was the influence of the Septuagint in its oft repeated *κύριος* for *יְהוָה*, *אֲדֹנָי*, and occasionally for *אֱלֹהִים* (*אֵל* and *אֱלֹהִים*). There is, thirdly, the somewhat later influence of Graeco-Roman usage which Wernle and Deissmann (also in less degree Dalman) emphasize as being specially manifest in New Testament writings. There is need of more detailed

<sup>1</sup> Arabic *chawaga* or *effendi*=our "Mister"; Aramaic *ܡܪܝܢ* or *ܪܒܝ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johannes Weiss, *Christus, Die Anfänge des Dogmas*, S. 24.

<sup>3</sup> It may be added that in spite of John's interpretation *διδάσκαλε*, the Aramaic title *Rabbi*, *Rabboni* would also find natural equivalent in Greek in *κύριε*, an equivalent apparently more fitting in some places than the technical term *διδάσκαλε* which John and Matthew use; cf. Mark 10:51; John 20:16. There is nothing intrinsically in *ܪܒ* to make it specifically applicable to teachers. The Greek *διδάσκαλος* in the Graeco-Roman world was not a solemnly respectful word, such as the Aramaic *ܪܒ*. *Κύριος* on the other hand would carry with it the high tone of respect and reverence which the oriental meant to convey when he addressed his teacher as "Rabbi." Moreover the word *ܪܒ* is often translated by *κύριος*, e.g., *ܪܒ ܢܗܠܐ*=*κύριος τοῦ στρατοῦ* = *στρατηγός*.

<sup>4</sup> *ܡܪܐ*, the Lord; *ܡܪܝ*, my Lord; *ܡܪܝܢ*, our Lord.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also J. Weiss, *Christus*, "Es ist aber nicht zu bezweifeln, dass schon in der judenchristlichen Urgemeinde der Erhöhte 'Herr,' 'unser Herr' genannt worden ist" (S. 24).

and thorough study into the interworking of these three influences in their contribution to the meaning of *κύριος*. Case's presentation is of great service but seems to leave the three elements too much detached. The application to Jesus of the title "lord" (בַּיִר) by his Aramaic-speaking followers would begin with his disciples and would be almost equal to the title διδάσκαλος, the Aramaic word being used frequently (as also רַבִּי, *rabbi*) as a title of respect. This would extend as the circle of Christ's followers extended and as their respect and reverence for him increased. When they recognized in him their Messiah, and especially after his resurrection and exaltation, the title would begin to carry an enlarged content. At this stage the influence of the Septuagint use of *κύριος* would become exerted strongly from passages in the Old Testament which were plainly messianic. This would be the period of extension beyond the Palestinian Aramaic usage into the larger extra-Palestinian Greek usage. But it is unlikely that the transition would be from the Aramaic בַּיִר to *κύριος* as it was used in the extra-Palestinian Graeco-Roman world with which Paul was familiar. Rather it is probable that this transition was mediated by the thought of the Aramaic מַרְאָה or מַרְאָה passing into that of *κύριος* as it was used in the Septuagint for אֱלֹהִים. The two were closely allied, though of course *κύριος* as used in the Septuagint covered a larger field. Then, as Case says,<sup>1</sup> owing to their enlarged conception of Christ's exaltation and mission they would apply to Christ passages of the Septuagint where *κύριος* was used of God<sup>2</sup> without however intending to identify Christ with Jehovah in significance and glory.

They were conscious of the difference between God and Christ, so that they increasingly reserved the word *θεός* for God but increasingly applied the word *κύριος* to Christ, since the latter was a broader term and though also applicable to God was not so lofty and distinctive as *Θεός*. That all the evangelists should change the Hebrew and Septuagint "paths of our God" of Mark 1:3 and parallels to "his paths" is a striking instance in support of this.<sup>3</sup>

A little later than this influence of the Septuagint, but largely parallel with it, would come the influence of the non-biblical Greek usage of *κύριος*. This non-biblical usage, though it cannot be thought of as originating and contributing the word as a title of Jesus, must have had considerable influence in altering and enlarging the content of the title

<sup>1</sup> Case, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> For יְהוָה or אֱלֹהִים.

<sup>3</sup> Case, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

as applied to Christ. Deissmann especially exhibits the use of *κύριος* in the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>1</sup> Its highest content in Graeco-Roman usage is found in its application to the Roman emperor as master of the world. It is expressive of an increasingly high regard and homage, though not of the veneration expressed by *θεός* which is indicative in the Graeco-Roman world of deification. The word *κύριος* is used of Nero in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus containing a letter of the Egyptian Harmiusis to the official Papiskos dated July 24, 66 A.D.<sup>2</sup> An Egyptian document of 54 A.D. applies the title to Claudius.<sup>3</sup>

It is evident, then, that this was a common title of the Roman emperors in the time of Paul, and Paul perhaps had this title of the emperors in mind when in I Cor. 8:5, 6 he says that though there are many "lords," yet for Christians there is but one "Lord," Jesus Christ. This may be the beginning of the influence upon the word by Graeco-Roman usage which, when developed, issues in the attitude of Polycarp (155 A.D.), who, when the Roman officials, Herod and Nicetes, urge him to recant by saying, "What wrong can there be in saying 'Caesar [is] Lord'?" refuses and prefers death.<sup>4</sup> Case holds that it was from no reluctance to grant the title *κύριος* to Caesar that Polycarp refused to say "Caesar [is] Lord," but because he "refused to recognize the supremacy of Caesar as compared with the loyalty due to Christ."<sup>5</sup> But this is not a natural interpretation in view of the fact that in another place Polycarp says, "We have been taught to pay respect in every way that is fitting—when such respect is not hurtful to ourselves—to powers and authorities appointed by God."<sup>6</sup> Case is tempted to minimize the significance which the title *κύριος* as used of emperors and of Christ had acquired by this time. It is true that its significance is not equal to that of *θεός*, but its frequent association with *θεός* in emperor-worship had given it a somewhat higher connotation which carried with it some of the atmosphere of *θεός*. Had the Christian conscience of the time of Polycarp been able to distinguish between *κύριος* used of the moral and spiritual lordship of Christ and *κύριος* used of the temporal lordship of Caesar, Polycarp might have called Caesar "Lord." There was no inherent reason why the "supremacy of Caesar" and the "loyalty due to Christ" should clash except just this, that the word *κύριος* as used

<sup>1</sup> *Licht vom Osten*, S. 253 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, No. 246; also *Licht vom Osten*, S. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Licht vom Osten*, S. 256, and *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, No. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 8:2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> *Martyr. Polcarp.* 10:2.



alike of Caesar and of Christ had acquired a sort of divine connotation, probably from its associations with *θεός*. So the Christian conscience, as in the case of Polycarp, could not ascribe the title *κύριος* to Caesar.

From the beginnings of the work of Paul to the martyrdom of Polycarp is a period of a hundred years. During this period the word *κύριος* gradually developed a significance approaching that of *θεός*, a significance which tended to supersede its original meaning and precluded its being applied by the Christian conscience to anyone but Christ. It is not necessarily contradictory to this view that during the same period the "simpler form *κύριος* became the current expression,"<sup>1</sup> and that its "use as a mere name tended to supplant its distinctively title import." However, by Polycarp's time its use as a mere name had not actually supplanted its title import. Polycarp did not die for a mere name. That the "term in Greek usage early became little more than a mere proper name . . . employed in referring to him [Christ] in his earthly career with no more heightened sense than was attached to the name Jesus" is quite probable, but the "heightened sense" lay latent in the term as a title and could arise at any moment of necessity with marvelous dynamic force, as in the case of Polycarp.

Case well says that "if any special significance associates with the word when applied to Jesus it is his person rather than the word itself in which the special meaning inheres." From the Aramaic beginnings when the word *ܡܪ* is used of Jesus by his followers as a title of respect, due to his influence and authority as a teacher, to its highest significance as a title which cannot be given to any other than Christ, the word *κύριος* expands in content so as to contain and express what Jesus as Messiah and exalted Savior became in the consciousness and experience of his followers, viz., a unique authority in the realm of the moral and spiritual, the realm of the conscience and the soul.<sup>2</sup>

Further, it is necessary to investigate the use of *κύριος* in Hebrews and to attempt to fit it into its place in the general development. The instances of the use of *κύριος* in Hebrews are in all sixteen, twelve being instances where the title clearly refers to God;<sup>3</sup> four being

<sup>1</sup> Case, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the brief but interesting statement of Johannes Weiss in *Christus* on this title "Der Herr," S. 24-29.

<sup>3</sup> Ten in quotations, 7:21=Ps. 110:4; 8:8=Jer. 31:31; 8:9=Jer. 31:32; 8:10=Jer. 31:33; 8:11=Jer. 31:34; 10:16=8:10=Jer. 31:33; 10:30=Ps. 135:14; 12:5=Prov. 3:11; 12:6=Prov. 3:12; 13:6=Ps. 118:6; two in the author's own usage, 8:2; 12:14. In all the former, the word corresponding to *κύριος* in the original Hebrew is *יהוה*.



instances where the title as clearly refers to Jesus (1:10=Ps. 102:26;<sup>1</sup> 2:3; 7:14; 13:20). The title, therefore, occurs quite rarely in Hebrews as compared with its occurrences in Paul's writings.

The only quotation in Hebrews in which the word is used of Christ, though the original clearly referred to God, is 1:10=Ps. 102:26. Here it seems that the title *κύριε* misled the Septuagint reader and also the writer of Hebrews into the view that the psalm was messianic.<sup>2</sup> This transference may have been made easier by the fact that some parts of the psalm (cf. vss. 21, 22, 28) have a touch of the typical messianic outlook.<sup>3</sup> Kuenen is hardly right when he says *κύριε* "has been adopted from the Greek version and does not occur in the original." As has been said before, it may well be considered a translation of *יְהוָה* in the second verse before (LXX, vs. 24; Heb. vs. 25) which is not translated in the corresponding Septuagint verse. Such an addition would not be impossible, but it is not necessary to assume it in this passage.

In any case Kuenen seems to be substantially right in saying that such an example as this shows, as numerous other examples in the New Testament show, that by this time the Christians had come to look upon *κύριος* as a title of the Messiah. When they had taken this step it was an easy and slight advance to refer many passages to Jesus as Messiah where *κύριος* denotes not the Messiah but Jehovah himself and where, as here, the passages have little if any messianic import. This passage, therefore, would show that Hebrews was written when it was quite common to attribute *κύριος* as a title of the Messiah to Jesus and under this title to apply passages to Jesus which, before the increasing domination of Jesus' character and person, had been understood only of God.

Heb. 2:3 contains the first case of the application of the title *κύριος* to Jesus in the writer's own words, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation which, having at the first been spoken by the Lord, was confirmed unto us by those who heard?" This is one of the comparatively few but significant passages (cf. Heb. 5:7) which put the writer *en rapport* with the primitive Christian tradition. Its whole atmosphere is quite distinct from that which characterizes the writer's conception of salvation as presented by him in the rest of the epistle.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heb. 1:10 is a quotation in which *κύριε* seems at first sight to be added, but where more probably it is a translation of *יְהוָה*, occurring in vs. 24 of the Hebrew, but not translated in the corresponding verse of the Septuagint.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kuenen, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, p. 468.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old*, pp. 270 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. his peculiar conception of the rest of God, the nature of faith, the High-Priesthood of Jesus.

And yet the writer himself seems not to be conscious of the fact that this salvation which he represents as being first spoken by Jesus must have been something widely different from, not to say at variance with, the salvation which the writer sets forth by his peculiar Alexandrian exegetical methods. One might be inclined to consider this phrase as an interpolation; yet there is no ground whatever for rejecting the phrase except this contrast between the salvation which Jesus actually preached and the salvation which the writer sets forth in his epistle. The writers of the New Testament were not conscious of the sharp contrast which the modern man sets up between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith and experience. To the writer of Hebrews they were, if not identical, at least vitally and essentially related as this passage shows.

The fact is that in this passage (2:3, 4) there is a genuine historical reminiscence with all the atmosphere of that earlier period preceding and immediately succeeding the death and resurrection of Jesus—the atmosphere of the early Christian community. The title *τοῦ κυρίου* as well as the word *σωτηρία* retain here a primitive color and content cognate to that period. The title *τοῦ κυρίου* has here a meaning largely divested of Septuagint and Graeco-Roman influence. It carries with it a high religious sense and denotes the Christ as the recognized leader, teacher and spiritual guide and Savior of the primitive community of Christians. It is possibly an example of a use of the title to denote Jesus in his earthly career which Case refers to as quite common.<sup>1</sup> The author, of course, takes it in its higher significance.

A somewhat similar connotation inheres in the title as it is used in 7:14 and 13:20, the only other two passages of the author's own words in which the title is used of Jesus. In 7:14 the title is used in the strong spiritual sense of religious teacher and leader, devotion to whom gives a consciousness of unity (*ἡμῶν*) to Christians. The connotation of Messiahship is assumed and carried with it, though the idea as such is not expressed by it. So in 13:20, where the associations reveal the high significance which the title has for the writer and his readers. Their Lord is mediator of the new covenant, the great shepherd of the sheep, the one whom God raised from the dead. But the title itself denotes unique religious control and supremacy of the highest type. The addition of the name "Jesus" gives here (13:20) again the atmosphere of the earthly life.

The writer also uses *κύριος* of God, but only twice in his own words,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

viz., 8:2, where he speaks of God as having established the true tabernacle, and 12:14 where he says that without holiness no one shall see the Lord. In both cases the title has the article as when used of Jesus. The writer's regular designation of God is Θεός, and it is perhaps somewhat indicative of the connotation of κύριος that in 8:2, where Θεός would afford the natural contrast to ἄνθρωπος, ὁ κύριος should be used in preference. Biesenthal<sup>1</sup> finds in it a hint that Hebrews was written originally in Hebrew, as otherwise the writer would certainly have used ὁ Θεός, which is the proper contrast to ἄνθρωπος. This, of course, is untenable; but this particular occurrence may fairly be taken as indicative of how even at this time the title κύριος carried the Θεός atmosphere with it (cf. 13:3).

To sum up with reference to κύριος. It arose in Aramaic (ܕܢܪ) as the title regularly applied to honored and influential persons and specifically to Jesus as religious teacher. When the gospel came to be expressed in Greek, especially when it moved out into the Graeco-Roman world, the title κύριος was used, probably at first suggested by and under the influence of the Septuagint usage, where the title was used of the Messiah as well as of Jehovah. Under influence of the Septuagint usage and somewhat later under the influence of the contrast with Graeco-Roman usage, especially in emperor-worship, the content of the title κύριος as applied to Christ was extended and heightened. Though one might naturally expect to find it, there is no evidence in Hebrews of the latter influence. The word has on the one hand the connotation of the earthly Jesus as supreme religious teacher and Savior, leader and guide in the realm of spirit (7:14; 13:20). On the other hand it manifests the heightening of Septuagint influence in 1:10 which originally referred to God (Jehovah) and was not distinctly messianic. It is not permissible, however, to infer from this passage that the writer of Hebrews meant to place Jesus on an equality with God. The growing content and heightened force of the word κύριος sprang originally from the increasing impression Jesus made upon his followers in their faith and experience of him, especially after his death and resurrection. It is hardly proper to infer anything more from κύριος as it is used in this epistle than the supreme significance of Jesus in the realm of religion and the spirit.

##### 5. THE SON (ὁ υἱός)

The phrase Son of Man occurs in the Epistle to the Hebrews but once (2:6) in a quotation from Ps. 8:5. It does not refer to Jesus (except

<sup>1</sup> *Der Apostel Paulus an die Hebräer*, S. 210.



indirectly), being used both in the original and in the quotation as a variant for "man," with possibly a slight increase of emphasis on the weakness of human nature. The title "Son," on the other hand, occurs eleven times with reference to Jesus (1:2, 5, 8; 3:6; 4:14; 5:5, 8; 6:6; 7:3, 28; 10:29).

Of the remaining eleven occurrences of the word "son" in the epistle, two (11:21 and 12:7b) are used of direct physical descent, one (11:24) of sonship by adoption in the human sphere, two (7:5; 11:22) of indirect physical descent; five other occurrences<sup>1</sup> exhibit the writer's figurative religious use of the word as denoting the ethical relation of filial obedience and divine love as between faithful Christians and God. These last five passages indicate in all probability the meaning of the word in 2:10 where the followers of Christ are called "sons." The word is not supernatural or metaphysical in its content, but denotes the same ethico-religious-relation to God.

a) *Development of the conception of sonship.*—In the development of the meaning of the title "Son," three main phases are readily discerned: (1) the literal-physical, (2) the figurative-ethical, and (3) the divine-metaphysical. The first may be passed over. In the second phase the writers of the Old Testament use the word "Son" figuratively to denote a special relation of dignity and favor based upon a sympathetic likeness of character whether good or bad. As applied to a relation to God the whole people of Israel felt themselves to be the favored nation in especial relation to God as "Son" (Exod. 4:22, 23).<sup>2</sup> The king as representative of the whole nation was called Son of God.<sup>3</sup> So all the theocratic kings came to be called Sons of God in this special sense, until finally the title is applied to the ideal King of the future, the Messiah, at least in passages which were interpreted messianically (Ps. 89:27, 28; cf. also IV Ezra 7:28; 13:28).<sup>4</sup> This is the Semitic idea which never fully passes into the metaphysical, though in later Judaism there is an advance in this direction.<sup>5</sup> The Semitic idea "Son of God" is figurative, ethical, religious.

It is clear that the divine-metaphysical meaning of the phrase "Son of God" is found within the New Testament, though there is much dispute and uncertainty as to specific instances. The divine-

<sup>1</sup> Heb. 12:5 (twice), 6, 7a, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, I, S. 265 f.

<sup>3</sup> II Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7; 82:6; 89:27, 28.

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft VI, S. 219. Gunkel in Kautzsch, *Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen*, II, S. 344; Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, S. 213.

<sup>5</sup> Volz, *op. cit.*, sec. 35, 1a, S. 213.



metaphysical meaning, however, is clear in such passages as Luke 1:32-35, as also in Matthew. How much earlier than Luke and Matthew the metaphysical use is to be seen is a question beset with many difficulties. But it is plain that somewhere between the historical theocratic use of the Old Testament and the divine-metaphysical use of some parts of the New Testament this radical change in the meaning of the phrase "Son of God" as applied in the New Testament to Jesus was brought about.

Wernle attributes the origin of this metaphysical use to Paul.<sup>1</sup> He says that the phrase had been used by the earliest community, but "in a very harmless sense," denoting Jesus as "the favorite of God, his confidant, knowing his ways better than anyone else." But it may be seriously questioned whether Wernle is not here as in other places overestimating the influence of Paul as against the primitive Christian community. This view apparently forces Wernle into holding that the reason set forth by the Gospels for the condemnation of Jesus is unhistorical. Wernle says that the accusation of blasphemy was the result of the charge of orthodox Jews against Christians that they were marring monotheism by making a second God out of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to believe that this is merely a reflection of the debates between Christians and Jews in the postresurrection period. If the accusation of blasphemy is not historical, no formal ground of condemnation has been handed down to us. Assuming it to be historical<sup>3</sup> it would follow that the Jewish leaders and rulers at least felt that there was such a content in the phrase "Son of God,"<sup>4</sup> that for such a one as Jesus to claim to be such was supreme blasphemy.

But does this of necessity imply the dogmatic metaphysical meaning of the phrase in the thought of the rulers of the Jews? Holtzmann takes the view that it does not,<sup>5</sup> holding that the charge of blasphemy is fully accounted for by the fact that such a poor and powerless peasant of Galilee should lay claim to such a high official position. Dalman seems to waver between two positions. He maintains<sup>6</sup> that "the assertion of messianic rank could not, indeed, in itself have led straightway to a death sentence," holding that a test of his claim according to b. Sah. 93 b. would in that case have been the necessary step before sentence of death. This is not allowing sufficiently for the pressing circumstances,

<sup>1</sup> *Beginnings of Christianity*, I, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte*, S. 81 f.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 26:63; Luke 22:70; Mark 14:61, "Son of the Blessed."

<sup>5</sup> *Neutest. Theologie*, I, S. 265 f.

<sup>6</sup> Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 313.

and moreover no test was needed: the thing was plain enough. He holds that the blasphemy consisted in the words he added about the Son of Man,<sup>1</sup> which constituted a claim to share in God's majesty. Wrede's position<sup>2</sup> is by all means the more natural interpretation, viz., that there must have been something in the content of "the Christ the Son of the Blessed" (Mark 14:61) which allied it distinctly with God and thus constituted it blasphemy. Holtzmann's emphasis on the insignificance and lowliness of Jesus is still necessary to understand properly how a conviction of blasphemy could be attained and is well brought out in the text by the emphatic *σὺ* (Mark 14:61). But it is not of itself sufficient. The Christ, the Son of the Blessed, must in the thought of the rulers have been ranked with God in some unique sense.

On the other hand, as Holtzmann's view does not go far enough to explain satisfactorily such blasphemy, so Wrede perhaps goes too far in making such a wide separation between the thought of the writer Mark and the thought of the high priest and Sanhedrin.<sup>3</sup> To maintain that Mark here considers the title "Son of God" as "supernatural and metaphysical" is to say what is altogether probable. But to say that he reads the meaning back *ex post facto* into the mouth of the high priest is to destroy the historicity of the narrative, and to leave us no assigned reason for the sentence of death upon Jesus. The point is that if blasphemy in some form is the historical reason for the death of Jesus then between the Jewish rulers' conception of the title "the Christ, the Son of God" and Mark's conception of the same there cannot possibly be such a wide divergence that to the latter it was blasphemy but to the former not. This does not necessarily mean that the rulers also had Mark's conception of a "supernatural and metaphysical" Messiah in the modern sense, but it does mean that they ranked the Messiah with God rather more than with men.

This is supported by the view that in all probability most of the Jews at the time of Jesus conceived the Messiah as supernatural or as super-human. This was especially true in apocalyptic circles, but it is a question of debate as to how widespread these apocalyptic views were.<sup>4</sup> Volz well notes the varied elements entering into the view of the Messiah

<sup>1</sup> Dalman, *Christianity and Judaism*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis*, S. 74 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Volz says (*Jüdische Eschatologie*, S. 212), "In apokalyptischen Zirkeln dagegen wird das eschatologische drama auf einer erhöhten Bühne vorgeführt und in ihrem überirdischen Schauspiel ist auch der Messias eine transcendente Gestalt."

at this time, but repeatedly emphasizes the fact that the Messiah, both as Son of Man, and, though rarely and late, as Son of God, had at the time of Jesus come to be viewed as a supernatural, transcendent figure.<sup>1</sup>

This view certainly makes an understanding of the charge of blasphemy easier and fits with the facts. It does not necessarily show just what conception Jesus had of himself. His hesitation and different viewpoint may be expressed in *σὺ εἶπας* of Matt. 26:64,<sup>2</sup> which was probably his real answer rather than the *ἐγὼ εἶμι* of Mark 14:62. But it indicates that even in the time of Jesus a view of the Messiah prevailed which made it blasphemy for anyone to claim to be such who did not do the marvelous divine works of wonder which the Messiah as Son of God was expected to do. This distinct advance upon the theocratic idea of the Messiah may be called the supernatural or superhuman idea as over against the metaphysical, which may have been introduced in one form by Paul, in another by Matthew and Luke, and in still another by the author of the Fourth Gospel.

Jesus' own thought as to the meaning of Sonship which he applied to himself is a problem beset with many difficulties. He is not represented as using the full phrase "Son of God" as a title for himself, though he frequently puts himself in the relation expressed by it—most notably in Matt. 11:27. It is impossible here to go into the debate upon this striking passage.<sup>3</sup> It seems clear that the accepted reading of Matt. 11:27 is not the original reading, and equally clear that what seems to be the original reading<sup>4</sup> gives a meaning more cognate with the immediate context, less Johannine, less theological and mystical, and more in line with the general synoptic teaching. E. F. Scott<sup>5</sup> sums up the reliable results perhaps with too severe a brevity. The passage remains a

<sup>1</sup> *Jüdische Eschatologie (passim)*, especially S. 211 f.; also sec. 21; sec. 35, "Es ist ein weiter Weg von dem nationalen menschlichen Davidssohn zu dem ewigen Himmelsmenschen und wir können nicht annehmen, dass der Uebergang sich in der Form eines allmählichen innerlichen Fortschreitens vollzogen hätte; vielmehr setzt mit der Vorstellung vom transcendentem Himmelsmenschen etwas Neues ein."

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, XIII, 45.

<sup>3</sup> See Schmiedel, "Die Johannische Stelle in Matthäus und Lucas und das Messiasbewusstsein Jesu," *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1900, S. 1; Johannes Weiss, *Die Schriften des N. Testaments*, I, S. 321; Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 272-310, where he gives a full list of references to discussions.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, p. 295: πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ οὐδὲς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα [vel. τίς ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ] εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὃς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.

<sup>5</sup> "An Exegetical Study of Matt. 11:25-30," *Biblical World*, March, 1910.



strong and beautiful expression of Jesus' consciousness<sup>1</sup> of an altogether unique relation to God which is not exhausted by being described as intellectual only,<sup>2</sup> but grips the deeper reaches of personality involving the religious and moral.<sup>3</sup> Beyond all reasonable doubt it was through this unique consciousness of Sonship, to which the high priest and the Sanhedrin were blind, that Jesus came to accept the title of Messiah which in its official theocratic content with the addition of the supernatural was in a sense understood by the rulers.<sup>4</sup>

These two aspects of the meaning of the phrase "Son of God," viz., the religio-moral use of Jesus and the theocratic semi-supernatural use of the Jews blend and, under the influence of Greek thought and philosophy, form the later divine-metaphysical idea of Sonship, which is found in its initial stages in Paul and more fully developed in Matthew and Luke and in the Fourth Gospel. There seems to be considerable probability for Sanday's view<sup>5</sup> (in opposition to Schmidt's<sup>6</sup>) that this turn toward the metaphysical interpretation under the influence of Greek thought goes back at least to Paul and possibly to the first Jerusalem community. But it may have taken considerable time for the clear-cut Greek metaphysical view to crystallize. Its stages may be seen in the comparatively simple Christology of the speeches in the first chapters of Acts where Jesus is frequently spoken of as not only Christ and Lord, but "servant" (Greek *παῖς*), which to Greeks meant "child," "son." This was further defined by Paul in reference to the resurrection by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. Schmidt, art. "Son of God," *Enc. Bib.*, sec. 12; Pfeiderer, *Urch.*, I, S. 445 f.; Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte*, p. 561. Probably Johannes Weiss does not mean to say that the emended form of the saying cannot go back to Jesus: "Aber so wie uns dieser (in der 2. Strophe Matt. 11:27) überliefert ist bietet er uns schwerlich ein Wort Jesu, sondern eher ein Stück Gemeindetheologie."

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *What Is Christianity?* p. 128: "Rightly understood the name of Son means nothing but the knowledge of God." This is either true or not true according as the wide or narrow meaning is given to the word "knowledge."

<sup>3</sup> Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theologie*, I, S. 267: "die ungehemmte Lebensgemeinschaft mit Gott, die unverkümmerte Berührung mit dem Göttlichen. . . . Was aber wir auf dem langen Wege der Reflexion nachzubilden versuchen, das taucht für den religiösen Genius als unvermittelte und ungebrochene Offenbarung aus den Tiefen, seines Gemüthslebens auf. Und zwar Letzteres so, dass das Sohnesbewusstsein sich entsprechend der sittlichen Ausfüllung der Gottesidee, die in dem Vaternamen liegt, auch durchaus sittlich bestimmt und bedingt fand. Der religiöse Genius war zugleich ein sittlicher Genius."

<sup>4</sup> Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theologie*, I, S. 271; Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, p. 301.

<sup>5</sup> *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 130 f.

<sup>6</sup> Art. "Son of God," *Enc. Bib.*, sec. 22.



which Jesus was determined the Son of God with power (Rom. 1:4). Later the thought was carried back to the transfiguration or to the baptism (Mark 9:7 and parallels; Mark 1:11 and parallels), and still later to the birth in the infancy-stories of Matthew and Luke. The Fourth Gospel carried it back still farther and gave the impetus to the fuller metaphysical interpretation of the creeds.

From this passage in Mark 14:62 it is clear that for the author at least the three titles, Son of God, Son of Man, and Messiah become practically synonymous. It would be going too far to say that the two titles "Son of God" and "Son of Man" were merely synonyms for "Messiah"; this would be to disregard the various shades of meaning which developed in the historical use of the terms. In their origin and original content at least they were quite distinct, but at the time of Mark's writing they had converged and almost focused in one common meaning.

b) *Use of the title "Son" in Hebrews.*—It has been seen above that the writer of Hebrews has the distinctly religious Semitic use of the word "son" (12:8), as applied to Christians. He has also the thought of God as father of all spirit beings, men included (12:9). He does not, however, use the term "son" or "sons" of man or men in general. As applied to Jesus there are in all eleven passages where the title "Son" or "Son of God" occurs; these must receive careful attention.

Passing over for the present the first case of the use of *υἱός* as applied to Christ (1:2), the next case is found in the familiar quotation of Ps. 2:7 in 1:5, "Thou art my Son; today have I begotten thee," immediately followed by the quotation from II Sam. 7:14, "I shall be to him a father and he shall be to me a Son." It is not necessary here to decide whether the king whose installation was celebrated in the original psalm was David or Solomon or some other.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it necessary to show in what sense or in what way the psalm was referred to the ideal future King, the Messiah.<sup>2</sup> It is enough to realize that the passage originally had a definite reference to a historic king of Israel who, according to the familiar Semitic idea (Jer. 2:27), was recognized, declared, and adopted as God's Son when he was installed as king over God's people; that later it became by common consent referred to the Messiah,<sup>3</sup> and in this way the writer of the Hebrews uses it of Jesus.

But this throws the difficulty into the question as to how the writer

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bleek, *Commentar über den Hebräer-Brief*, I, 110 f; Bähgen, *Die Psalmen*, S. 3; Briggs, *Psalms*, I, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bleek, *op. cit.*, p. 111 f.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 4:25, 26; 13:33; Rev. 2:27; 12:5; Heb. 5:5.

conceives this appellation, which originally was referred to a definite point of time, to be applied to Christ whom he clearly considers to be pre-existent. Has the reference to a specific point of time which is so explicitly brought out by *σήμερον* quite faded from his thought so that he means *σήμερον* to denote eternity? Such a meaning, though strange to the original (Ps. 2:7), is not strange to Alexandrian usage, and this may be another point of contact between the author and Philo.<sup>1</sup> An interesting and suggestive use of the word is found in the Epistle to Diognetus which seems to mark an advance in effort at precision of thought, or perhaps rather an effort to explain that which in Hebrews was left unexplained and puzzling.<sup>2</sup> This quotation would seem to be a distinct reference to the passage so frequently upon the lips of primitive Christians with regard to Jesus as Messiah (Ps. 2:7). It is further an express statement of what lies latent in the thought of the writer to the Hebrews. For him too Christ was *ὁ ἀεὶ* [ᾧν], but it would seem that in some way he conceived of him as at some time constituted or declared "Son." For *σήμερον* in Diognetus cannot mean "today" of the time at which the author is writing. Nor can it be quite equal to *ἀεὶ*, from which it is so clearly distinguished by a contrast. The word stands between these two meanings and denotes a specific point of time at which he who was forever, became "Son."

This, with less distinctness, is the conception of the writer to the Hebrews, rather than the Philo usage of the word denoting "eternity." For in his use of the quotation he shows that in his conception God might possibly have so addressed one of the angels who with Christ were pre-existent and coexistent spirit beings.<sup>3</sup> Thus addressing the pre-existent Christ, the writer seems from one point of view to abandon the natural and necessary meaning of the words, especially of *σήμερον γεγέννηκα*, so as either to imply that the word *σήμερον* is equivalent to "eternity" or to leave the words without any point or meaning in their new context. From another point of view, by the reference to the pre-existent angels as over against the pre-existent Christ, he seems to imply that this pre-existent Christ rather than any one of the angels

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philo, *De Fuga*, §11 (Cohn ed., III, p. 122) *σήμερον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπέρατος καὶ ἀδιέξικτος αἰὼν· μηνῶν γὰρ καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ συνδύως χρόνων περίοδοι δόγματα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκτετριμηκότων· τὸ δ' ἀψευδὲς ὄνομα αἰῶνος ἡ σήμερον.* *Leg. Alleg.*, III, 8, (Cohn ed., I, p. 118) *ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, τουτέστιν ἀεὶ.*

<sup>2</sup> Diognetus, 11:4, 5: Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανεῖς καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεθεὶς καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίων καρδίαις γεννώμενος. οὗτος ὁ ἀεὶ, ὁ σήμερον νιὸς λογισθεῖς, κτλ.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. 1:5: "For to what one of the angels did he ever say, Thou art my son?" etc.

was at some specific time thus addressed and by this means constituted or given the status and dignity of "Son" by adoption.

The same uncertainty or double point of view is seen in Heb. 5:5, where the same passage is quoted but quoted this time in reference to Christ's becoming High Priest. It has been already noticed that the author apparently does not specify when Christ entered upon his High-Priestly office. But this passage (vss. 5, 6) indicates nevertheless that the author conceives of Christ not as having been eternally High Priest but as at some specific time having become or having been declared and constituted High Priest. And in these verses the declaration of High-Priesthood is put upon a par (*καθὼς*) with the declaration of Sonship. Why the two—Sonship and Priesthood—are here so closely associated it is hard to tell unless in some way the author conceived of the two as very similar in their significance and possibly identical in point of time. This specific time of inception, however, is not mentioned by the writer either for the Sonship or for the Priesthood. But at least the natural or face value of the language he uses in these two passages (1:5; 5:5, 6) makes such an interpretation natural, indeed almost necessary.

Further reference will be made to this view that the writer, even though vaguely and almost inconsistently, had in mind a specific time at which Christ was constituted Son and High Priest. It may be well here to show briefly how this may be in perfect line with the developing thought of the primitive church, especially upon the question of Sonship.

The simplicity of the Christology of the first few chapters of Acts has been recognized as indicating that these chapters in all probability reflect with comparative fidelity the actual thought in the primitive community shortly after the resurrection of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> Now the primitive community evidently used Ps. 2<sup>2</sup> very largely and universally in their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schmiedel, art. "Acts of the Apostles," *Enc. Bib.*, sec. 14: "it is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source." Cf. Harnack's statement from a somewhat different point of view, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 190: "Of course what is given us even here is never tradition absolutely primitive and unaffected by legend; it is rather historical tradition handed down by enthusiasts." Cf. *Conclusion*, p. 298: "It is not only, taken as a whole, a genuinely historical work, but even in the majority of its details it is trustworthy. Except for a few panegyric aberrations in the direction of the Primitive Community, it follows no bias that distorts its representation of the actual course of events." The aberrations Harnack speaks of, even if granted for these early chapters, do not destroy their reliability as a source for the thought of the Primitive Community. What can be considered as the actual facts out of the so-called miraculous or supernatural stories is of minor importance here.

<sup>2</sup> And the related O.T. passages, II Sam. 7:12-14; Ps. 89:



effort to express the significance of Jesus and their conception of his person. Acts 2:32-36 refers the inception of the Messiahship and Lordship of Jesus very pointedly to the exaltation which was a result of the resurrection. This great enthronement as Lord and Christ would act in two ways upon the thought of primitive Christians. It would clarify and intensify whatever tremulous thoughts some of them had had of Jesus as Messiah before his death and resurrection and it would lead them in addition to carry the developing and enlarging thought of the later time back into the earlier period. So the baptism experience loomed larger as the anointing of this Jesus who was to be Messiah and King (Acts 4:27, and especially 10:38 which no doubt referred directly to the baptism). In this primitive Christology the word that plays the largest part as a designation of Christ is *παῖς θεοῦ* (3:13, 26; 4:27, 30). This word, which may mean "servant" or "child," is no doubt later supplanted by *υἱός*, and even in Acts, though not in the earlier chapters, the quotation of Ps. 2:7 which has been under consideration in Heb. 1:5; 5:5 is used and the Sonship of Christ is directly connected with the resurrection (Acts 13:33). This may indicate a slight advance on a somewhat earlier conception.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the words (Acts 13:33) are in a speech made by Paul. But apart from the nature of the speeches in Acts<sup>2</sup>, it is clear that the Christology of the speech does not depart very far from the Christology of the primitive community, and yet in one or two respects seems to approach Paul (Acts 13:23 = Rom. 1:32), for Paul too (Rom. 1:4) has a modified form of the thought that Christ was declared or constituted "Son of God" by the resurrection from the dead.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Paul's thought was that Christ, who was eternally Son, was publicly and powerfully manifested to be such by the resurrection from the dead. If this was his thought he must be considered as having advanced more considerably upon the primitive conception and then would have approached closely to the writer of Hebrews. It may be, all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 195 f. Harnack considers 12:25-15:35 a separate section which he calls Antiochean and considers trustworthy also. "We find in the source nothing that demands a late date of composition, while the excellent accounts concerning Jerusalem and Stephen, and the special veneration shown to Barnabas, lead us to conclude that we have here a writing of high antiquity."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schmiedel, art. "Acts of the Apostles," *Enc. Bib.*, sec. 14: Headlam, art. "Acts of the Apostles," *Hastings' Bib. Dict.*, I, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jülicher, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, II, S. 221. Others to be sure lay the emphasis on "with power," thus reconciling the primitive conception that Christ was constituted Messiah and Son by the resurrection with the thought of the pre-existent Christ as Son.



things considered, that this is the more natural and likely view to attribute to Paul. But his advance, however great, has not obliterated the mark of the primitive view, which was that Jesus was constituted Messiah, Lord, and Son by the resurrection and exaltation.

The enlarging conception of Jesus as Son of God continued to press back the inception of Sonship. The next stage was that of the miraculous conception, in which the Semitic idea of Sonship passed over into the Greek metaphysical idea (Matt. 1:20; Luke 1:32).

But even this was not sufficient. The idea of pre-existence emerged very early—indeed in the majority of Jewish views it was predicated of the Messiah.<sup>1</sup> At first the thought probably was of an ideal pre-existence of the Messiah, just as in the case of Wisdom (Prov. 8:22 ff.) and of the Son of Man (Volz, *op. cit.*, S. 215, 217 f.). But the tendency was increasingly strong to make this pre-existence real and active. This was done when the ideas of Messiah, Son of Man, and Son of God were to a large extent fused with the Greek concept of the Logos. The terms "Son of Man" and "Christ" tended to pass out of use, owing to Greek influence. The term Logos did not appeal to the early church, though later on the lips of the early Greek apologists (cf. Justin Martyr, *passim*) it became common as a designation for Christ. The strong religious consciousness of the later primitive church preferred the term Son of God or Son, and the inception of this Sonship was by the author of the Fourth Gospel, who says nothing of the virgin birth, carried back to the beginning (John 1:2, 18). It should still be carefully noted, however, that within the New Testament period there is apparently a reluctance to apply the word "Son" to this pre-existent being as such. So much so that within a number of the books of the New Testament it has been recognized as a difficult question whether the word "Son" is at all used of the pre-existent Christ. This is especially true of Hebrews.<sup>2</sup>

This reluctance to apply the highest title "Son," "Son of God" to the pre-existent Christ as such will be referred to again. It is significant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, S. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Macintosh, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1 vol.), art. "Person of Christ," IV, sec. 3, "A very difficult question is whether in this epistle 'Son' is applied to the preincarnate One or to the incarnate Christ only. . . . No one can doubt that the writer's mind starts from Christ the Son as known in history and in his exaltation, and holds these revealing facts steadily in the foreground of his thought; but does he go farther back, and carry this Sonship into the pre-existent state?"; cf. A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, note on the "Son," pp. 73 ff. Also Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 440 f., "The same interest, that of magnifying the sacrifice, requires the Sonship to be of older date than the life on earth."

here as indicating that when the Christians began to identify Christ with the Logos, thus making him, even if somewhat vaguely, eternal, the words of Ps. 2:7, especially *σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, tended to lose their specific reference to any definite inception of Sonship. Their adoptive significance was lost, the famous christological watchword of the primitive community only caused confusion, till finally the word *σήμερον* was interpreted as denoting the timeless "today" of God in somewhat the same way as a day of God was said to be a thousand years.

The period of confusion is exhibited in the author of Hebrews (1:5; 5:5). For it is clear now, though it was not so clear to the author, that the words are hardly fitting to his thought of Christ. For the epistle plainly predicates a real and an active pre-existence of Christ, even if the author hesitates to apply the word "Son" to him as pre-existent (10:5). But he fails to give any point of time to which the words of Ps. 2:7 could apply, though the words in their proper meaning require such a time.

That later writers felt the irrelevancy of these words as used of the Logos or the eternal Christ, and sought to clear up the confusion caused by them, is shown by the way in which they sometimes explained them. Clement of Rome<sup>1</sup> uses this quotation (Ps. 2:7), but in him the words have lost their specific reference more than in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Clement says, "But of his Son the Master said thus: 'Thou art my Son, I this day have begotten thee. Ask of me,'" etc. He speaks of the one to whom these words are said as already "Son," and does not pause to explain.

A more suggestive use is found in Justin Martyr.<sup>2</sup> In this passage the fundamental thing to be noticed is not the precise meaning of Justin, about which there may be some doubt.<sup>3</sup> It is rather the fact that he

<sup>1</sup> Clement, *I Ep. ad Cor.*, chap. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Dialog.* C. 88, p. 316 C, D: τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν τὸ ἅγιον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς πρόφην, ἐν εἰδει περιστερᾶς ἐπέπη αὐτῷ, καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἅμα ἐληλύθει ἥτις καὶ διὰ Δαυὶδ λεγομένη, ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμελλε λέγεσθαι. Τίός μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· τότε γένεσιν αὐτοῦ λέγων γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐξ οὗτος ἡ γνώσις αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι. Cf. *Explanation of Methodius*: τὸ δὲ Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, ὅτι προῦντα ἤδη πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐβουλήθη καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γεννῆσαι, ὃ δὴ ἐστὶ, προσθὲν ἀγνοοῦμενον γνωρίσαι. Cf. also other quotations and explanations as given by Otto in his edition of Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, chap. 88.

<sup>3</sup> The sentence is loosely formed. The participle λέγων is anacoluthic; grammatically it ought to agree with πνεῦμα or φωνή but the real meaning predominates and the form λέγων is used with the feeling that "God" is the subject, i.e., as if

feels the irrelevancy of this quotation and is forced into an explanation of it which refers the *σήμερον* to some specific time in the future, viz., the time of the *γνώσις* or revelation of Christ, whether this *γνώσις* be interpreted historically of Jesus' coming into the world<sup>1</sup> or mystically, that is, spiritually. That Justin should be forced to make this explanation shows how the original meaning and face value of the words persisted. For Justin does not hesitate to call Christ "God."<sup>2</sup> And, indeed, it is not at all likely that the *γένεσις* of Christ of which Justin speaks in explaining *σήμερον γεγέννηκα* is considered by him as constituting Christ "Son." Justin would consider and call Christ eternally Logos and Son. The face value of the words *σήμερον γεγέννηκα* is satisfied by an explanation of the *γένεσις* at a specific time as the revelation of this hitherto hidden Son. But this shows that even in Justin Martyr the atmosphere of the historical Jesus still clings to the title "Son."

In the same line of development, there is found a puzzling passage in the Apostolic Fathers (*Ep. to Diognetus*, chap. 11).<sup>3</sup> There can be little doubt that Lightfoot is right<sup>4</sup> in translating "He, I say, who is eternal, who today *was* accounted a son," as against the translation of the Ante-Nicene Fathers,<sup>5</sup> "This is He who, being from everlasting, *is* today called the Son." That is, the word *σήμερον* does not have the meaning "at the present time," but is almost certainly a reminiscence of the common quotation of Ps. 2:7. But this does not necessarily annul the suggestiveness of the passage as a parallel to that of Justin. In fact

*ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμελλε λέγεσθαι* were active. The participle *λέγοντος* would more naturally be taken as agreeing with *αὐτοῦ* (Christ), and may indeed be so taken. But the sense is better if *λέγοντος* is referred back to *Δαυίδ*. *ἐμελλε* in both cases denotes a future-to-a-past point of view. *τότε* is emphatic and proleptic pointing forward to *ἐξ ὅτου* which may mean either "from which [time]" or "at which [time]." In its first occurrence *γίνεσθαι* stands for a general present. One would expect *γενήσεσθαι* but the writer allows his own point of time, viz., the time of writing, to intrude when he should not. He returns to the future-to-a-past point of view in *ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι*.

<sup>1</sup> Justin may have the miraculous conception in mind much as in the previous part of the sentence he speaks of Jesus as being accounted the son of Joseph, the carpenter: *καὶ νομιζομένου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De Resurrectione*, 10. If this reading *ὁ θεός* is refused (cf. Otto, *De Resur.*, p. 10, n. 16), still it is plain that Justin though never actually identifying Christ with God gives to him an exceedingly high rôle and calls him "God" (*Dial.* 57).

<sup>3</sup> οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανεῖς, καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεθεῖς, καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίῳ καρδίαις γεννώμενος. Οὗτος ὁ ἀέι, [ὁ] σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεῖς.

<sup>4</sup> Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 510.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. I, p. 29.



the whole context bears a striking resemblance to that of the passage in Justin, and probably the writer to Diognetus would have given an interpretation to *σήμερον* similar to that which Justin gives. Like the passage in Justin, it emphasizes the contrast which was felt between the eternity of the being who is called "Son" and a word<sup>1</sup> which by its proper meaning contradicted that eternity.

What truth there may be in any or all of these varying views of the inception of Christ's Sonship, viz., resurrection and exaltation, baptism, miraculous conception, Logos-doctrine, it is not in place to discuss here. This explanation of their relation and development may not, indeed, be the right one. But it accounts well for the presence of the quotation of Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5; 5:5, and also for the fact quite noticeable in the whole of the New Testament, and especially in the earlier parts, that there is a reluctance to apply the title "Son" to the Christ as pre-existent.

This view is strengthened by the fact that while the writer of Hebrews conceives the Son as a being whose life extends probably into the eternal past, yet in none of the other passages in which the title "Son" is used does he employ it in a clear and unambiguous way of the pre-existent one. It might be answered that for one who is beforehand determined that the title "Son" could only apply to the earthly Christ, either in the days of his flesh or as exalted, it would be impossible for any writer so to use the title as to compel reference to him as pre-existent. But in such a passage as 10:5-9, which clearly implies pre-existence,<sup>2</sup> and may appropriately be compared to Phil. 2:5 ff., the author might have used the title "Son" so as to refer clearly to the pre-existent one.

It is difficult to determine the precise content of the word "Son" in the conception of the writer. In fact there are not sufficient data to do so. In 1:8 it is evident from what follows that the conception of "Son" is a high one, even though the first part of vs. 8 were to be translated, according to Westcott and Hort, "Thy throne is God forever and ever and the sceptre of uprightness is the sceptre of His Kingdom." But even here the adoptive idea thrusts itself to the front in 1:9.

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible here to go into the probable date of chaps. 11 and 12 of *Ep. to Diognetus*. It is generally recognized that there is a break between chaps. 10 and 11 and that the epistle proper ends with chap. 10. Also that chaps. 11 and 12 are probably a homily; cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, S. 757: "Es ist das Fragment einer Homilie und gehört vielleicht in den Kreis des Methodius." Methodius died *cir.* 311 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> The participle *ἐρχόμενος* being present implies that what is said vss. 5-7 is said coincidently with coming into the world.



In 3:6 Christ is contrasted with Moses. While both were faithful, Moses was faithful only as a servant as being *in* and therefore also a part of God's house. But Christ was faithful as a Son *over* God's house. The thought here is closely connected with that of Christ as a "first-born" Son (1:6). In God's house Christ holds the high and honored position and power which was universally assigned to such a one in ancient and especially oriental states. But in this passage again it is interesting as well as perplexing to note that while the writer probably made no conscious distinction between believers of the old dispensation and those of the new as constituting God's house, yet those over whom Christ is placed as "Son" are the Christians, not the Old Testament saints.<sup>1</sup> It is another indication that almost unconsciously the title "Son" carries to the writer the atmosphere of the earthly and exalted Jesus. It does not refer so fittingly to the pre-existent Christ. In this passage the word "Son" lacks the article, is qualitative, and denotes such a one as bears the same relation to God and his house (Christians) as the firstborn bears to the father of a household. There is nothing to indicate how he was constituted Son or in what this Sonship consists.

In 5:8 the title occurs again without the article, being qualitatively used. It is found in the midst of a passage which, as already noted, emphasizes thoroughly the humanity of Christ. The thought of the immediate context is similar to that of 12:5 f., which emphasizes the Father's love and care in chastening true sons. But the contrast is clearly and strongly marked in that while in 12:5 f. the chastening and consequent training is natural and to be expected of *every* son (cf. 12:6), in 5:8 the author designates the chastening and sufferings of Christ as altogether exceptional and exceptional just because he was a "Son." This marks the Sonship of Christ as in the author's conception unique. It also clearly predicates Sonship of Jesus before his resurrection and exaltation. Does it use the title of him as pre-existent? Possibly so; but even if so, the experiences which he relates have to do entirely with the historical Jesus.

In Heb. 7:28 again the title is qualitative: "one who is a son perfected forever." This passage also tends to separate Jesus from men, even from Christians, but this separation is closely connected with the fact that he is High Priest. As such he is "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners and made higher than the heavens." This description of the Son is not one that refers to moral character only. It

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heb. 3:6b, "whose house are we, if we hold fast," etc.

is in a large measure official perfection, perfection that consists in proper relations and proper surroundings. It is, however, contrary to the emphasis of the writer upon the weakness (5:2b, 7 f.) and true humanity to say that there is "no contrast between the state of the Son before perfection and when perfected." That would empty his words of any meaning. It is probably true that in the author's conception the contrast does not imply any positive moral sinfulness in the Son before perfection. The state of perfection here is in evident contrast with the state of weakness (7:28a). The state of perfection as contrasted with the state of weakness in the days of his flesh has an added increment of positive moral strength, of power, and of efficiency. This is a condition of character and saving power unattained by any Levitical high priest, altogether unattained by anyone. Does the word "Son" here apply to Christ as pre-existent? It would surely seem so, for it is the word of the oath which was after the law, viz., Ps. 110:4, which declares a Son High Priest after the order of Melchizedek. Sonship and Priesthood are closely associated in 5:5. The writer may well have conceived the pre-existent Christ as declared by God High Priest proleptically. In this passage he seems to separate between the Sonship and High-Priesthood. But as the inception of Sonship is left indefinite by the writer, so the inception of Priesthood is left indefinite. The Son seems to be spoken of as pre-existent, but he is described in words which denote a perfection gained by earthly experiences.

In four other passages<sup>2</sup> the full title "Son of God" is used of Jesus. In the first (4:14, "Jesus the Son of God"), by being coupled with the name "Jesus," the title is again redolent of the life and experiences of the man Jesus. The context is also similar to that of 7:28, since Jesus, the Son of God, is the great High Priest who by his experiences is full of sympathy for human sins and weakness. By this too the title "Son of God" is here surrounded with an atmosphere of earth.

In 6:6 and 10:29, passages which are quite similar, the supreme and awful dignity and worth of the person designated is brought out by the title "Son of God." The solemn weight which the title can and does here carry is brought out by the fact that to trample under foot the Son of God, to count the blood of the covenant an unholy thing (10:29), to crucify the Son of God afresh (6:6), and to put him to an open shame is the unforgivable sin, the final tragedy. It is not necessary to show here what is the source of this

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Heb 4:14; 6:6; 7:3; 10:29.

terribly somber strain in Hebrews.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the supreme dignity and work of the one who is called the Son of God is the very thing that makes such a sin possible. And yet even in these tragic circumstances the things which constitute the crime, viz., counting the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, crucifying the Son of God afresh, etc., involve references only to the experiences of the earthly Jesus.

The third use of the full title "Son of God" occurs in the chapter which deals with Melchizedek as the type of Christ (7:3, "Being made like the Son of God," etc.). This bit of characteristic Alexandrian allegorical exegesis deserves more detailed and intensive study than has yet been given to it. For the writer as for Philo there is an aureole around the weird figure of Melchizedek. The oracle of Ps. 110:4 is the chief cornerstone of the writer's whole presentation of Jesus. Generally the figure of Melchizedek is viewed as the type of Christ and the writer views his thesis, of the intricacy of which he is himself fully aware (5:11), as doubly proved since as a matter of fact one did actually appear in history who answered all the requirements of this oracle (7:15 f.). Jesus is a Priest after the order of Melchizedek and not after the order of Aaron (7:11). And this means particularly two things, viz., a new and better covenant (7:12), and an unchangeable because eternal and perfect priesthood (7:16 f.). But the likeness to the type Melchizedek consists chiefly in the fact that Christ's Priesthood is forever, eternal (7:16); it does not pass to another (7:24) because he who exercises it possesses a life of such essential and moral quality as to be indestructible (7:16).

It is to be noted, however, that in this phrase, "made like unto the Son of God" (7:3), the title is used in a way directly contrary to the usage of the passage in Ps. 110:4 on which it is supposed to be based, contrary also to the application which the writer himself makes in the rest of this passage. This has caused interpreters a great deal of trouble and it has been explained in various ways.<sup>2</sup>

The simplest and probably the best explanation is to be found by considering that the same process of thought occurs here in connection with the writer's use of the passage in Ps. 110:4 as occurred in connection with his use of the passage in Ps. 2:7, as above described. In

<sup>1</sup> Perdelwitz (*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 2, 1910; *Das literarische Problem des Hebräer-Briefs*, II, S. 105) argues for the origin of Hebrews in the circle of presbyters in Asia Minor, on the basis of similarity to a newly discovered conclusion of Mark and to I John on the question of the forgiveness of sins.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bengel, "non dicitur filius Dei assimilatus Melchisedeco, sed contra; nam filius Dei est antiquior et archetypus"; cf. 8:5; Bleek, II, S. 315 and I, S. 360.



both cases the writer's identification of Christ with the Logos, his view that Christ is pre-existent and perhaps eternal, causes him to use language of Jesus as the Son of God and as High Priest which is really at variance with the original and with any natural meaning of the Old Testament passages and inconsistent with the writer's own understanding of those passages. It must be admitted that here if anywhere the writer uses the title Son of God of Christ as pre-existent. But in doing so he has directly reversed the thought of his original passage (Ps. 110:4). He has not only gone beyond it; he has contradicted it or at least has revealed that it is inadequate and inappropriate to express the thought that is in his own mind. It is another support to the thesis that the author is carrying back contributions from actual history and his own experience into the Old Testament Scriptures rather than carrying forward only what is found in the Old Testament Scriptures.

The title "the Son of God" as it is found here (7:3) does not indicate anything additional as to content. Nor does it throw any light on the question as to how the writer considers Jesus to be or to have become the Son of God. It is even possible, though hardly natural, to hold that it is not used of Christ as pre-existent but in a free and somewhat loose way, by a sort of *hysteron-proteron*, denotes the earthly Jesus.

There is but one case left of the use of "Son," viz., 1:2. It lacks the article and is therefore used qualitatively, meaning "one who is a son," i.e., "who bears the relation of a Son to God." The context here as in most of the other cases shows that the word denotes one supreme and unique in dignity, worth, and power.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the phrases of 1:3a carry a somewhat indefinite ontological meaning, but they cannot be pressed, and the view here taken is that they are conceived by the author metaphorically rather than metaphysically. By this it is meant that the author is not endeavoring to express by them the nature or process of Sonship.

It is quite possible, indeed probable, that here again the writer is using the word "Son" as denoting not merely the earthly but also the pre-existent Christ. This is the more likely since in the immediate context he speaks of him as creator and sustainer of the worlds. But as noted already, the writer's thought moves not back to further pre-existent processes or activities, but immediately forward to the High-Priestly work of salvation, the exaltation and the superior dignity of the Son.

Further, even here in this succinct, artistic, and lofty epitome and introduction, the thought of the writer transcends the limits of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. use of "Son" in the parable of the Husbandman (Mark 12:1-12).



language. It is not only that in his supreme function as revealer the Son is placed with the prophets, so that here too the atmosphere which surrounds the word "Son" is that of the earthly life of Jesus. But the phrase "whom he appointed heir of all things" (1:2b) points to a specific time. If the word *ἐθηκεν* is taken to mean "placed," "established," and the word *κληρονόμος* made to denote a realization still future to the *ἐθηκεν*,<sup>1</sup> this time may well be taken to be the exaltation. But whether taken in this way or in some other way the phrase seems somewhat incongruous with eternal sonship. The word carries with it something of the adoptive idea.

c) *Summary*.—To sum up the content of the title "Son" or "Son of God": The writer's free and unexplained use of the word shows that he had taken it over from the early Christian usage. He feels no need of defining it in any precise way but uses the term as one quite familiar. The ethical and religious use of the term is easily distinguished, the atmosphere of the earthly life of Jesus surrounds it continually. Nevertheless it is clear that in the writer's conception the term has passed beyond its Hebraic meaning and has taken on somewhat of the Greek meaning. For the writer clearly applies the term "Son" to one whom he considers pre-existent in a real sense. In a few cases probably he uses the title "Son" of this pre-existent being as such, but he does not reveal in what precise way he considers him to be the Son of God. He probably considers him as eternal, but he does not dwell upon or attempt to give a rationale of his past eternity. Yet by the language used he reveals that he had taken up terms which originally denoted an adoptive conception of the Sonship which in all probability was the conception first developed and held by the Christian church. The writer's own thought, however, has passed beyond this. He holds the Son to be a being altogether unique in his mission and work, in the dignity and worth of his person, and in his eternal relation to God as Father.

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 40.

### III. RÉSUMÉ: THE TOTAL CHRIST PERSONALITY

It is clear that the writer holds that there were three well-marked periods in the career of this person whom he calls Jesus, the Son, the Christ, the Lord, or Jesus Christ. These periods are, first, the period of pre-existence, secondly the period of the earthly life, "the days of his flesh," and thirdly the period of the exaltation. It is one and the same person whose career embraces these three periods. This person is represented as speaking in the first period with a consciousness of what would happen in the second (10:5; 2:12), and as acting in the second period with a consciousness of what would happen in the third period (12:2). The oneness of this personality is assumed in the introductory words of the epistle (1:2-4) as well as in other portions of it (7:16; 2:9; 2:12). In fact, it is an assumption that pervades the epistle in such a way that the writer feels no need of specific reference to it.

The duality in the personality of Jesus expressed in this thesis by the phrases "human elements" and "transcendent elements" might be considered with advantage from the standpoint of the three periods above named. The human element is manifested particularly in the earthly period denoted by the writer as the "days of his flesh," the second period. This is the period of temporary humiliation (2:9 f.) between the former period of glory and the succeeding period of still greater glory. But it is in this period of humiliation that he lives his life and does his work as a man in such a way that he earns the exaltation and the greater glory of the third period.

There is little reference to the historical Jesus because the writer is interested in the sacrificial death and the High-Priestly work. His life as a man is viewed as the essential preliminary, first for the sacrificial death, and secondly for the sympathetic discharge of his High-Priestly function in salvation (2:14, 17; 10:5 f.). In the case of Jesus, both the becoming man and the death are voluntary, not involuntary as in the case of other men. It is not in the life of Jesus as such that the writer is interested.

But it does not follow that the writer presents the life of Jesus as a mere semblance of human life, a make-believe. There is no tinge of Docetism in the epistle. This perhaps results from the fact that the writer may have viewed all human lives as incarnations of pre-existent spirits

(12:9, 23*b*; 10:5*b*).<sup>1</sup> In any case, in describing the earthly period of the career of Jesus the writer shows an insight probably surpassing that of any other New Testament writer into the development of character under stress and suffering. And further, there is no intrusion of the miraculous in the presentation of the writer, such for instance as is found running parallel with the teaching in the Fourth Gospel. The writer may have accepted much of this miraculous element in connection with the historical life of Jesus, but he does not use it in his presentation. The use of historical material by the writer is decidedly limited, but in so far as he does use it he makes it abundantly clear that in his conception the life of Jesus was a genuinely human life. It was lived under conditions and limitations that hampered other lives. Its characteristic was not that it was a life free from these limitations but that it overcame them.

The "transcendent element" in the life of Jesus is manifested rather in the first and third periods than in the second. The third period begins with the exaltation preceded by that which corresponds to the ascension (4:14; 6:20). In the case of Jesus these are transcendent elements, though the writer has the conception of the ascension or translation of Enoch (11:5). Repeatedly it is stated that Jesus is exalted at the right hand of God (1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2). This exaltation is conceived of as a reward for work accomplished (5:8*f*; 8:6) and as befitting the nature and inner worth of Jesus (12:2*f*.). It is couched in the most august and solemn language, denoting emphatically an epoch in the career of Jesus.

The language in which the exaltation is expressed implies that Jesus is to rest and enjoy the fruit of his labors for the salvation of men. He has finished his labors and has entered upon the state of personal and official perfection (2:10; 5:8). He has entered into the *sabbatismos* for the people of God (4:9). And the notion of rest is extended to denote that Jesus is to wait expectant until God shall have subdued all his enemies beneath his feet (1:13; 10:13). Who or what these enemies were the writer does not say, unless he includes among them death and the devil (2:14).<sup>2</sup> He may be assumed to include further all the forces

<sup>1</sup> There is no direct evidence of this, but there are some hints that point toward such a view. It would not be out of accord with his Platonic tendency and would explain the peculiar way in which he speaks of the incarnation of Jesus. This is the view of the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon with which Hebrews has some affinity (Wisd. 8:19, 20; 7:1*f*.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wisd. 2:23, 24.



among men and in the universe that make for wickedness and thwart the realization of the perfect messianic kingdom. But the Son himself is not active in the subduing of these enemies. God is to make them the footstool of his feet (1:13*b*). This emphasizes the subordination of Jesus to God, even in the period of the exaltation of Jesus. In Paul Jesus is represented as in charge of the government of the world and of the kingdom, which government he finally surrenders to God. In Hebrews God never surrenders his unique and supreme place.

It is rather difficult to interpret the idea of rest involved in the writer's language expressing the exaltation. But it must not be so interpreted as to make the exalted Christ inactive. It is probable that the writer conceives the cosmic activity of the pre-existent period (1:2, 3) to be continuous throughout the time subsequent to exaltation. But his thought is not directed primarily to the cosmic relations or activities of Christ. The emphasis of the writer is soteriological. Christ is active in the time subsequent to exaltation, but it is an activity that is related to salvation and has as its object and goal the realization of perfect salvation in the messianic kingdom (9:28). This will be inaugurated at the second coming. In the meantime Christ is active as High Priest in the heavenly tabernacle in the very presence of God (5:9; 6:20; 7:24, 25). The modern mind finds it hard to conceive of this heavenly activity in any definite way. The writer of Hebrews, in true Platonic fashion, considered the heavenly the real (9:23, 24). He conceived the unseen activity of Christ in the heavenly tabernacle as exerting a real influence on God and on men. It saved men, purifying and sanctifying them (5:9; 9:14; 10:19 f.), and it restrained the righteous wrath of God (12:29).

All this High-Priestly activity is transcendent. It belongs to a being that is transcendent, that is more than man, for it is directed to the saving of men. Christ is a mediator between God and men since he is the mediator (12:24) and surety of the new covenant (7:22). No high priest of the old covenant, indeed no human being as such, could perform this office of savior (2:16, 17). It was performed in a transcendent sphere and required a transcendent being.

In regard to the activity and position of Christ in the second stage of the exaltation period, the perfected messianic age, the writer is still more reticent. The voice of God that once shook the earth only will again shake both earth and heaven so that the things that are made shall be shaken and pass away and only the unseen realities shall remain (1:10-12; 12:26 f.). He identifies Christianity with this kingdom of



abiding reality that cannot be changed. This is probably a Christianized form of the Platonic and Philonic contrast of the intelligible and the tangible worlds, the *κόσμος νοητός* and the *κόσμος αἰσθητός*. Angels in one place (1:7*b*) are spoken of as if they might be among those beings that would pass away. In another place (12:22*b*) they are associated with the kingdom of abiding reality. As to what would happen ultimately to men in general and to spirit-beings at this great metathesis the writer apparently did not think definitely; or if he did, he did not express himself in this epistle. He declares unequivocally that Christ is eternal and does not pass away with the worlds which he has made (1:12). And he probably holds to the immortality through Christ of Christians, but his thought does not pursue this topic. The writer does not complete his picture of the perfected messianic kingdom with material gathered from apocalyptic sources, as the writer of Revelation does. He prefers to leave details of the eternal kingdom to reverent imagination. He is content to emphasize the abiding reality, the eternity of Christ and his kingdom.

The language which expresses the exaltation of Jesus denotes further the unique place which Jesus holds in the world of beings in relation to God. There is only one place in all the universe that can be described as at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and Jesus holds that place. He is the eternal vicegerent of God. It is the place of supremacy, the place of power. It is not God's place, yet it is the unique place of power and honor next to God.

But what may be called a higher degree of transcendency in the writer's conception of Jesus is manifested in what the writer says of him in the first period. This is expressed most fully in the words of the introduction (1:2, 3). Christ is the agent of creation and the support of the worlds which under God he has created. This conception of the cosmic significance of Christ is not found in the Christology of the primitive church, but is quite characteristic of the later New Testament view. In Hebrews at least it is a corollary of the writer's Platonic and Philonic doctrine. God is too august, too pure and holy to have direct, unmediated contact with the world of tangible things. He is concerned rather with the intelligible world of eternal realities (9:23, 24; 12:22, 27). To be sure, the author does not hold this philosophic idea in the outspoken, unrelieved form in which Philo holds it. It is considerably modified by the writer's emphasis on the Christian element, so that the philosophic idea lies latent. But there can hardly be any doubt that for Christians in general, and for the writer of

Hebrews in particular, the way to the thought of Christ as the agent of creation was paved by the philosophic idea that God was too holy and transcendent to be brought into direct contact with the material world. At the time of the writing of Hebrews this idea in a more or less definite form was the common property of the literature of the nations. But it was particularly prominent in Philo. Met by the Christian faith in the Messiahship of Jesus and the Christian consciousness of his religious supremacy and uniqueness, it produced in modified and more sober form the common Christian tenet that Christ was the agent and support of creation.

This however hardly carries the transcendent element in the conception of Christ beyond that which is implied in his being seated at the right hand of God at his exaltation. Both imply only a secondary divinity. Christ is in a sense on a par with angels as being with them a spirit-being (1:4, 9b). He has become better than they by that which he has experienced and accomplished on earth (1:3, 4), so that after his exaltation, when he comes again into the world, the angels, who formerly were in a sense his companions (1:9b), must worship him (1:6).

The striking words of 1:3a decidedly enhance the transcendent element. They may indicate, probably do indicate, that the writer with more or less philosophical feeling and thought transferred these words from the Logos and Wisdom to Christ.<sup>1</sup> One must beware of making logical and metaphysical inferences from these terms.<sup>2</sup> For, in addition to a measure of uncertainty as to their precise meaning, they are at bottom metaphorical. They are terms that strike the imagination. The writer was reaching after the highest terms within his knowledge to express the supreme significance of Christ and his unique relation to God without actually identifying him with God. These terms enhance the transcendent element in the person of Christ but cannot with certainty be considered to carry it into the realm of the essentially divine. They say nothing about the essential nature of Christ.

The titles, with the possible exception of *ὁ υἱός* and *ὁ πρωτότοκος*, say nothing about the essential nature of Christ. The title *ὁ πρωτότοκος* is practically equal to *ὁ υἱός*, denoting a unique relation to God implying pre-existence and priority in pre-existence. It need not of itself denote essential relationship to God, but may denote an ethical relationship of honor, responsibility, love, and devotion, such as a

<sup>1</sup> Philo, *De opif. mundi*, sec. 51, p. 33D; *Wisd.* 7:26.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ménégoz, *La théologie de l'épître aux Hébreux*, p. 78.

firstborn holds in the house of his father. It is more likely however that, like the terms in 1:3a, it denotes some sort of actual, that is, essential relation to God, a relation which is not explicitly defined but which falls short of identity.

The title "Son" is more frequent and more august, but it is a question whether it carries anything stronger or more definite in essential relationship than "firstborn." The title Son is used of Jesus both in the earthly period and in the period of exaltation. It is not certainly used of him in the pre-existent period, though the writer might very easily have so used it as, for instance, if he had said in 10:5, "Wherefore when [the Son] cometh into the world, he saith," etc. There are various other ways by which the author, if he had so desired, might have made it unambiguous that he considered Christ as Son of God in the pre-existent state, that is as eternally Son. And it is not possible to deny on the basis of the epistle that the writer did so consider Christ as eternally the Son of God. It is altogether probable that he did. He uses the term as one familiar to himself and his readers, and so familiar that it needed no explanation. If he conceived the relationship of Son as eternal, he still furnishes no means whatsoever of apprehending the *modus operandi* of that relationship. His thought was not turned in that direction.

But the adoptive meaning of the language used in regard to Sonship, the fact that in no instance does he unambiguously use the term Son of Christ as pre-existent, the fact that he seems to guard the subordination of Christ to God even when he speaks of Christ in the highest terms—all these as well as other indications go to show that the writer probably marked a transition from an earlier christological view which his adoptive language fitted to a later and more advanced view for the expression of which there was no fitting terminology. He therefore used his Alexandrian terminology notably in 1:3a, and this terminology soon became used to express a view still further advanced than that of the writer. But this terminology even as meant by the writer expressed an advanced view inconsistent with the view expressed by the adoptive terminology. Probably the writer understood the Sonship as eternal, probably as in some sense essential. But the writer did not advance to the idea of an essential divinity of the Son in the sense of identity with God. That was left for his successors. He approached so closely however to the more advanced view that he has generally been credited with holding it. As Ménégos says, it is "une illusion d'optique."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ménégos, *op. cit.*, p. 101.



## SUMMARY

To sum up in brief the writer's view of the person of Jesus: The writer holds that this being whose earthly name was Jesus was a supreme spirit-being who had lived and worked before his appearance in time. During this pre-existent period this being was comparable to the angels, but at the same time stood in a unique relation to God<sup>1</sup> as compared with other spirit-beings including angels (1:3a, 6). He performed works which no other spirit-beings performed, both in relation to the world (1:2b, 10) and to men (5:9). By an *ex post facto* method of thought he is implicitly credited with a special relationship to men even in the pre-existent period (2:11). This undefined relationship to men issues in his becoming man, taking bodily form that in accordance with the will of God he might become an efficient Savior and a sympathetic High Priest on men's behalf. This earthly period was a period of comparative humiliation, a period during which he was inferior to the angels to whom before he had been in a measure superior. But this time of temporary humiliation and suffering issues in sinless perfection, both personal and official, and finally, after the voluntary sacrificial death which secures forgiveness, brings communion with God, and perfect salvation, in exaltation. Because he has accomplished through suffering this great end of perfect salvation for men, he is raised to greater than his former glory. He is exalted at the right hand of God, the supreme place of honor and power. Here in the heavenly tabernacle he exercises his office as Savior and High Priest, until finally he shall come again to usher in the messianic age of perfect salvation. But all these activities are carried on in subordination to God "for whom are all things and through whom are all things." God is supreme over all.

In commenting on the blending or balance of the human and transcendent elements in the picture of the Christ, it may be said again that the human elements are genuine. It is true that the writer uses only those elements which bear upon the great purpose that he assigns to Christ, the salvation of men. But within these bounds the writer presents a sober picture of human development such that one instinctively feels that it is not artificial but genuine.

And in spite of much to the contrary, much that renders plausible the thought that the supernatural in the crude sense, the bizarre, is the emphatic thing with the author—in spite of this it is true that the taproot of his presentation is the life and death of the human person

<sup>1</sup> Heb. 1:3a, 6. Jesus was "firstborn" in relation to angels as the angels were in relation to men (12:23).



Jesus interpreted primarily through his own experience of salvation and his knowledge of the similar experiences of his fellows.<sup>1</sup> But this knowledge and experience of the benefits that flowed directly or indirectly from Jesus justified the author, in his own mind at least, in accepting the interpretation of his fellow-Christians that this Jesus was the Messiah, that he was risen from the dead, that he was divine and pre-existent, and that he would come again. This experience of the benefits springing from faith in Jesus justified him also in adding many peculiar elements from his own Alexandrian training. Such may have been the doctrine that Jesus was the Logos, that he was the agent of God in creation and revelation, that he was the mediator of a new covenant, that he was High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, that he ministered in the real tabernacle in heaven, etc. These inferences may not all be acceptable to the modern mind. They belong, many of them at least, to a particular philosophy and world-view that is past. They give a kaleidoscopic picture of Jesus that could hardly be free from inconsistencies and incongruities. Such, for instance, are the representations of Jesus as speaking when he is about to come into the world (2:12; 10:5), the language that denotes an inception of the Sonship and Priesthood (5:5, 6), the implication that Jesus was one with believing men before he came to earth (2:11), his relation to the angels (1:4, 6), cleansing of the things in the heavens with his blood (9:23), and many other ideas which time may prove to be transitory and untenable.

But there may have been in the writer's own mind a consciousness that part of this was realistic poetic symbolism. And even if this was not so, it must be admitted that these peculiar features were only the philosophic molds into which the author poured the full content of his rich religious experience.

<sup>1</sup> McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 477: "It was thus the humanity, and not the divinity or pre-existence of Christ, which chiefly concerns our author." This contrast, though fundamentally true, is put too sharply to be the best representation of the author of the epistle.

## IV. SOURCES AND RELATIONS OF THE THOUGHT OF THE EPISTLE

### I. SOURCES AND RELATIONS OF THE GENERAL DOCTRINE

#### I. CLASSIC JUDAISM

The fundamentally Jewish basis of the Epistle to the Hebrews is easily recognized without going to the extreme of inferring that the readers were exclusively Jews or that the epistle must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and the consequent cessation of the Temple ritual. As already remarked, the fundament of the epistle is rather the ritual of classic Judaism blended with ideas from later apocalyptic Judaism. The God of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the Jehovah of the Old Testament who spoke in the prophets to the fathers (1:2) and presided over all the fortunes of the ancient people (4:2 ff.; chap. 11). He is a consuming fire (12:29). The whole ritual and law used as illustration by the writer is clearly that of the Old Testament. The priesthood is the Levitical priesthood with the variety of thoughts associated therewith—the thought of the sympathy of the high priest as being weak and requiring to offer for himself as well as for the people (5:1 f.), the idea that the high priest is not self-appointed (5:4) but called of God, the idea of purification (1:3 and *passim*), the idea of God's mediating by an oath as in the case of Abraham (6:13 f.; 7:28 f.), the idea of hearts sprinkled from a wicked conscience and bodies washed with pure water (10:22). There is also the idea of the new covenant taken over from the prophet Jeremiah (8:8 f.). The whole picture of Melchizedek, though painted with Alexandrian colors, has its roots in the Old Testament story (5:11 f.). Though much might be added, this point need not be labored further. It is quite plain that the author of Hebrews was steeped in Old Testament literature and religious ideas.

#### 2. LATER JUDAISM AND PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY

But the writer has added ideas from later apocalyptic Judaism and from primitive Jewish Christianity. From later Judaism the writer has the idea of the two ages (9:26), the idea of a future judgment (9:27; 10:30 f. 12:23;), and the idea of a renovated earth as the theater of the future messianic age (2:5; 12:26). The slight emphasis however upon apocalyptic and eschatological ideas is quite noteworthy. The renovation or regeneration is not limited to the earth, as in

Psalms of Solomon, but involves heaven as well as earth, the universe of things (12:26). This conception is based very distinctly and precisely upon Old Testament prophecy (Hag. 2:6), but is given a characteristic turn by reference to created things which are to be shaken loose from the things that remain, leaving only the kingdom of abiding reality which is the goal and prize of the believer's faith. This is a characteristic combination of the apocalyptic view of later Judaism and primitive Christianity with the Alexandrian conception of the invisible world of abiding reality which is in its turn identified with the *τὰ γινόμενα ἀγαθὰ* (9:11) of Christian faith. It may be noted here that the present tenses of 12:28 harmonize well with the idea of a present participation of and activity in that kingdom whose full revelation is still future. From later Judaism the writer has also his doctrine of angels (1:4; 2:5; 12:22; 13:2), though his peculiar use and emphasis of it may be due to other influences; his emphasis upon the thought that the Old Testament law was given by angels (2:2); and the idea, similar to that of Philo, that God or the Holy Spirit was speaking in all the words and ceremonies of the Old Testament (9:8).

More directly from the Christian community and their tradition, primitive or Pauline, the writer has the doctrine of Jesus as the Messiah, Son of God, as pre-existent, humiliated during the days of his flesh but as raised by God and exalted at the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens till all his enemies shall have been subdued, but coming again presumably for the complete inauguration of the messianic kingdom, though the writer does not make his thought definite in this respect. He has the idea also of distributions of the Holy Spirit (2:4), that God was in all the marvelous signs and works of the postresurrection period (2:4). From the tradition of the church the writer has also the thought of Jesus' being of the tribe of Judah (7:14), of his supplicating with tears and strong crying for release from death (5:7). From the early church he has his views of catechetical doctrine, which he calls the doctrine of the beginning of the Christ (6:1), the elements of the beginning of the doctrines of God (5:12), viz., repentance, faith in God, the teaching of baptisms, the laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment. The eschatological views of the writer already referred to which have their roots in Judaism are modified by the thought of the Christian church in their application to the historical Jesus as the Messiah. If the writer has received from primitive Christianity the suggestion of his great thesis that Jesus is the mediator of a new covenant, and at the same time its great High Priest and final and sufficient



sacrifice (9:26, 28), who has entered into the true holy place to appear before God on behalf of believers, he has at any rate given it an entirely original application and development. With Paul the writer has the idea of the glory and honor of Jesus in his exaltation as the reward of the suffering of death (12:2; cf. Phil. 2:9). The thought that believers are partakers of a heavenly calling is comparable to that of Paul (I Cor. 1:26). So also is his idea that the Old Testament law, the foregoing commandment (7:18), is set aside because of its weakness (Gal. 3:21); but his method is still quite distinct and original. He conceives of the old as shadow and the new as substance, the familiar Alexandrian contrast. Paul does not use this category. Paul thinks of the law as a tutor to lead to Christ by stressing the human consciousness of sinfulness and weakness. Paul's conception is rather doctrinal and ethical: that of the author of Hebrews is rather ritualistic and religious.

### 3. ALEXANDRIANISM

This dependence of the author of Hebrews upon the classic Judaism of the Old Testament and upon later Judaism and upon primitive Christianity is strongly colored and modified by his relation to Alexandrian thought. From this source mainly he has his idea of Christ as the Logos (though he does not apply the term to him) and as Creator and Supporter of the world (1:2), as the image and representative of God (1:3), possibly as a second God (1:8). He has the idea of inspiration developed among Alexandrian Jews according to which not the actual writers but God (1:1 f.; 5:5; 8:8, 13) or Christ (10:5) or the Holy Spirit (3:7; 10:15) or "some one" (2:6)—a method of citation indefinite because God himself really speaks in all the Scripture—speaks in the prophets and in a Son (1:2). God is for the author of Hebrews the father of spirits, not a merely technical or philosophical designation, but one that has a certain warmth and beauty of religious feeling about it (12:9b). This is a characteristic Alexandrian thought.<sup>1</sup> So is the thought of suffering as the chastening of God.<sup>2</sup> The peculiar use which the author of Hebrews makes of the weird figure of Melchizedek is Alexandrian in its exegesis and in its whole thought and atmosphere. The thought of the High-Priesthood, while essentially that of the Old Testament with its emphasis on ritual, is yet touched with the more refined, mystical, abstract conception of Philo's thought. The thought of heaven as being the true Sanctuary as opposed to the sanctuary of this world which is but the copy and shadow of the heavenly is of course thoroughly Alexandrian (8:5). The

<sup>1</sup> Wisd. 11:26.

<sup>2</sup> Wisd. 3:5, 6.



Alexandrian attitude and tendency of the author is evident in his method of exegesis, in his description of the word of God (4: 12), in the terms which he applies and the functions which he assigns to Christ (1:2 f.), in his identification of Christianity with the Philonic archetypal world of invisible reality.

#### 4. ORIENTAL MYSTERY-RELIGIONS

But though it is patent on every page of Hebrews that the Old Testament and the primitive Christian community including Paul provide the substance, while the form or mold in the main is Alexandrian—yet one is occasionally conscious of a certain peculiar strain, an unusual emphasis, a peculiar atmosphere that does not properly belong to the above sources. The explanation of this is to be found in large part, no doubt, in the striking originality of the writer. To this factor is to be assigned the whole point of view and attack, as well as many separate thoughts.

Leaving, however, the original element for later consideration, the variation from the above-named three sources is to be accounted for by a certain tinge from the oriental mystery-religions of the time. In the first place, the writer's whole method of presentation is in all probability determined by his knowledge of and a certain sympathy with the rites of the Hellenistic mystery-religions. It has already been noted that the writer's thought does not revolve about the temple in Jerusalem and its services, but about the tabernacle of the Old Testament. It is to a certain extent academic. But no man is wholly academic—certainly the writer to the Hebrews is only partly so. He is in close touch with his people, intensely hortatory and practical. He was writing considerably after the fall of Jerusalem when the sacrifices of the temple ceased (70 A.D.), but he was not writing to a people—gentiles though they probably were—who were unfamiliar with such rites or familiar with them only in Old Testament forms. Both he and they were familiar with variant forms of that ritual on every side about them. The ritual of sacrifice, purification, and baptisms was dead at Jerusalem, but not at Rome or in the place whatever it may have been to which this epistle was sent.<sup>1</sup> To be sure, the whole setting and presentation of the ritual is that of the Old Testament with the Jewish high priest serving in the tabernacle. But in its application to Jesus as the great High Priest it reveals certain influences from the syncretistic mystery-religions of the time. Still more emphatically one may say that this presentation of the Christian salvation under the high-priestly category would exhibit

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*.

many features thoroughly familiar to the devotees of the varied oriental cults.

In spite of some uncertainty, it is possible to enumerate at least many of the touches that seem to be more noticeable. With an emphasis and definiteness unknown to the Old Testament, the writer of Hebrews declares that "perfection" was the aim of the Levitical law and ritual, an aim which it did not and could not attain but which was attained finally and perfectly by the new law and voluntary sacrifice of Jesus as High Priest. Both the conception of and the emphasis upon "perfection" is, I think, indirectly the result of the influence of the mystery-religions. Mithraism, the greatest rival of Christianity for some centuries, was most intent on securing purification and perfection in a very deep moral and spiritual sense<sup>1</sup> by various rites of washing, etc., and all the other mystery-religions had similar rites with a similar aim. The idea that sanctification (*ἀγιασμός*, 12:14) is necessary in order to see the Lord is even for our writer himself tinged with the gnostic idea of the mystery-religions. His description of the worshipers who are to approach the holy place with hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience and their bodies washed with pure water keeps strictly neither to Old Testament nor to New Testament phraseology, but bears the marks of the mystery-religions.

The emphasis of the writer upon "salvation" has its counterpart in the mystery-religions.<sup>2</sup> It is not meant that the writer took his conception directly from the mystery-religions. The idea of salvation, of a future salvation, of an eternal salvation secured by participation in some form of the divine life and of the God was widespread, but it had become widespread through the influence of the thought of mystery-religions. Mithra was the Savior-God. Isis gave to her votaries the gift of salvation, which was a new life after a figurative death, a new life which would be enjoyed to the full after death.<sup>3</sup> The salvation of the mystery-cults was an eternal salvation. In all this, as will be readily felt, the thought of the mystery-religions has worked indirectly but perceptibly upon the writer of Hebrews. Jesus Christ has become, after suffering death and after resurrection to a new eternal, indissoluble life, the cause of eternal salvation to all those who obey him (5:9). Jesus is *σωτήρ*,

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, p. 127; Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 154 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland*.

<sup>3</sup> Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, S. 25 f.

"Savior," as were the deities of the various oriental cults. The vision of God is "salvation" (11:27; 12:14).<sup>1</sup>

And not only in the peculiar emphasis upon and atmosphere about the concept of salvation (*σωτηρία*), but also in the significance of the term, is the influence of the Gnosticism of the oriental religions discernible. As is well known, these Gnostic cults amid their many variations agree in ringing the changes upon life, light, and *gnosis* or knowledge. In this, according to them, consists salvation, in contrast with the primitive Christian community where salvation meant rather forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:33; 2:38, 47), secured upon repentance (Acts 3:19 f.) and faith in Jesus Christ as risen Messiah and Lord (Acts 3:26; 4:2). The Pauline conception of salvation reaches to more profound and mystical depths, and by so much approaches the conception of salvation held by the oriental cults. Paul's own salvation was due to a superhuman enlightenment. But though Paul manifests the influence of Gnosticism, he does not conform his conception of salvation to that of the gnostic sects. The Pauline salvation is a justification by faith involving forgiveness of sins, release of the conscience from the sense and burden of guilt, right relations with God, and a new power of life generated by the mystical indwelling of Christ by faith. The Pauline thought, while touched with Gnosticism, is rather mystical in an independent, original manner. The writer to the Hebrews is less mystical, but has more approach to the oriental cults in his technical descriptions of salvation and conversion. With him conversion is an enlightenment (10:32), as with Paul (II Cor. 4:6), and that too, a single (*ἅπαξ*) enlightenment. *φωτίζειν* is the technical word of the oriental cults.<sup>2</sup> The Epistle to the Hebrews makes very little reference to what is now called conversion, as it is directed forward rather than backward; it is theological rather than historical. But this reference (10:32) which it makes is decidedly gnostic. So too is the phrase of 10:26, also descriptive of conversion, viz., "After that we have received the knowledge of the truth." Perhaps the peculiar use of the term "word of hearing" (4:2), as used by this Jewish-Christian writer, manifests a touch of influence of the mysteries. Indeed the writer casts a strange halo about the function of hearing. He idealizes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, S. 39 f.; also S. 25: "Ob unsere theologischen Erklärungen des *σωτήρ*-Begriffes nicht gut täten, letztere Bedeutung auch in den Kultbezeichnungen *salutaris dea*, <sup>2</sup>*Ἰσις σώτρεα*, *Σάραμις σωτήρ* ein wenig mehr zu betonen?" Cf. also Apuleius, and Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland*.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, S. 119.



it in the case both of Jesus and the disciples (2:3) and of the ancient Israelites (4:2). The oriental religions, especially in their earlier stages of development, made much of the sacred office of "hearing." To "hear" the word of the God was to receive his power and his inbreathing, his *πνεῦμα*.<sup>1</sup> In the thought of the mysteries hearing was sufficient, faith was not required. But in the thought of the writer to the Hebrews, the ancient Israelites failed to enter into the promised rest because their hearing was not united with faith.

There are still other touches of the mystery-religions in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The writer's conception of faith differs somewhat from that of Judaism, that of the primitive Christian church, and that of Paul. It approaches the conception of the mystery-religions. It is intuitive and philosophical rather than personal and ethical as with the Jews and the primitive Christian church, or personal, ethical, and mystical as with Paul. In this epistle the view of faith, particularly as presented in the eleventh chapter, reckons doctrinal content as comparatively secondary. Insight, the vision power, is the important thing, the realization of things unseen. Faith is seeing the invisible God (11:1; 11:27<sup>b2</sup>), which is a very close approach to the *gnosis* of the mystery-religions. It is probably under the influence of these mystery-religions that our author gives this particular turn to faith.<sup>3</sup> This conception is a powerful one, however, not for what it is in itself, but for its power of reflex action. It is a giving substance to things that are as yet but hoped for, and therefore a putting to the test of things unseen (11:1). Closely related to this conception of faith is the writer's emphasis on hope; this may also be a touch from the Hellenistic mysteries, which greatly emphasized hope.

In all probability the peculiar emphasis of our writer upon the place and function of angels is due to the influence of the mystery-religions. The roots of the doctrine of angels go back to early Semitic teaching. They bear their fruit in the emphasis upon angels in the Old Testament. Further development is found in the figurative, philosophical interpretations of Philo with regard to the angels. But Philo is not to be credited with all the development in this direction which he manifests. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gal. 3:2, "received ye the spirit from the works of the law or from the hearing of faith," *ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως*; Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, S. 138. A somewhat similar use of the word *ἀκοή* is found in *Corp. Herm.*, XIII, 17, quoted by Reitzenstein: *πάντα φύσις κόσμου προσδεχέσθω τοῦ ὑμνοῦ τὴν ἀκοήν*.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, S. 12; cf. Heb. 11:27.

<sup>3</sup> Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, S. 85, note: *τὸ γὰρ νοῆσαι ἐστὶ τὸ πιστεῦσαι*.



emphasis on angels is a mark of the syncretistic religious development of his day. Many of the mystery-religions made much of the place and functions of minor gods often called angels or powers.<sup>1</sup> This was especially true of the more pronouncedly dualistic religions, such as that of Mithra, which was compounded with a strong Persian element. Here there were demons under Ahriman arrayed against the good angels who were the celestial spirits, the messengers of Ahura-Mazda.<sup>2</sup> That there was any direct contact between Mithraism and the Epistle to the Hebrews it would be hazardous to state, but there may very well have been contact with common origins in the syncretistic religions of the day. The writer makes much of angels. They are God's ministers sent forth to do service for those who are to inherit salvation (1:14). In all probability the general assembly and gathering of the firstborn enrolled in heaven is the myriads of angels (12:23). This does not sound like Old Testament, primitive Christian, or Pauline doctrine, but is not on that account to be rejected.<sup>3</sup> This peculiar importance attached to angels is probably mediated by the syncretistic religions of the day, which made so much of celestial spirits, angels, powers, deities, and demons.<sup>4</sup> But though the author gives an exalted position to angels, it is not at the expense of the position of Christ. Many of the oriental syncretistic religions gave high places and great powers to these subordinate deities and celestial beings, as is evidenced from the gnostic systems into which they developed. The circles to whom the writer to the Hebrews wrote were yielding to the tendency to exalt angels unduly. Consequently at the very beginning of his remarkable epistle the writer claims the supreme place and the supreme name for the "Son" (1:4 f.), adding that to Jesus and not to angels did God subject the coming age, the perfect world that was to be, the subject of his discourse (2:5). In the Hermetic literature the same Greek word is used in the passive, expressing the subjection of the world to Hermes.<sup>5</sup> Such thoughts as these led the author of this Epistle to give the supreme place in the world to come to Jesus who alone was worthy of it.<sup>6</sup>

Is it possible that the impulse to the rich and original thought of the sequel of this passage (2:5 f.), particularly of 2:10 f., should have come

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *De Isis et Osiris*, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 152, 158.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *De defectu orac.*, 10, p. 415A.

<sup>5</sup> Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, S. 23: διὸ καὶ πάντα ὑποτέτακται σοι; cf. Heb. 10:13.

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 266, n. 38.

from the oriental cults? The picture is that of a man taken from the midst of his companions, his brethren (2:11 f.), charged by God with the responsibility of leading his brethren to salvation and glory, and for this cause becoming identified with them, vanquishing death and delivering them from their lifelong bondage to death (2:14 f.).<sup>1</sup> These are the main outlines of the Redeemer of the various mystery-religions, and especially that of Mithra, which apparently was very militant and withal very democratic. The situation reminds one also of the deliverance of Alcestis from death by Heracles. Jesus became like his brethren that through death he might bring to naught him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver those who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage (2:14 f.). Mithra was such a redeemer on behalf of men. He was the captain and leader of the soldiers, one of their company and in sympathy with them, the strong companion of souls in their trials and struggles (2:17, 18). Like Jesus, Mithra brought the souls of those who took the oath of loyalty to him out of the darkness into the supernal light of the upper heaven (cf. Heb. 4:14 f.; 7:26 f.; 9:11 f., 24, 28). The emphasis upon devotion, loyalty, faithfulness, the necessity of perseverance, the virile qualities so characteristic of Hebrews, was characteristic of the Mithra cult.<sup>2</sup> Mithra was perfected, "sanctus";<sup>3</sup> so was Jesus. Mithra led the way of souls into the upper regions of light. Hermes also was the guide or attendant of souls.<sup>4</sup> So Jesus is the forerunner of believers, entering for them into the very inner shrine, the true sanctuary, where dwells the divine presence, and thus opening up for his followers also a new and living way of access into the divine presence (4:14; 6:20; 9:11 f.). Mithra is *μειστής*;<sup>5</sup> so is Jesus. Do not both the ideas and the terminology here show traces of the mystery-cults? Mithra, Isis, Osiris, Adonis are all men who are represented as vanquishing death in personal victory. They died and rose as gods. Immortality and divinity are to be gained by union with them (cf. 3:14; 5:9; 7:16). Perhaps the extremely somber tinge in Hebrews has some relation to the similar feeling of awe that attended the mystery-cults.

There is a striking parallel drawn between Moses and Jesus in their relation to the house of God, showing the superiority of Jesus (3:2 f.).

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 153b.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 156 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, S. 23b: "Die Tätigkeit dieses Hermes ist nach der von Dieterich herausgegebenen Theogonie das *ὁδηγεῖν* der Seele."

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *De Isis et Osiris*, 46; cf. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, S. 159.

In this passage the phrase *οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ* is used in an unusual manner, equivalent to "household" and denoting Christian believers (3:6). An approach to this peculiar use is quoted by Reitzenstein.<sup>1</sup> To Heb. 2:10, "For whom are all things and through whom are all things," there is found a close parallel in the mystery-religions as given by Berthelot,<sup>2</sup> *ἐν τῷ πᾶν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ πᾶν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πᾶν* (cf. Rom. 11:36).

There are still many similarities in Hebrews as compared with the mystery-cults. The *mystae* were called "brethren," and *ἄγιοι*,<sup>3</sup> and were considered as receiving a heavenly calling (3:1). The emphasis in the epistle upon the fact that Christ did not presume to take this high and holy office of Priesthood to himself but was called of God (5:4, 5) has its counterpart in the mystic cults.<sup>4</sup> The worthy worship of the mystic on seeing the vision of God and securing salvation is the song of praise (cf. 13:15). The mystic after his new birth is fed with milk until he is able to bear the deeper mysteries.<sup>5</sup> Among some of the deity worshipers of the mystery-cults the deity was *θεὸς ὑψίστος* (cf. Heb. 7:1). The thought of Jesus as the "great shepherd" may have its roots in the Hermetic literature of the mystery-religions, as is the case with John, chap. 10, the Shepherd of Hermas, and other Christian passages.<sup>6</sup>

There are other ideas in Hebrews which might suggest the influence of mystery-cults, but about which there must remain considerable uncertainty, at least in the present state of knowledge upon the subject. They may be mentioned briefly. The description of the word of God as living, active, etc., of 4:12; the thought of a general assembly and gathering in heaven, an assembly of spirit-beings of whom Jesus is one (12:23) having gone through the heavens (4:14; 7:26) may be paralleled by the ascension of Mithra and still more closely by that of Hermes<sup>7</sup> the Great who was exalted to the spirit world and classed among the number of the spirits. As to the deep conviction of the writer of Hebrews that the old priesthood and the old covenant have failed to meet the deep need of the conscience and therefore have passed away, because God who spoke formerly in the prophets has now spoken in a Son, Jesus,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, S. 25: *ὁ οἶκος τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ*; cf. footnote 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Alchemistes grecs*, Introduction, S. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, S. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 25b, 26b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 52, 53; cf. I Cor. 3:2; Heb. 5:12.

<sup>6</sup> Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, S. 34b, 35; also cf. *ibid.*, *Gebet*, VIII, IX, S. 31, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, S. 171 and n. 3.



may this profound thought, with its roots in the Melchizedek-story of the Old Testament and in Jeremiah, have had its counterpart in the idea of the mystery-religions that if God spoke to an individual consecrated to himself, that word, that revelation superseded the earlier?<sup>1</sup>

*Summary.*—This presentation is by no means complete. The aim has simply been to show that there is some influence from the mystery-religions of the time upon the Epistle to the Hebrews—more than has been recognized. Indeed it would be hazardous at this stage of the historical study of the relation of primitive Christianity to the Hellenistic mystery-religions to say with precision just how much from the mystery-religions is found in any of the New Testament books—even in that one in which the mystery-element is most easily detected, the Fourth Gospel. It can only be said of the New Testament as a whole, as has been said just above of this epistle, that the element from the mystery-religions is larger than has been generally recognized.

With still less certainty can the exact nature and sources of this relationship be stated. In the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews at least, it is clear that classic Judaism as seen in the Old Testament, Alexandrianism, and primitive Christianity including Paulinism, form the three main strands. But it is to be noted that in all probability Alexandrianism, whose influence in the book is clear and has been emphasized, is not nearly so much of a unit as has hitherto been thought. It (and particularly Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon) has been more strongly charged with the mystery element of the syncretism of the day than we have supposed. In any case it is hoped it will be clear from the above that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews was neither a man who interpreted and presented Christianity from the current Judaism of his day as it was carried out in rite and ceremony, nor on the other hand was he an academic recluse who viewed the ancient tabernacle afar off and theorized upon it. It may be added that he was not fundamentally ethical and eschatological as were the synoptists, not profoundly ethical, philosophical, and mystical as was Paul, nor yet so non-eschatological, philosophical, and mystical as the author of the Fourth Gospel. He was a cultured, earnest man (probably a Jew of the Dispersion) who felt within himself the deep need for a redemption (9:12), a purification (9:14), and a salvation (7:25) which would be satisfactory and final, for both the present and the future. Like Paul, he felt the whole creation groaning and travailing together, and longed for a satisfactory deliverance. This he found secured for the present and the future in

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 18 f.



Jesus Christ, and sealed in his own personal experience, upon the testimony of those who had known and heard Jesus himself. When however he would express this experience, when he would expound the thought-relations of his new faith which, in its religious substance, he had received from the Christian tradition, he fell back instinctively upon the Jewish Scriptures and the Jewish ritual and law or covenant. As compared with Paul and the primitive Christian community, however, the writer of Hebrews makes much more of the Levitical ritual and particularly of the category of the high-priesthood and its sacrifices. The Christian tradition had indeed come to connect the forgiveness of sin at first with the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus (Acts 3:26; 5:31), and later with his crucifixion and death (Matt. 26:28). Paul also had made close connection between forgiveness and the death of Jesus (Rom. 4:25), and had even made an approach toward explaining the significance and work of Jesus by use of the Old Testament ritual (I Cor. 5:7). But it is to be noted that this reference to Christ as the Passover sacrifice is not employed by Paul to expound the significance of the death of Christ, but to point quite another lesson (I Cor. 5:8). It was left for the writer of the Hebrews to blaze the way toward a thorough exposition of the significance of Jesus and of primitive Christianity by reference to the Levitical priesthood and ritual of the Old Testament.

This frame of thought which our author uses for the exposition of his Christian experience secured through the Christian tradition is filled in, so to speak, under the immediate influence of two contemporaneous movements of thought, viz., Alexandrianism and the syncretism of the mystery-religions. As has been already noted, these two were not by any means wholly independent, for the latter had influenced the former. But practically they were two quite distinguishable streams of thought. The former gave to our author the great contrast of the *κόσμος νοητός* and the *κόσμος αἰσθητός*, which he uses with such splendid effect in the exposition of his Christian experience. Both Paul and our author had broken decisively with ancient Judaism in their thought of Christianity as an independent and final movement. But each is independent and different in his conception of the relation of the new to the old, or at least in his expression of that conception. With Paul the law (Paul puts no emphasis whatever on the ritual) was intercalated, temporary, and preparatory. The real thing both before and after the law was faith and the promises of God. The law was but a *paidagogos* to bring men to Christ (Gal. 3:7 f.). This was quite derogatory to the law, and it is not surprising that in the wake of Paul's view many extreme

heresies followed, subversive of elements of value in Judaism. Our author on the other hand views the law and the ritual as temporary and preparatory, but not as intercalated. The Alexandrian contrast is seized upon by our author. The law and its ritual is an adumbration only of the real thing, an imperfect copy of the heavenly antitype; it belongs to "this" world, the world of the visible and tangible. Jesus Christ and Christianity, on the other hand, in spite of a certain unsatisfactory indefiniteness, are meant evidently to be identified with the "other" world, with the world of heavenly realities, the world of the invisible and intangible. The Old Testament law and ritual were but shadow: Christianity is the substance. It would surely be ingratitude to complain of our author because he has still left Christianity bound up with a contrast, both of time and space, as E. F. Scott seems to do.<sup>1</sup> We ought to be thankful that he has set up the contrast which is bound to be permanent in some form in the Christian view and has identified Christianity with the other world of permanent realities. He could express his feeling of the contrast only in some one of the thought-forms of his day and he chose the Platonic-Philonic form because it came to him spontaneously and naturally as the best and richest medium of expression.

But the writer's frame of thought was filled out also from the syncretism of the mystery-religions of his day. This element may be comparatively small, but it is an influence that must be noted. That our writer emphasized the ritual while Paul spoke only of the law may be due to the contemporaneous influence of the rites and ceremonies of the mystery-cults. Their influence on his idea of the function of the angels, on his conception of faith, of revelation, of perfection, of conversion as enlightenment, of voluntary self-offering, as well as on many other conceptions of the writer, has been noticed. But the chief influence of the mystery-religions has been upon the writer's conception, or perhaps rather, description, of salvation and redemption and upon his picture of Jesus as the divine-human Redeemer. This influence is indirect, probably, and is shared by other Christian writers, e.g., Paul. But it is more marked in Hebrews than in Paul, inasmuch as Hebrews makes much more of the human element in Jesus than does Paul. With the author of Hebrews Jesus is pre-existent, to be sure, but yet a man who has struggled through opposition and suffering to personal perfection, who has fought his way to victory over death and him who has the power of death. He has done this as an earnest, God-fearing, devout man who

<sup>1</sup> *Apologetic of the New Testament*, pp. 202, 203.

has therefore, being called and exalted by God, become the Redeemer and Savior of men, having passed through the heavens and entered the inner sanctuary of God's presence. This picture of Jesus is modeled after the human redeemer of the mystery-religions much more than that of Paul is. It occurs at a more advanced stage. On the other hand, as compared with the Fourth Gospel, the influence of the mystery-religions is less and earlier. In Hebrews the influence of the mystery-religions is ritualistic and religious in its character. In the Fourth Gospel it has become decidedly philosophical. It is not philosophical in Hebrews. In fact, one might say that in the Fourth Gospel the influence is that of the later Gnosticism, not of the earlier mystery-religions. In the Fourth Gospel the picture of Christ is not at all that of the devout, faithful man struggling toward perfection and victory and so mediating salvation. He is a real man in theory, to be sure, as must be held against extreme Gnosticism, but he is actually and always the perfect divine form of the Son of God. It may of course be replied that he is really such in Hebrews also, and there is a certain degree of truth in the statement. But the emphasis is very much more upon the human side involving faithfulness, struggle, and development. This is evident from the very vivid and realistic picture of Jesus given in Heb. 5:7-10, a passage which bears marks of the influence of the mystery-religions with their pictures of the human-divine Redeemer.

#### 5. PROBABLE ORIGINAL ELEMENTS

To return to the attempt to present the various strands of the writer's thought, it is necessary only to call attention finally to what seem in all probability to be the original thoughts of the writer. This is a rather difficult task. The original element in a writer will vary or even vanish according to the severity of the critic's judgment. The effort to trace genetic development is apt to eliminate the original element, with the result that no individual is original. Allowance must be made for difference of opinion. Strict and definite decisions are quite impossible, but the following is an attempt to set forth in a general and brief way the elements probably original in Hebrews.

As already noted, the effort to set forth the significance and superiority of Christ and Christianity by extended and detailed comparison with the Old Testament ritual and law is original with our writer. Very soon, indeed, after the resurrection of Jesus the Christians began to see in Jesus and the new movement the fulfilment of various Old Testament prophecies (Acts 1:20; 2:16f.; 4:25). This conviction entered the



earliest tradition (Mark 1:2-8; cf. Matt. 3:1-12; Luke 3:1-18), and is especially prominent in Matthew's Gospel. Paul had made much of the same thought (Rom. 1:2; 3:21; 16:26; Gal. 3:8, etc.). But no one makes the close connection which the writer of this epistle makes. No one had deliberately chosen the Old Testament ritual and law as the background against which to present in fulness of detail, partly as parallel, partly as contrast, the substance of the significance of Jesus Christ and the Christian system. This was original with the author of Hebrews.

Insight into the weakness and unsatisfactoriness of the Old Testament law and ritual was not original. Paul felt it in very much the same way (Gal. 3:21). But conceiving of the Old Testament law and ritual as shadow and identifying Christianity with the substance is original. A feeling of the necessity of sacrifice for the sake of forgiveness and inner moral harmony and victory is common to both Paul and our author, more profoundly felt by Paul but more expressly stated by Hebrews (9:22; 10:4). But our author is original in the clearness and definiteness with which he feels and states that the essence of the final religion, Christianity, consists in two things, viz., the forgiveness of sins implying a cleansing of the conscience on the one hand (9:14), and on the other communion with and devotion to the service of the living God, father of Jesus Christ (9:14; 10:19, *passim*). The writer feels that where this is attained, all rites and ceremonies are forthwith rendered useless and obsolete (10:18); so much so that he apparently has no place for the forgiveness of further sins (10:26 f.) as the Johannine author has (I John 1:7 f.). This view of salvation is not attended by an elaborate and profound theological system. It is original in its directness and simplicity. The attainment of this final goal of satisfactory religious experience is assigned, causally, wholly to the voluntary sacrifice of the perfected Christ (5:9; 10:19 f.), interpreted according to the ritual of Old Testament sacrifice. But it is very plain that the basal reality is the experience and not the interpretation.

The author is original in being the first to relate the new to the old as being both revelations of the one living God parallel to each other, though the revelation in the Son is supreme and final. It is noteworthy too that he compares the revelation in Jesus to the revelation in the prophets (1:1 f.).

There are many other comparatively minor elements which are peculiar to the author. Such, for example, are his line of argument showing Jesus Christ to be superior to the angels, to Moses, and to the



Levitical high priest, as well as his idea of the superiority of the new sacrifice and the new covenant; the idea of the perfecting of Jesus through suffering; the identification of Jesus as captain of salvation with the sons whom God is bringing unto glory, an identification complete in all respects excepting sin; the idea that Jesus is not ashamed to call these sons brethren; the idea of believers as God's house with Moses in it and Jesus over it, both alike faithful, the one as servant, the other as Son; the idea of a *sabbatismos* or spiritual rest with God; the idea of the impossibility of a second repentance, forgiveness, and restoration (6:6); the idea of "tasting," which is so frequent with the author, tasting of death (2:9), tasting of the heavenly gift, the good word of God, the powers of the age to come (6:4 f.); the idea of hope entering as an anchor into the inner sanctuary and steadying the soul (6:19); the idea of Jesus as a forerunner (6:20); the thought that Jesus is High Priest by oath of God (7:20); that Jesus is the surety of a better covenant (7:22); interpretation of the veil as indication of the thought that access into the fulness of God's presence was not yet secured (9:8); the idea that the veil is the flesh of Jesus (10:20) (this may turn out to be an idea from the mystery-religions); the repeated exhortation to patience, confidence, and obedience in order to secure the promise which still reaches into the future for the readers as it had for their fathers (10:39; 11:40); the idea of Jesus as the leader and perfecter of faith (12:2); the emphasis upon the greater danger, responsibility, and punishment of apostates (12:14 f.); upon the need of meeting together, confessing to the name of God, offering the sacrifice of praise, etc. (13:15).

## II. SOURCES AND RELATIONS OF THE CHRISTOLOGICAL DOCTRINE, INCLUDING AN OUTLINE OF NEW TESTAMENT CHRISTOLOGY

### I. CONSIDERATION OF PS. 2:7 AS USED IN HEB. 1:5 AND 5:5

In considering more precisely the sources and relations of the christological doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews the starting-point will be the passage already discussed with considerable fulness and found as a quotation from Ps. 2:7 in Heb. 1:5 and 5:5, viz., "Thou art my son, I today have begotten thee." This passage is quoted in the first case (1:5) as proving the superior dignity of the Son over that of the angels; in the second case (5:5) as constituting the call by God to the High-Priesthood. It has been shown above that this quotation is a remnant of the adoption Christology, probably the earliest form of Christology held by the primitive church (Acts 2:22, 36). It is not at all à propos of the situation in Hebrews, as the Christology of the writer of the

Epistle is certainly not the adoption Christology. Any literal and in fact any meaningful application of the phrase in the connection in Hebrews (1:5 and 5:5) is impossible. Where and when could and did the phrase have a proper meaning as applied to Jesus? The most satisfactory answer seems to be furnished by the words of Paul in his address in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:33-39). It is true that this passage does not happen to fall within the earlier twelve chapters which clearly represent a primitive Christology. But a double answer to this objection may be made. First, the thought of the passage (Acts 13:33-39) is very closely paralleled by various passages in the earlier chapters (Acts 2:22-36; 3:18-26; 5:30-32), although the words from Ps. 2:7 are not quoted. Secondly, there are good reasons for believing that Luke is here in substance following good sources.<sup>1</sup> But this passage itself is ambiguous. The words "having raised up Jesus" of vs. 33 may refer to God's bringing Jesus into his active prophetic work of preaching and so be localized in the Baptism (cf. Acts 3:22; 13:22).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand it may refer to the Resurrection.<sup>3</sup> It would seem most probable that Chase's point is well taken in referring Acts 13:32 to the Baptism of Jesus and Acts 13:34 to the Resurrection, and in drawing a comparison with Rom. 1:4 where, by emphasizing the phrase "with power," a distinct though latent reference to the declaration of Sonship at the Baptism may be felt.

If this is so, then these two passages (Acts 13:32, 33 and Rom. 1:4) represent a stage of christological development with two prominent foci, viz., the Baptism and the Resurrection.<sup>4</sup> They are not mutually exclusive except to the severely logical. Both however were unsatisfactory declarations of Sonship as primitive Christian thought struggled in its polemic with Greek philosophy and the mystery-religions. A higher conception of Sonship must be developed, both to express the wonderful significance of Jesus as it dawned increasingly upon the early Christians and to cope adequately with the higher conceptions of the Graeco-Roman world of religious thought. The thought of the Resurrection in the Sonship of Jesus naturally became more prominent while the thought of the Baptism in connection with Sonship vanished. So the most plausible though not necessary references of the quotations of

<sup>1</sup> Chase, *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 179 f.; Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 195 f.

<sup>2</sup> So Chase, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 f.

<sup>3</sup> So H. J. Holtzmann, *Handcommentar zum N.T.*, *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Luke 3:22; D *et al.*

Ps. 2:7 in Hebrews (1:5; 5:5) is to the time of the Resurrection. For the early Christians the Resurrection was the more prominent, but their conception of Jesus' experience at the Baptism did not fail them. They were consistent adoptionists. With Paul the idea of Sonship by divine choice and descent of the spirit at the Baptism was latent and unemphasized, if present at all. With the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews the idea of Sonship at the Baptism was gone and the idea of Sonship by the Resurrection was latent and unemphasized. Both Paul and this writer had made far advance toward the higher category of essential Sonship implying pre-existence and some approach to Deity. In certain circles the inception of Sonship was pushed back to the very beginning of the earthly life and made dependent directly upon God himself (Matt. 1:18=Luke 1:35) and essential, not merely declarative or adoptive. The Fourth Gospel, as is well known, abolishes the thought of the inception of Sonship entirely. Jesus was the incarnation of the Logos, the word made flesh, the eternal Son of God.

## 2. JESUS' SELF-ESTIMATE

What was Jesus' own conception of his Sonship and of the Baptism experience in relation to it? The most varied answers are given to this question. On the one hand he is conceived as a thoroughgoing but sadly deluded eschatologist (Schweitzer); on the other, by clever critical cutting and slashing, every eschatological reference and thought is removed from him (Sharman). Again, by the orthodox view he is credited with a thought of himself as Son of God and Savior of men, such as Paul or the Fourth Gospel held of him (Warfield). By others (Harnack) he was in his own thought of himself and his mission a monotheist of the purest type whose whole thought and only thought was of God and the Kingdom of God, who had not the slightest thought of interjecting himself in any sense or to any degree between his brother-men and God.

The following presentation of Jesus' thought of himself is meant to be tentative. In spite of the fact that mediating views are apt to be unsatisfactory, it appears increasingly probable that in this case only a mediating view of some sort will meet the most important facts and satisfy the situation. At the heart and at the summit of Jesus' religious life and thought there were two dominant and all-engrossing conceptions, viz., his conception of God and his conception of the Kingdom of God. With Jesus, God is supreme, and never for one moment does he think of displacing or supplanting God as the sole and supreme object, not only



of his own affections and efforts, but also of the affections and efforts of his fellow-men (Mark 12:29, 30 ||). There can be no discounting of this fact so strongly emphasized by the religious-historical school of interpretation. And yet the records and experience of primitive Christianity demand caution in two directions. In the first place, the most careful and conscientious historical criticism leaves a residuum which demands for Jesus in his thought of himself a unique place, not only in the fate and fortune of his nation and of individual persons (Mark 1:22 ||; 2:9 f.; 8:28 ||; Matt. 23:29 f.=Luke 11:47 f.; Matt. 11:11=Luke 7:28; Mark 2:21 f. ||; Mark 10:17 f.; Mark 10:45, etc.),<sup>1</sup> but also in his relation to God (Mark 1:11 || and in Q [second source]; Matt. 4:1-11 || =Luke 4:1-12; Mark 14:61 ||; Matt. 11:27=Luke 10:22).<sup>2</sup> It is clear that Jesus possessed unique God-consciousness. The conditions of possessing it, however, were not exclusive or peculiar to himself. He expected others to share it, yet only through himself (Matt. 11:27). Its uniqueness was not necessarily a solitary, exclusive thing: it was a simple fact.<sup>3</sup> The incidents and words which remain after historical criticism of the synoptic picture of Jesus, indicate that in his own thought Jesus became the way to God, the mediator of this unique God-consciousness which for Jesus also implied salvation.<sup>4</sup> The liberal school recognizes this high place which Jesus took in his own thought and bearing—a certain commanding, Napoleonic attitude in the moral and spiritual realm of God and of national and human life. But with them it is simply the regular attitude of the prophet. It is doubtful however whether such an explanation will prove satisfactory. Some special explanation is demanded, and need not be feared provided one remembers constantly that it is the fact of Jesus' consciousness and men's experience that is of supreme and permanent value, not the explanation, even though it be the right one.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, sec. 32, recognizes this quite keenly.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *What Is Christianity?* p. 128, minimizes the depth and richness of this passage (Matt. 11:27). In its original form it was probably less Johannine in its atmosphere and significance, but in its clear depths rich personal relationships are mirrored rather than mere knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> Weinel, *op. cit.*, sec. 33, S. 185b.

<sup>4</sup> Weinel, *op. cit.*, sec. 24.

<sup>5</sup> The liberal school has done splendid work in presenting the historical Jesus. Because of the excellence of its work one is reluctant to criticize. But it is a fact that in one sentence they put such a high estimate upon Jesus that they place him permanently beyond our reach (Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 149: "He is, and must remain, beyond



In the second place, caution against over-accentuating the supremacy of God in Jesus' thought must be corrected by remembering that pregnant word of Jesus himself that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country and among his own kin and in his own house (Mark 6:4=Matt. 13:57). Rarely is a great man's significance rightly estimated by his own generation and his own people. But does this not apply to the great man himself? Can he see himself in his true significance? Can he evaluate himself and his work precisely? And even if he can, need he consciously insist on that evaluation and the position consonant therewith? In the increasing recognition of the contribution of the general social religious consciousness to the Christianity of the first century is it not necessary to make room for an added increment to the significance of Jesus, recognized not by himself but by the primitive Christian community? The immense results following in the wake of Jesus' life and death surely contributed something to the elucidation of Jesus' significance, much as the results following upon the publication of the origin of species contributed something to the elucidation of the significance of Darwin. The results of the Christian movement may quite legitimately show that Jesus' significance was greater, his position higher than he himself claimed, indeed than he himself was conscious of. It depends on a careful consideration of all the facts, not merely and only upon arriving at Jesus' own self-estimate.<sup>1</sup>

Next to the thought of God as Father, the conception of the Kingdom of God aroused the enthusiasm and engaged the attention and effort of Jesus. His thought of the Kingdom was not purely eschatological (Schweitzer), not purely inner and ethical (Harnack); not wholly future, not wholly present. Jesus changed the meaning and content of the terms Kingdom of God and Messiah for the better in much the same way as our reach"), while in another sentence they tend to minimize his person and function. Their high estimate of Jesus leaves the impression of being somewhat reluctantly given. They reject the orthodox explanation of his uniqueness or divinity, yet they hold to his uniqueness without apparently feeling under obligation to give another and better explanation. They exalt Jesus beyond the confines and experiences of humanity as humanity is regularly considered, while they expect their readers nevertheless to consider Jesus as being wholly and only within the human category. An explanation of some kind is called for. The real heresy (if the unfortunate word may be permitted) is not that view which rejects the orthodox or any other explanation of the uniqueness of Jesus, but the view which holds to the uniqueness of Jesus and yet says that no special explanation of it is necessary. Bousset however makes some very helpful suggestions in "The Significance of the Personality of Jesus for Belief," *Proceedings of Fifth International Congress of Free Christianity*, 1910, p. 208.

<sup>1</sup> Case, *The Historicity of Jesus*, p. 272.

certain men changed the meaning and content of the word "tyrant" for the worse. Jesus eliminated the political element so prominent in the Jewish thought of his day (Mark 11:10; Acts 1:6, etc.; cf. the Zealot movement). Yet the Kingdom was with him no organization, at least in any formal sense. It was simply the company of those who with faith in God lived or sought to live the life of purity, simplicity, honesty, freedom, humility, service, and love, such as was pleasing to God and necessary to communion with the father—such as he himself enjoyed. To be sure, this new life was something more radical and intense than the mere stringing together of the foregoing words indicates. It might be described as a new birth, but Jesus had no technical or doctrinal name for it. Faith in the Father whom Jesus revealed, so to speak, released an inner spring which gave the impulse to return to God like the Prodigal in penitence, prayer, and devotion to God's will as supreme. Forgiveness, freedom from care and sorrow, confidence in the goodness and care of God, mingled with an element of fear, and hope for the future, follow. Men thus living together in love to God and their fellows form the heart and substance of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' conception of it.

Thus it may be said that in substance, even if not in expression and form, the Kingdom of God in Jesus' conception is something present, as some of his parables teach (Mark 4:30-32 = Matt. 13:31 f. = Luke 13:18-21). The little company of the disciples was the beginning of the Kingdom (Mark 10:42 ||). But this is not all. Jesus realized, perhaps increasingly, that there was what he conceived to be a kingdom of this world, a kingdom of Satan over against the Kingdom of God (Mark 1:12, 13 ||). In the healing of men, in the casting out of demons (Matt. 12:28), in the work both of himself and his disciples, he saw the Kingdom of God coming (Luke 10:18; Mark 3:23). He evidently felt that by more enthusiastic effort on both his own part and that of his disciples he could hasten the coming of the Kingdom (Mark 1:35-39).<sup>1</sup> But he felt that the Kingdom was not fully come (Matt. 6:10 = Luke 11:2), yea, that it could not fully come except by a world-catastrophe which was at the same time an act of God and a judgment of God which would set the seal upon his work and give him the supreme place in the Kingdom (Mark 10:35 f. ||). Jesus also felt his death as in some sense a necessary service for this coming of the Kingdom (Mark 8:27 f.). In all this Jesus shared the national and apocalyptic ideas of his time. Doubtless this element has been exaggerated by his reporters.

<sup>1</sup> Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, p. 134.

They put undue emphasis upon that which to them was supreme (Acts 1:6 f.). How much of this apocalyptic element Jesus himself shared no one can say precisely, but that he shared some of the eschatological views cannot successfully be denied, though he was very sober and restrained (Mark 13:32; Acts 1:6). Technically Jesus was not an apocalypticist, though he shared some of the apocalyptical views of his day.<sup>1</sup> If apocalyptic ideas had not been ready to hand, Jesus' consciousness and knowledge of God as Father, as good and holy, the enthusiasm of his life with God must have developed some other conception of the future final victory of God and righteousness. Jesus did not have the view of a world developing according to the modern scientific evolutionary conception. He could conceive of the consummation of the Kingdom only in the form of a personal victory of God and his Kingdom over Satan and his Kingdom. This must take some time; it must depend upon the will of God and upon the act of God. Hence Jesus' use of apocalyptic views. But they do not express the heart of his thought and message.

But Jesus felt himself called to be the chief instrument in God's hand of bringing in the Kingdom of God. No doubt the acceptance of this official duty of Messiahship sprang from Jesus' own deep and distinctive religious life in relation to the Father, and his conception of the messianic function was assimilated in large measure to his conception of life in communion and harmony with God and in earnest and aggressive fulfilment of his will. He poured into the title a new meaning distilled from the depths of his own deep religious experience of God and life. Most probably he felt the messianic call in the Baptism experience. If so, it was rooted in his sense of filial sonship which was also personal, ethical, religious.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the current messianic doctrine was not in harmony with this deep sense of sonship compelled Jesus to withhold the idea that he was the Messiah. When he claimed to be the Messiah, he wished the claim to be based, not on signs or on outward display, but upon inward merit and reality. Hence he did not proclaim himself Messiah, but expected his disciples and the people to discover it for themselves (Mark 8:27 ||; Matt. 11:4=Luke 7:22). He in a large measure spiritualized the concept of the Messiah as he did that of the Law and the Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Weinle, *op. cit.*, sec. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luke 3:22, cod. D, "Thou art my son, today have I begotten thee," which reading may have been taken from Q by Luke; Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, S. 74; Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, S. 136, 218 f.



There is much uncertainty about the significance of the term Son of Man in Jesus' thought and usage, and the uncertainty seems to be increasing rather than diminishing. What was the origin and significance of the term?<sup>1</sup> Did Jesus use the term of himself, and if so to what extent and with what meaning? Was the term a current one for the Messiah in Jesus' day and if so, how could he use it of himself and keep his Messiahship secret till toward the close of his ministry? Difficulty and some uncertainty hover about the answers to these questions. It seems clear that in apocalyptic circles of Jesus' day the phrase "Son of Man" was used of the Messiah. In fact it gives to *ὁ χριστός* its particular New Testament content.<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted however that there is considerable variation in the form of the title indicating in all probability a lack of definiteness and fixedness in its meaning.<sup>3</sup> All things considered, it is entirely probable that Jesus used the term, though to what extent and with what significance it is difficult to say. A study of the passages in which the term occurs reveals two distinct classes, the one speaking of the Son of Man as lowly, destitute, suffering, a self-title of Jesus; the other, as exalted, coming upon the clouds of glory, like the Son of Man of apocalyptic. Weinel<sup>4</sup> holds that in this clear distinction there lies at once the main problem in connection with the title "Son of Man" and the solution of it. Only the latter, the eschatological passages, are really genuine, for only Jesus could say, "The Son of Man will come." Others would say, if the title denoted Jesus, "The Son of Man will come again." But though Jesus spoke of the Son of Man as another person, he himself considered himself the Son of Man, and so his reporters were not substantially wrong in giving him the title in the other group of passages.<sup>5</sup> Weinel rejects the idea that Jesus may have used the term just because it was many-sided and somewhat enigmatic. Someone would surely have asked its significance, as the Fourth Gospel represents the Jews doing later.<sup>6</sup> Is this argument not

<sup>1</sup> Babylonian, say Hommel (*Expository Times*, XI, 341 i.) and Zimmern (*Archiv für Religionswiss.*, II, 165, 1899), connecting it with the Adapa-Marduk myth; cf. also W. B. Kristensen, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1911, De Term, "Zoon des Menschen," S. 1-38; F. P. Badham, *ibid.*, The title "Son of Man," S. 395-448.

<sup>2</sup> Book of Enoch, 36:1 ff.; 46:1 ff.; 48a:2, 11; 48b:2 *et passim*; cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, S. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Volz, *op. cit.*, S. 214: "Der Wechsel im Ausdruck zeigt aber, dass der Terminus noch nicht fixiert war."

<sup>4</sup> *Bib. Theol. d. N.T.*, S. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Weinel, *Bib. Theol. d. N.T.*, sec. 34, "Der Menschensohn."

<sup>6</sup> John 12:34: Who is this Son of Man?



too hypothetical and, so to speak, too clear-cut? There were various forms of the messianic hope current in Jesus' day in different circles. There was the narrow conception of the Zealots; there was the somewhat wider national hope which thought of the Messiah as Son of David (Luke 20:41); there was the wider apocalyptic conception of the Son of Man, current possibly only in comparatively limited circles; and there were various shades between.<sup>1</sup> Among the people with whom Jesus worked, and even with his disciples, Jesus might conceivably have occasionally used the title Son of Man, with more or less distinct reference to himself, even before he openly declared himself to them as the Messiah. But the element of uncertainty increases here. It is clear however that for some special reason Jesus preferred the title Son of Man rather than Son of David or Son of God, and that he used it at first possibly with latent but finally with open reference to himself. The same holds true substantially of the title "Messiah." That which impelled him to use these titles was his profound sense of Sonship. The titles formed the mold, the sense of Sonship gave to them their essential content.

Though very restrained in depicting the future, Jesus evidently expected (in spite of death, which he felt to be in some sense a means to an end) the overthrow of the kingdom of Satan, the establishment of the Kingdom of God some time in the near but unknown future, by some sort of special intervention of God himself. Possibly he felt assured of his own restoration, in spite of death, and so spoke of it to his disciples that on looking back they were satisfied that he had been speaking to them of his resurrection. With the consummation of the Kingdom of God, Jesus associated judgment, probably with himself as judge under God. Probably too he expected a general resurrection of some sort (Mark 10:40; Matt. 8:11, 12=Luke 13:28 f.).

Secondary then in Jesus' estimate of himself, but genuine, is his conception of himself as Messiah, of the future consummation of the Kingdom accompanied by resurrection and judgment and the overthrow of Satan and his kingdom; primary, is his profound consciousness of God and life with God begetting within him the conviction that salvation (though he does not use the term) consisted in or perhaps rather issued from this knowledge of God and life with God, and that he not only in his example and his teaching but in some way in his person mediated this knowledge of God and salvation which was something such

<sup>1</sup> Heitmüller, art. "Jesus Christus," II, 5b, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bd. III.

as not even the prophets had known, something new in the world (Matt. 10:37=Luke 14:26; Matt. 8:21=Luke 9:60; Matt. 13:17=Luke 10:23; Matt. 11:27 f.). This does not necessarily mean that Jesus required that men should believe in him for this salvation, as the Fourth Gospel represents, though this would seem to be a very natural and easy advance to make. It means only that Jesus in his own thought felt himself to be in some sense a mediator, yes, *the* (Matt. 11:27 f.) mediator in actual fact between God and men. In the last analysis, however, the difference on this point between the synoptic and the Johannine representation is more one of form than one of substance. In Johannine terminology the synoptic Jesus felt himself to be the revelation of God and the "way" to God.

### 3. PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN CHRISTOLOGY

From this tentative statement of Jesus' self-estimate we pass to the earliest Christian views of Jesus, the earliest Christian Christology. It has been commonly felt that from the time of their conviction of Jesus' resurrection the first Christians began forthwith to depart from Jesus' conception of himself. They began to lay the emphasis upon the secondary elements above mentioned and not upon the primary elements. This is true only in a measure. They laid emphasis on both primary and secondary elements in different degrees and at different times and places.

Beyond reasonable doubt the earliest form of Christology was that Jesus was the Messiah. During Jesus' life some at least believed, perhaps rather hoped, that he would prove to be the Messiah and would declare himself as such. But it was only their faith in the Resurrection of Jesus in which God declared him the Messiah and Son of God with power (Acts 2:36; Rom. 1:4) that crystallized this hope into an undying conviction. The early chapters of Acts (chaps. 1-12) represent this earliest Christology for which the Resurrection is decisive and pivotal. It is clearly adoptive. God wrought through Jesus, and because of his approval of him accepted and declared him Messiah and Lord by the resurrection (Acts 2:22 f.; 5:42). God glorified and exalted him (Acts 5:30 f.). God would send him again at the end of all things (Acts 3:20, 21). These experiences and hopes established a new and peculiar kind of life (Acts 5:20) initiated by repentance, faith in Jesus as Messiah, and baptism in his name (Acts 2:38; 8:16), and characterized by forgiveness of sins through Christ (Acts 3:26) and the gift of the Holy Spirit in his name (Acts 5:32). This was at least one if not the only form of the earliest Christology.

But, as already noted, these conceptions of Jesus immediately consequent upon his resurrection were not really the first beginnings of Christology, though very naturally they appeared to many to be so then and still appear to many to be so, owing to the overshadowing importance of the Resurrection. Unless violence is applied to the sources, it is clear that sometime before his death Jesus was regarded by some as prophet, by some as Messiah, whether as Son of David or as Son of Man or as Son of God. From both sources, Mark and the Sayings of Jesus, it is clear that the disciples and the very earliest tradition well remembered the discussions about the Messiahship and the strange experiences and high claims of Jesus in this regard, especially toward the close of his ministry. How did they relate this to their idea that the resurrection constituted Jesus the Messiah? They simply carried the adoptive theory of the Messiahship back into the history of the ministry of Jesus. Along one line they attached it to the experience upon the Mount of Transfiguration (Mark 9:7 ||), but with more assurance they attached the idea of adoption as Messiah and Son to the Baptism experience (Mark 1:11 ||) in which Jesus, according to the early Christian view, received the gift of the Spirit which constituted him Son.<sup>1</sup> The testimony of the sources that Jesus used the title Son of Man with either open or latent reference to himself seems at first to tell against the idea that the earliest Christians carried back the adoptive idea to the Baptism experience. But apart from the possibility of Weinel's explanation,<sup>2</sup> the phrase "Son of Man" with its accompanying idea of pre-existence was too limited and too indefinite to hinder the employment of the adoptive idea to explain the experiences and words of Jesus which the disciples and earliest Christians very well remembered. Possibly the adoptive idea, which was truly Semitic, vied for some time with its later rival, the "Son of Man" or pre-existence idea, which was in part Greek or at least Hellenistic as well as Jewish.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the true text of Luke 3:22 is that of codex D: "Thou art my son: today have I begotten thee," thus meeting the word of Ps. 2:7 with the occasion of the Baptism. Cf. Gospel to the Hebrews in description of the Baptism: "My Son, in all the prophets I waited for you till you should come and I should find rest in you. For you are my rest, you are my firstborn son who rulest forever." Again, interpreting the Baptism as the occasion of the adoption to Messiahship and Sonship explains the otherwise extremely puzzling aorist, *εὐδόκησα* (Mk. 1:11), in a perfectly natural way, as an inceptive aorist.

<sup>2</sup> *Bib. Theol. d. N. Test.*, S. 198.



## 4. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF PAUL

At this stage the development of christological thought is taken up and carried on by Paul. For Paul too with the Christian community, the Resurrection means that Jesus is Messiah and Son of God (Phil. 2:9-11). Probably in this passage as in Rom. 1:4 there is a trace, a remnant of the adoptive idea of the earliest Christian community. But in reality Paul had discarded the adoptive idea probably as too superficial and not at all adequate to the proper expression of his profound experience of, and thought upon, the risen and glorified Christ. Paul used rather the category of pre-existence and the idea of Son of Man as the better expression of the Messiahship and Sonship of Jesus. Paul chose and elaborated this form because it was natural to him. He belonged to the educated Jewish and Hellenistic circles where the Son of Man concept which he transferred to Jesus as Messiah was familiar. Yet, as Paul does not wholly give up the idea of God's favoritism for Israel as a nation (Rom. 11:25, 26), so naturally he holds to the Son of David idea of Jesus as Messiah. But this is merely according to the flesh, and Paul lays little stress upon this. With Paul there begins an elaborate development of the higher category. For the expression of his experience of Jesus and salvation in him Paul lays hold of elements from various Hellenistic thought-circles of his day including the mystery-religions. On the basis of his personal experience, aided by thoughts of the Hebrew prophets as well as of the mystery-religions, Paul develops the original doctrine of mystical union with Christ by faith. By the death of Christ through faith, deliverance from the curse of the law, forgiveness, new life, new power, new hope for the coming age, and union with Christ—all which with many added elements constitute salvation—are secured. Of Paul, though in a lesser degree, it may be said as it was said of Jesus that soteriology not Christology is his main concern.

But Paul has also an elaborate Christology. The term "Son of Man" falls away and in its place comes the idea of the heavenly man, the second Adam, probably very closely related to the Son of Man idea. Jesus is identified with this pre-existent heavenly man, the second Adam. But this heavenly man is also Son of God. Paul nowhere reveals just in what sense he considers Jesus Son of God. Rom. 1:4 may very plausibly be interpreted so that Jesus is constituted "Son" by the Resurrection. But this adoptive idea can hardly express Paul's full thought. He considers Jesus a spirit-being (I Cor. 15:45; II Cor. 3:17), the firstborn of all creation (Col. 1:14 f.), who for a time dwelt upon the



earth (II Cor. 8:9) and was restored to greater glory than before (Phil. 2:6 f.). This spirit-being was Son of God, but in what sense? The Hebrew feeling of Sonship through sympathy, likeness, love is not excluded (Col. 1:13), but probably Paul thought, if he thought upon it specially, of Sonship in some of the Greek forms. It is clear that the Logos-doctrine is present in Paul, latent though not expressed<sup>1</sup> (I Cor. 8:6; 11:3). Christ is the creator and bond of the cosmos (Col. 1:16). He is the image of God (II Cor. 4:4). A certain degree of figurative, spiritual, and ethical meaning must not be denied to these and similar terms. But they clearly have a metaphysical force, and it is likely that Paul conceived of Christ as a second God somewhat after the fashion of Philo, with probably additional touches from the atmosphere and thought of the mystery-religions and of Stoicism. Paul also identified the heavenly Christ with the Spirit (II Cor. 3:7).<sup>2</sup> It is impossible here to go into the question of the relation of Paul and the New Testament as a whole to the Hellenistic syncretism of the mystery-religions of his day. How much of what has hitherto been placed genetically in direct relation either (1) to the historical Jesus, (2) to the Old Testament, or (3) to Alexandrianism must rather be related directly to the religious Hellenistic syncretism of the mystery-religions and considered rather as a parallel to Old Testament thought? In 1903 Heinrich Zimmern, after outlining the questions, says that investigation into this problem is as yet in its early stages and no definite answer can be given.<sup>3</sup> His statement will still hold, though much advance since then has been made, with the result that there is a strong tendency to affirm that much of New Testament thought of the person of Jesus is due to the fact that the first interpreters of Jesus in their effort to set forth from their experience his supreme significance, used the terms and thought-forms current in the atmosphere and religious thought of their day.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weinel, *op. cit.*, S. 368a.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, S. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel*: "Eine definitive Antwort lässt sich bis jetzt noch auf keine dieser die schwierigsten Probleme der orientalischen Religionsgeschichte berührenden fragen geben . . . von einer endgültigen Lösung dieser Probleme noch keine Rede sein kann, die Erörterung über sie vielmehr noch in den ersten Anfängen steht."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*,<sup>3</sup> S. 372-94, and the whole chapter "Der Christus, Jesus" in his *Keilinschriften und Bibel*. The whole subject is receiving intense attention at present, but there is no justification for the extreme position taken by Drews as a result of it that there was no historical Jesus. This is a wholly unwarranted interpretation of the facts which rather go to show simply that to a greater degree than has been hitherto supposed the formal, doctrinal, ritual, largely external portion of Christianity was a part of the religious milieu of the time and indeed in a large measure grew out of it.

Presumably these elements from the mystery-religions, whether Graeco-Persian or Graeco-Egyptian, were mediated to Paul by the popular eclectic philosophy of the day. They are in all probability the following: (1) the idea of Jesus' pre-existence as the heavenly man, the second Adam, a divine spirit-being who was also Creator of the world, Son of God and heavenly man; cf. Adapa-Marduk, son of Ea, and world-creator; (2) the idea of Jesus as sent into the world by God appearing as Savior and destined to be the inaugurator of the new era (Gal. 4:4); cf. Mithra's rôle in the Persian cult; (3) the idea of the temporary humiliation and suffering of Christ; cf. Osiris in the Egyptian cult and the star-deities, Sin, Samaš, and Ištar in the Babylonian cult; (4) the idea of the Resurrection and exaltation and coming again of Christ; (5) the idea of two opposing worlds with the thought that Christ shall reign till he shall conquer all enemies, even death.<sup>1</sup>

Paul laid great emphasis upon eschatology, especially in the earlier part of his life and work. As soon as he accepted the historical Jesus as the Messiah he assigned to him the rôle of the Jewish Messiah whom he already had in mind. The period of the earthly life of Jesus was a temporary and preparatory period of humiliation and suffering. But Jesus would come again and fulfil the eschatological rôle of the Jewish Messiah. With the coming of Christ the dead would be raised (II Thess. 2:1-12 if Pauline; I Cor., chap. 15), the living would be changed or transformed, the judgment-seat of Christ would be set (I Thess. 2:19, 20; II Cor. 5:10; 11:15), all enemies and evil, including death, would be overcome, ending in the final consummation of the messianic Kingdom and the surrender by Christ of his high prerogative as mediator and vicegerent, so that God might be immediate ruler and "all in all" (I Cor. 15:24-28). Eschatology is prominent in Paul. It is urged as an impulse to worthy practical Christian living (I Cor. 15:58) and as the consummation of salvation and life (Rom. 13:11).

##### 5. DIVERGENT MOVEMENTS AFTER PAUL

But this highly developed christological doctrine of Paul, with its accompanying elaborate theology and profound mysticism and scant emphasis upon the earthly life of Jesus, was not wholly satisfactory to the primitive Christian church. In substance Paul's view of Jesus as the Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, a divine, pre-existent spirit-being, whose earthly life was a short period of humiliation and veiled glory and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions* (1913).

power, was accepted by the primitive church, but various and considerable modifications were made in different directions.

It was a striking conviction, gained after much anguish and struggle of mind and soul, that the one who appeared to Paul on the way to Damascus was none other than Jesus of Nazareth, risen and living, and that he was the Messiah. The result was that Paul applied to the historical Jesus many concepts which were proper and becoming only to an abstract figure of the religious and philosophical imagination—ideas whose *Heimat* was the world of the eternal and invisible. The tendency of the Pauline Christology was to lose the historical figure of Jesus in the drapings of religious and philosophical ideas. This tendency is easily discoverable in Paul himself on comparing his earliest with his latest works (I Thess. vs. Col.). In it there lay the subtle danger of the so-called “entangling alliance” of history on the one hand, and religion and philosophy on the other, an alliance which apparently defies disentangling. The natural result was divergent movements, one radical, leading to a still greater emphasis of the eternal, a second apocalyptic, and a third reactionary, emphasizing history.

a) *The reactionary movement.*—The reactionary movement was probably first in time after Paul. Men, some of them Paul’s associates in his work, none of them associates of Jesus, accepted indeed the Pauline identification of the Messiah, Son of Man and Logos with Jesus of Nazareth, but felt that Paul made too meager a use of the detailed information of the words and deeds of Jesus preserved in the tradition of the early community and in part written down in various fragmentary documents. This information was needed especially for the gentile mission. Thus we find the synoptists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, counteracting or perhaps complementing the christological doctrine of Paul. In the main they accept the Pauline doctrine, but they add the outlines of the actual historical figure adapted to be sure in many respects to the later doctrine.

The Gospel of Mark (65–70 A.D.), the oldest of our present Gospels at least, is interested chiefly—almost solely—in the public activity and ministry of Jesus, his healing and miracle-working power, and but slightly in his teaching. Mark considered Jesus the Son of God, but like Paul, does not reveal how or in what sense. His quoting of the remark of the centurion at the cross (Mark 15:39) probably indicates Greek leanings, and it is likely that Mark with Paul considered Jesus as essentially a divine spirit-being who became man, though he does not say how. His Sonship was latent, recognized with difficulty (Mark



15:39) or only by the demons (3:11; 5:7), as was also his Messiahship (8:29). Mark considers Jesus also as the heavenly man and with the idea retains no doubt rightly the phrase "Son of Man," which Paul dropped. Mark gives a vivid picture also, as he intended to do, of the humanity of Jesus, a picture clearer and stronger than that of any other Gospel (1:41; 2:8; 3:5; 4:38; 8:5; 10:14; 10:17, 40). He gives the most satisfactory outline of the main events and developments of his ministry.

The question as to how much in this Gospel (as in the others) belongs to Mark himself and the primitive Christian community will vary from less to more according to the evidence of historical criticism and each man's tendency or inclination. It may be that the demands of a high Christology caused the Christian community and Mark with them to push back into the life and work of Jesus much more than has yet been recognized. After outlining Mark's testimony to the amazing dulness and stupidity of the disciples Case maintains that this dulness serves as a means for carrying back later thought.<sup>1</sup> But whatever the extent of this pushing back of thoughts and practices of a later time into the life of Jesus may prove to be, it need not, and cannot, as Case splendidly shows, annul the historicity of Jesus, diminish the uniqueness and power of his personal religious life with God, invalidate the resurrection appearances, or destroy the experience of salvation in some sense through Jesus which is after all the fundamental fact in and impulse toward the development of any Christology.

It is clear, then, that Mark has a high Christology, Pauline in its main lines, to which he adds a vivid picture of the human side of Jesus, of his prophetic activity as preacher of repentance, herald of the Kingdom of God, and worker of miracles as well as teacher—a picture which shows indications of being unconsciously molded and changed to a greater or less degree, both by the adoption Christology of the early Christians and by the higher Christology of Paul.

Matthew and Luke naturally manifest a still greater degree of change of the early tradition, of the life, activity, and teaching of Jesus. Their common non-Markan source or sources represents Jesus consist-

<sup>1</sup> *The Historicity of Jesus*, 1912, p. 226: "In all this Mark is clearly recognizing that Jesus made no such impression upon his contemporaries as his later interpreters thought he ought to have produced, and as they would have him produce on the minds of believers in their day. But by making the blindness of Jesus' associates responsible for this failure, the early theologians could still think of him as displaying unique power commensurate with their faith in him as the heavenly Lord, and at the same time they could harmonize the history with their Christology."



ently, however, as the great prophetic teacher, rather than divine healer and miracle worker. As this source (or sources) of the teachings of Jesus is generally considered to be somewhat earlier than Mark and largely free from the tendency to miracle and Christology, it leads many to think that Mark as well as the later writers have very materially altered the original representation of Jesus. It must be remembered, however, that it was the custom of the time to distinguish to a greater or less degree between the deeds and the words of a teacher (Acts 1:1). The need for the teaching was naturally felt first and strongest.

The most striking addition of Matthew and Luke to christological doctrine is found in the story of the miraculous conception as displayed in their infancy narratives. Unless the story here given is considered as fact in some way hidden from Paul and Mark, it requires considerable time for its development and indicates a late date, say, toward the end of the first century and a decisive advance upon the Christology of Paul and Mark. It is conceived as an explanation of the uniqueness and greatness of Jesus and of the *modus operandi* of his Sonship. It is a composite, a blend in all probability of Old Testament ideas, the adoption-Christology of the primitive community, and the conceptions of the various mystery-religions with added Greek elements.<sup>1</sup> The thought itself is probably Greek, but the prominence of the Holy Spirit as well as the general context indicates a strong Semitic element. In fact it is probably in a measure a further pushing back of the idea of adoption as it is found in the Baptism experience in which the Holy Spirit plays a quite similar rôle. The Greek element appears distinctly, however, in that the story explains the Sonship as metaphysical, that is, essential.<sup>2</sup> Paul and Mark had felt no need of such an explanation. In fact, such an explanation seems out of harmony with the idea of pre-existence, about which Matthew and Luke say nothing. In many other respects Matthew tends to a heightened Christology (Matt. 8:8, 16; 12:28; 21:20).<sup>3</sup> With Paul he emphasized the eschatological element and specifically the death of Christ as necessary in the divine plan (16:21, 23) as redemptive (26:28) and ratifying a new covenant (20:28; 26:28).

<sup>1</sup> Granbery, *Outline of New Testament Christology*, p. 57 and n. 1; Petersen, *Wunderbare Geburt des Heilandes*, Kap. 3, "Die übernatürliche Geburt Jesu im Lichte der Religionsgeschichte."

<sup>2</sup> J. Weiss, *Christus*, S. 81; cf. Inscription at Priene, quoted by Pfeiderer in *Monist*, XIV, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Allen, *Commentary on Matthew*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii; cf. also his summary of the Christology, p. lxvi.

Luke does not so fully reveal his personal christological standpoint. It is however strongly Pauline, charged with the universal gentile spirit, and emphasizes strongly the human element in Jesus in addition to the Pauline lines.

But the synoptists were not the only reactionaries against the Pauline extreme which discounted the earthly life and teaching of Jesus. The great majority of Christians, even the personal disciples of Jesus, were not so original, independent, and creative as Paul. They therefore fell back on Jesus' specific deeds and words. A spiritual bond, like a great cable reaching into the unseen, held Paul true to Jesus in the main, though not in detail, in spirit, though not in form. Paul felt the fullest freedom in beating out his own views of truth, centering them all about the Incarnation and the cross of Christ as the great redemptive triumph for the world. Very largely he formed his own molds with material gathered from every quarter, but he filled them with the spirit of the gospel of Jesus. It will be found that essentially Paul represented and developed the message of his master Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

But less independent and original spirits could not have broken this new way, and indeed could not even follow Paul's lead without greater support from Jesus himself. Hence our Synoptic Gospels. But even where the writing did not take the new form of a Gospel, the reaction toward more support from Jesus himself is seen. Two such writings are the Epistle of I Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews. These two writings are in some way closely related.<sup>2</sup> They probably spring from the same general situation and atmosphere and express an unconscious reaction against the mystical depth of Paulinism and its disregard of the experiences of the earthly Jesus. They both make much of the experience of suffering; they are both rather practical than profound or mystical; they both exhort after the fashion of a homily; they both emphasize the death of Christ as propitiatory in a similar way; they make much of hope, of the future glory of Christ and Christians, of the inspiration of the prophets, of the reproach and sufferings of the pre-existent Christ (I Pet. 1:11; cf. Heb. 11:26). The Epistle to the Hebrews, however, makes larger use of the experiences of Jesus' earthly life than does I Peter. It makes an astonishingly close approach to the modern psychological developmental view of the reflex action of suffering upon character, both for Christ (Heb. 5:7-10) and for Christians (12:7).

<sup>1</sup> A. Meyer, *Jesus or Paul*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Holtzmann, *Handcommentar zum N. T.*, III, "Der Brief an die Hebräer," Einleitung, II, 3.

Unlike Paul, Hebrews deliberately states that the salvation which it proclaims was first proclaimed by Jesus when on earth (2:3), and was delivered by faithful witnesses (2:3). Paul would not make such connections. Paul claims indeed the identity of inner personality between the exalted Christ and the earthly Jesus, but he is not concerned to make such detailed connection. The writer to the Hebrews follows the same main christological lines as Paul—pre-existence, incarnation, redemptive death, resurrection, and exaltation. He has the main eschatological lines also, though with less emphasis and prominence, viz., parousia, judgment, transformation of the world, yet in a way different from that of Paul (Heb. 12:27, 28). The writer develops the idea of the sacrifice and High-Priesthood of Jesus in detail as Paul does not do.

b) *The apocalyptic movement*.—Another divergent tendency of a more radical type may be noted in writings belonging to this same period, viz., ca. 90 A.D. This tendency may be called apocalyptic.<sup>1</sup> Apocalyptic views were common property at this period. Paul shared them very strongly, especially at the beginning of his Christian career, though there is evidence of a loss of interest and emphasis toward the end. Jesus the Messiah had suffered death, but he would come again to fulfil those expectations of glory and triumph which they had in their shortsightedness expected of him at his first coming. So the early Christians reasoned. Thus apocalyptic could still breathe the breath of life. Its activity was increased also by persecutions. Now Paul did not paint the glories of the future triumph of Christ and Christians with sufficient color or in sufficient detail. He was too moderate, too severely ethical, perhaps, and mystical. Hence such a writing as the Apocalypse of John, the only representative of its type in the Canon of the New Testament, but a writing which probably represents the views of a fairly large number of Christians at this time. Its Christology is clearly post-Pauline. "The dignity, glory, and authority of Christ and the greatness of his redeeming work are set forth in exalted terms and the strongest imagery is employed (1:5). He is a priest (1:13), is Lord of the church (1:12-16), is pre-existent and eternal, and determines who shall enter and who be released from the realms of the dead (1:8, 17, 18; 21:6; 22:13), is King of kings and Lord of lords (17:14; 19:16), is the bright, the morning star that will rise upon the world to usher in the consummation (22:16). . . . Given titles that belong to God, and worshiped by men and angels, Christ reigns not only during the earthly millennium,

<sup>1</sup> Granbery, *Outline of New Testament Christology*, pp. 87-91.



but sits with God in the final consummation."<sup>1</sup> The apocalyptic tendency toward external glory and imagery has carried the writer even beyond the Christology of Paul. Christ is closely associated with God (19:11-16; 21:22; 22:1, 3).

c) *The radical movement*.—But the climax of christological development within the New Testament is found in the Johannine writings, particularly the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle. For some years the Fourth Gospel has been closely studied. It is still in many respects an enigma and may always be. But certain main lines in connection with it are standing out more clearly as a result of the work. From the religio-historical point of view, if not from the literary point of view, it is a unit. The historical element in it is quite subsidiary, though not without some value even in the strictly historical sense; it is selected and used for the purpose of a religious and theological interpretation of Jesus. The Gospel is partly apologetic and polemic.<sup>2</sup> It manifests the greatest influence by and the closest approach to the mystery-religions so prevalent at the end of the first century A.D.

In fact, as Christianity on its mission to the gentiles moved out into the religious and philosophical *milieu* of the Graeco-Roman world, it found itself confronted everywhere with conceptions of great worth and vitality—conceptions of human need, human helplessness and sinfulness, conceptions of divine helpfulness, mercy, and salvation, of divine Saviors, of divine revelations, and of life, light, truth, resurrection, immortality, and future blessedness through association and union of God and man. These were abstract conceptions, to be sure, and therein lay their weakness and their danger. Gnosticism is the term applied to the sum-total of these conceptions. But strictly speaking these are the conceptions of the mystery-religions. Gnosticism is the term to describe them after they have passed through the alembic of Christianity. Now the writer of the Fourth Gospel confronted this religious and philosophical thought-world of the mystery-religions. It is not impossible to suppose that he was himself a convert to Christianity from this thought-world of the mystery-religions. In any case he sympathizes with much that they contain. He realizes that if Christianity is to hold its own and win the day it must absorb their vital elements and express itself in terms of their conceptions. He is perfectly confident that Christianity is the supreme religion, and he sets himself to the task of presenting it as such.

<sup>1</sup> Granbery, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*<sup>2</sup>, chap. iii.



Only a brief outline of his christological attitude can be given and comparison drawn between him and other New Testament writers. The Fourth Gospel uses the titles "Christ" or "Messiah" (1:17; 1:20, 25; 3:28; 10:24, etc.), "Son of Man" (1:51; 3:13, 14; 6:27, etc.), "King of Israel" (1:49), and "Lord" (1:23; 6:23; 11:2, etc.); but they have all lost their primitive Semitic meaning and have become more or less technical and conventional. The term "Lamb of God" is important for the Fourth Gospel, as it indicates the writer's firm faith in the redemptive sacrificial death of Jesus. A still more striking term however is "Logos," so prominent in the Prologue. Though the term does not occur elsewhere in the Gospel, the doctrine is assumed throughout. Jesus was the Logos in the beginning, but the characteristic thought of the writer is that the Logos became flesh and thus revealed God in the form of man. In this respect the Fourth Gospel fully developed that idea which, though plainly present, was nevertheless somewhat latent in Paul and Hebrews. The writer of the Fourth Gospel is generally credited with taking the term from Philo, but it is more likely that it came from semi-popular usage. At any rate, as compared with Philo's usage, that of the Fourth Gospel is less abstract, more concrete and personal, full of a sense of reality and saving significance through identification with the historical Jesus.

But the most common and the most significant designation of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is the title "Son" or "Son of God," denoting the relation of Jesus to God whom he frequently calls his Father. The term is surprisingly rich in content. As Son Jesus is pre-existent, only-begotten, one with God the Father by whom he was sent and to whom he is always subject (1:14; 3:35, etc.). He enlightens and saves the world by communicating the teaching and the truth which he has received from the Father. He fulfils Scripture, bestows the Spirit by whom he is himself filled, displays supernatural knowledge, gives eternal life and future blessedness with the Father, to whom he returns. Prayer in his name is effective (14:13 f.), and abiding in him makes the Christian life fruitful (15:1, 2). In short, Jesus, not only in his deeds and words, but in his person, not only in the future, but in the present, is the revelation of the invisible God the Father, eternally the Son of God and the way to life and light and truth and God which is salvation. Accordingly the Gospel was written that its readers might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing they might have life in his name (John 20:21).

In conclusion, it may be said that the Johannine Christology presents

formally a fusing of the Christology of Paul, which emphasizes the eternal and divine in Christ at the expense of the historical and earthly, with the reactionary Christology of such writings as Hebrews and the Synoptic Gospels. The gnostic systems of Paul's day and later had pushed the higher side, the divine side of the Pauline Christology to violent extremes issuing in Docetism. The Gnostics emphasized the pre-existent, the divine, at the expense of, even with the annihilation of, the human element. Such writings as Hebrews and the synoptists reacted and added the human by emphasizing the historical life of Jesus—his human nature. The Fourth Gospel aims to meet the violent extremes of Gnosticism, such as Docetism, but has itself such deep sympathy with and regard for the vital truths in Gnosticism that it carries the Pauline emphasis on the divine to quite a new extreme, viz., the eternal divinity of Jesus Christ as Logos and Son. Not merely in his Incarnation and Death did Jesus reveal God and bring salvation. Jesus revealed God in his life on earth, his daily life. Those who could not see the divine glory even in the earthly Jesus were blinded (14:22) by ignorance and evil. They were of the world. But Jesus on earth declared God (1:18), though his future glory would be enhanced. His life was a constant revelation of God. Hence no need of a transfiguration as in the Synoptic Gospels. The synoptic writers did not advance to the idea that Jesus was the eternal revelation and declaration of the glory and character of God. They with Paul thought of the "days of his flesh" as a period of humiliation, sacrifice, and suffering only. Hebrews advances somewhat on the Pauline idea in making more of the earthly Jesus like the synoptists and in making Jesus' place in relation to God apparently permanent. Jesus in Hebrews is the constant vicegerent of God. Paul, Hebrews, and the synoptists all reveal closer dependence than the Fourth Gospel on the christological ideas of the primitive Christian community in that they all show traces in lessening degree of the adoptive idea of Sonship. The Fourth Gospel has broken with the adoptive idea altogether. The idea of Sonship in the Fourth Gospel approaches that of the mystery-religions, in which Sonship consists in wisdom and perfect knowledge of the divine. The Fourth Gospel does not have the idea of the miraculous conception as Matthew and Luke, nor the theocratic or adoptive idea of the primitive community. In a very true and deep sense the Fourth Gospel has carried to its climax what appears to have been Jesus' own sense of Sonship (Matt. 11:27). Like Jesus, the Fourth Gospel has discounted the "Son of David" idea in connection with the Messiahship. It has also discounted the

eschatological element. The parousia has been largely spiritualized into the abiding presence of Christ through the presence of the Spirit or Comforter whom he will send. The future judgment and resurrection have become spiritualized and made present experiences. In this reduction of the eschatological element the Fourth Gospel is also at one with Jesus. The writer has developed, enlarged, made objective and absolute the feeling which Jesus himself had, viz., that the Son alone knew the Father and that only the Son could therefore adequately reveal the Father to men. And moreover he has sincerely tried to do this without destroying the historical Jesus, indeed by using the historical Jesus and stoutly maintaining his humanity. The modern critic can see his failures; he feels that the writer of the Fourth Gospel has warped the historical and human in Jesus. But the mistakes of the writer need not and do not invalidate his fundamental thesis that, religiously speaking, Jesus is the final revelation of God because he actually leads men to God. Even the modern critic, indeed especially the modern critic, is beginning to see that in the historical Jesus there is the satisfying and efficient revelation of God. In this he is substantiating the main truth of the Fourth Gospel.



## CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has been the custom with scholars to class the Epistle to the Hebrews with those epistles which, though bearing marks of strong Pauline influence, cannot with sufficient certainty be assigned to the great apostle himself.<sup>1</sup> They have taken form under the shadow of the figure of Paul and are called "deutero-Pauline."

In the course of this study numerous instances of contact with Pauline thought have appeared. But in every case the similarity has been somewhat superficial. The point of view and the method of presentation have been quite different. It would be exaggerating to say that the writer of this Epistle was not influenced by Paul and his letters. But it is clear that this influence has been greatly exaggerated. Holtzmann, von Soden, and Brückner have all emphasized dependence upon Paul, and their cases are strong for some measure of dependence. But in many of the cases which they cite the similarity is to be assigned to common sources rather than to direct contact. The tradition and doctrine of the primitive Christian church were the common source of much that is similar in Paul and the writer of Hebrews. In other cases of contact the similarity is eclipsed by the dissimilarity. Our author is original and characteristic in his presentation of thoughts and doctrine that are also Pauline.

The writer of this Epistle had not the religious genius of Paul. He was intense, but not with the intensity and abandon that characterized Paul. He was intellectual and religious, though not profound and mystical. But he should not be put in the shadow of the great apostle, for he was not dominated by him. He deserves to stand alone as presenting a distinctive view of Christian experience and thought.

And as his general view of Christian truth is distinctive, even more is his Christology distinctive. It is not predominantly Pauline. Paulinism is one of the strands in it, but it is subordinate. The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not strictly a unity. It is a composite formed amid the atmosphere of the mystery-religions by the union of the views of the primitive Christian church with the writer's Alexandrian views of the Logos, the distinctively Pauline view forming a third but subordinate strand. In many respects the distinctively Pauline view

<sup>1</sup> Ephesians, I and II Timothy, and Titus. Cf. Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, Chap. iii.



itself approached closely to the Alexandrian view of the Logos in substance though not in form. This has helped to give color to the view that Hebrews is "deutero-Pauline." But the proper way to view the movement is not to think of the writer of Hebrews as approaching the Logos doctrine by combining the primitive Christian and distinctively Pauline views, but rather to think of him as approaching the Pauline view by combining the primitive Christian view with the Alexandrian Logos doctrine. This attempt to combine the two views produces in Hebrews what Harnack calls the "pneumatic Christology"<sup>1</sup> as over against its chief rival in the apostolic age, the "adoption Christology."<sup>2</sup> Harnack fails to see what an important part the adoption Christology plays in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In the primitive Christian view, which the writer of Hebrews sought to combine with the Alexandrian, there were the two rival Christologies, the adoption and the pneumatic.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to say how far the writer of Hebrews used the primitive Christian pneumatic view, for the Alexandrian thought when applied to a historic person would produce something very similar to the pneumatic view. It is likely that the writer belonged to a circle of Christians who held both the adoption and the pneumatic views, though strictly speaking they are mutually exclusive. Harnack says that the two "came very near each other when the Spirit of God implanted in the man Jesus was conceived as the pre-existent Son of God."<sup>4</sup> The adoption view was especially strong at Rome,<sup>5</sup> and this may be another link uniting our author with the Roman church.

It is at any rate clear that in addition to the Alexandrian and pneumatic views, which cannot be clearly distinguished, our author had accepted the adoption Christology of the primitive church and used the language of this view. Moreover, his emphasis on the humanity of Jesus, on the qualities of character which to the Oriental more than to the Occidental indicated a noble God-fearing man, on the development of his character through suffering, on his exaltation of character—all

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *History of Dogma*, I, pp. 190 f., 192, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 191, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, chap. iii, sec. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *H.E.*, V, 28, 3; cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, p. 191, n. 1: "The representatives of this [adoption] Christology, who in the third century were declared to be heretics, expressly maintained that it was at one time the ruling Christology at Rome and had been handed down by the apostles."

these and many other elements are in essential harmony with the adoption view. In this respect Hebrews is with the synoptists rather than with Paul.

On the other hand, the writer as distinctly holds the "pneumatic" view since he holds that Jesus was a pre-existent spirit-being, identifying him with the Logos of Philo, though he does not use the term. The truth is that he has failed to fuse the two views. He speaks of an inception of Sonship, yet leaves the impression that the Son was eternal. More than Paul he subordinates Jesus to God, comparing him as a spirit-being to the angels. Yet he applies to him the term *θεός*, though only indirectly, and he uses language so exalted (1:3) as to indicate that he probably conceived of Christ as an eternal spirit-being in some unique relation to God as compared with other spirit-beings, a relation however which he does not define.

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Syntax of the Participle in  
the Apostolic Fathers



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# Syntax of the Participle in the Apostolic Fathers

In the Editio Minor of Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn

✓ By  
HENRY B. ROBISON, PH.D.



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### PREFATORY NOTE

The purpose of this study is to exhibit with fulness and accuracy the usage of the participle in the writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers, and to point out what usages are decreasing in frequency of occurrence and what are increasing, whether any earlier usage is absent, and whether any new usage appears.

Such study has its value in helping to determine the place of these writings in the development of the Greek language, in the light which is thus thrown upon the usages of the New Testament books, and in the aid that is given for their interpretation.

This literature arose from a grade of culture and realm of thought similar to that of the New Testament and extends a half-century the basis for the study of the New Testament usage.



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## CHAPTER I

### TENSE

The tenses of participles distinguish the conception of the action denoted with respect to its progress.

The time-relation between the action of a verb and that of its dependent participle is not expressed directly by the tense of the participle, but is indicated by the facts revealed by the context taken in association with the indication of the tense as respects progress. The present participle describes an action as in progress, and the perfect participle denotes the existing result of a past action; naturally the time of the fact expressed by the present and the perfect participle is, in general, the same as that of the principal verb; but this is not necessarily or uniformly the case. The aorist participle, on the other hand, describes an action as a simple event, which may occur antecedent to, or coincident with, the action of the principal verb. The aorist participle is most frequently employed, however, when the action is antecedent to that of the principal verb, an action antecedent to, and separate from, that of the principal verb being obviously more likely to be thought of as a simple fact than one which is contemporaneous with it, and contemporaneous action naturally being thought of as in progress. The future participle, unlike the other participles, has temporal force, the relations which it expresses necessarily involving subsequence to the action of the principal verb.

The following classification sets forth the distinctive uses of the participle, giving all the cases of each category; but the classification must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the participle often passes by imperceptible degrees from one usage to another, and may serve two, or possibly more, uses at the same time.

#### I. THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE

1. *The present participle of simultaneous action.*—The present participle normally denotes that the action which it expresses (whether durative, iterative, or conative) is thought of as in progress; most frequently the action is simultaneous with the action of the principal verb.

Very frequently the action of the verb falls within the period covered by the participle; as in II Clem. 15:32,\* *ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου ἔρῳ· Ἴδού πάρειμι.*

\*The superior figure denotes the participle in the verse.



Less frequently the action of the verb and that of the participle are of the same extent; as in I Clem. 17:1<sup>1</sup>, *οἷτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ χριστοῦ*.

Rarely the action of the participle, while accompanying that of the verb, is subsequent to it; as in Magn. 9:1<sup>2.3</sup>, *εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες*.

The following is a list of the instances of the present participle of simultaneous action:

I Clem. 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>5.6.7</sup>; 2:1<sup>1-7</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 4:12<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>2</sup>; 12:4<sup>2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 13:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 14:5<sup>1.2</sup>; 17:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 20:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2.3</sup>; 24:2<sup>1</sup>; 25:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.3.6</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 28:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 29:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 30:3<sup>1-4</sup>; 31:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 34:4<sup>1</sup>; 35:8<sup>1</sup>; 38:2<sup>1</sup>; 39:1<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 40:4<sup>1</sup>; 41:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 42:3<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>1.3</sup>; 43:1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>; 44:6<sup>1</sup>; 45:5<sup>1</sup>; 48:4<sup>1</sup>; 51:4<sup>1</sup>; 55:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 57:2<sup>2</sup>; 60:4<sup>2.3</sup>; 61:1<sup>3.5</sup>; 62:2<sup>2</sup>.

II Clem. 1:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>3.4</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 2:7<sup>4</sup>, 5:5<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 7:4<sup>2</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; 10:3<sup>1.2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>3</sup>; 12:6<sup>1</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>3.4</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 16:1<sup>2</sup>; 17:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>2.3</sup>; 18:2<sup>1.3.5</sup>; 19:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 20:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>3.5.6</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>1.4</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>; 3:5<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>2.4</sup>, 6<sup>2.3</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1.3</sup>, 10<sup>1.3</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>; 5:3<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>1.2</sup>, 10<sup>1.4</sup>; 6:4<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2.3</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; 10:4<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>5.6</sup>; 11:9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1-4</sup>; 12:2<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2.4</sup>, 10<sup>2.3</sup>; 13:5<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>1</sup>; 15:7<sup>1.4</sup>; 16:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>; 17:2<sup>2</sup>; 19:10<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 11<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 21:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 1:1<sup>1.4</sup>; 2:1<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1.2</sup>; 3:3<sup>2.3</sup>; 5:4<sup>1.2</sup>, 16<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 6:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1.2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:2<sup>5</sup>, 4<sup>2.3.4</sup>, 5<sup>1-4</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1.2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>2-6</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 10:4<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>6</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 12:6<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>.

Eph. 1:2<sup>3</sup>; 2:2<sup>3</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:3<sup>2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>2-7</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1.3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 17:2<sup>2</sup>; 19:3<sup>1</sup>; 20:2<sup>1</sup>; 21:1<sup>1.2</sup>.

Magn. 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>2.3</sup>; 6:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>2.3</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 1<sup>3</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 8:1<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 13:2<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 1<sup>5</sup>, 3:3<sup>2</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 6:3<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1.2.3.5</sup>; 10:2<sup>2</sup>.

Philad. 1<sup>4</sup>; 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>2</sup>; 5:1<sup>1.2.4</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 8:2<sup>1.2</sup>.

Smyrn. 1<sup>4</sup>; 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:1<sup>3</sup>; 9:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 11:3<sup>2.3</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>3</sup>.

Philip. 2:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>; 4:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 3<sup>1-4</sup>; 5:2<sup>1.2</sup>, 3<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 6:1<sup>1.3-8</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>3.4.5</sup>.

Mart. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 3:1<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 5:2<sup>1-2-4</sup>; 6:1<sup>1.5</sup>; 7:1<sup>1.2.4</sup>, 2<sup>2.4.8</sup>; 8:1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>2.4</sup>, 3<sup>2.5.6</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1.3</sup>; 10:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 11:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 12:1<sup>1.3</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1.4.5.7</sup>; 13:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 14:3<sup>1</sup>; 15:2<sup>2-6</sup>; 17:1<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>4-7</sup>; 18:2<sup>1.3</sup>; 19:2<sup>4</sup>; 21:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 22:1<sup>1</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1.2.4.5.6</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>; II, 1:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 3<sup>1.2</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2.3.4</sup>, 6<sup>1.2.4</sup>, 9<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 2:4<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>1-7.9</sup>; 3:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>8</sup>; 6:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1.2.3.5.6</sup>; 8:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>,

9<sup>2.3</sup>; 9:10<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>1.3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>; 13:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 3:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>; V, 1:1<sup>3.4</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. II, 1:3<sup>1.2</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; III, 1:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; IV, 1:1<sup>2</sup>; V, 1:2<sup>1-4</sup>, 3<sup>2.3.4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1.2</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; X, 2:5<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; XI, 1:1<sup>1-4</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 14<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>1.2</sup>; XII, 2:4<sup>4</sup>; 5:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 6:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. I, 1:4<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; II, 1:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1.4</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1.2</sup>; III, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:1<sup>1-5</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 2:3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>3.4.6.7</sup>, 5<sup>5</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 6:6<sup>5</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>; VI, 1:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 2<sup>1.2</sup>, 6<sup>1-6</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 2<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 5:4<sup>1.2.5</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>; VII, 1:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 6<sup>1.2</sup>; VIII, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1.2</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>4</sup>; 4:2<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 9:1<sup>5</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>; IX, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2.3</sup>; 2:4<sup>3</sup>; 3:1<sup>4</sup>; 4:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 9:5<sup>3</sup>; 10:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 11:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 13:2<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>; 20:2<sup>2.3</sup>; 21:1<sup>2</sup>; 22:1<sup>5</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 24:2<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 26:3<sup>6.7</sup>; 27:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>.

Did. 4:7<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>1.2</sup>; 11:6<sup>1</sup>; 16:4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>.

2. *The present participle of identical action.*—The present participle used of action conceived of as in progress not infrequently denotes the same action as the verb with which it is used, but it usually describes the action from some different point of view. The relation between the different points of view of the action of the verb and the participle may be:

a) That of fact to method:

I Clem. 17:4<sup>1</sup>, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ λέγων· Οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου.

I Clem. 1:3<sup>1.4</sup>; 17:4<sup>1</sup>; 20:4<sup>1</sup>; 30:1<sup>2</sup>; 53:3<sup>1</sup>; 59:2<sup>1</sup>; 62:2<sup>4</sup>.

II Clem. 13:3<sup>3</sup>; 17:7<sup>7</sup>.

Barn. 2:4<sup>2</sup>; 4:6<sup>4</sup>; 5:7<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>; 13:4<sup>1</sup>; 15:4<sup>1</sup>; 16:8<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>1.2.4.5</sup>; 21:7<sup>2</sup>.

Diogn. 2:7<sup>3.4.5</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 4:5<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>6</sup>; 10:6<sup>4</sup>; 11:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>5.7</sup>.

Eph. 9:1<sup>8</sup>.

Trall. 6:2<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>6</sup>.

Philad. 7:2<sup>2</sup>.

Smyrn. 5:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 2:3<sup>2</sup>.

Mart. 2:4<sup>2.3</sup>; 5:1<sup>3.4</sup>; 8:2<sup>3</sup>; 9:2<sup>3</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:2<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; II, 4:1<sup>2</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>5</sup>; 4:3<sup>1</sup>; 8:9<sup>1</sup>; 10:7<sup>1</sup>; IV, 2:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. IV, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; X, 3:2<sup>2.3</sup>; XI, 1:4<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>; XII, 3:1<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. II, 1:6<sup>1</sup>; 8<sup>3.4</sup>; IV, 1:5<sup>2.3</sup>; V, 2:4<sup>1</sup>; 4:3<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; VI, 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>1.2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 5:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 1:4<sup>1</sup>; 6:5<sup>5.6</sup>; 7:4<sup>4</sup>; 9:3<sup>3</sup>; IX, 19:2<sup>2</sup>; 23:3<sup>2</sup>.

b) That of outward form to inner significance or quality:

Barn. 16:2<sup>1</sup>, ἀλλὰ πῶς λέγει κύριος καταργῶν αὐτόν; μάθετε.

I Clem. 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 12:7<sup>1</sup>; 17:2<sup>2</sup>; 21:1<sup>1</sup>; 48:1<sup>1</sup>; 56:3<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 2:9<sup>2</sup>; 16:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 2:2<sup>3</sup>.

c) That of act to purpose or result:

I Clem. 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 2, ταῦτα, ἀγάπητοι, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομιμνήσκοντες.

I Clem. 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 2; 13:1<sup>5</sup>; 20:11<sup>1</sup>; 62:2<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 14:3<sup>2</sup>; 19:1<sup>3</sup>.

Diogn. 12:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>.

Herm. Mand. IV, 3:3<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 16:2<sup>1</sup>.

3. *The present participle of past action still in progress.*—Once the present participle denotes an action which begins before the action of the principal verb and continues in progress up to, and during, the time denoted by the latter:

Philip. 1:2<sup>1</sup>, καὶ ὅτι ἡ βεβαία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ρίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων καταγελλομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καὶ καρποφορεῖ.

4. *The present participle for the imperfect.*—The present participle is also sometimes used as an imperfect to denote an action in progress antecedent to, and ending before, the beginning of the action of the principal verb.

II Clem. 9:5<sup>2</sup>, Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὃν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σάρξ.

II Clem. 1:6<sup>1</sup>; 9:5<sup>2</sup>.

Smyrn. 3:1<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 13:2<sup>3</sup>.

5. *The present for the future.*—In some instances the present participle denotes an action that is thought of as future with reference to the time of the principal verb. This usage in the Apostolic Fathers is limited to ἔρχομαι in Hermas and one occurrence of πέμπω in Pol. 8:2<sup>2</sup>.

Sim. IV, 1:2<sup>4</sup>, ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος θέρος ἐστὶ τοῖς δικαίοις.

Pol. 8:2<sup>2</sup>.

Herm. Vis. II, 2:7<sup>2</sup>; III, 9:5<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 3:5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>.

Sim. IV, 1:2<sup>3</sup>, 4, 8<sup>1</sup>; IX, 5:5<sup>1</sup>.

For the present participle μέλλων followed by an infinitive of another verb see the future participle.

6. *The general present participle.*—The present participle is also used without reference to time or progress, simply defining its subject as belonging to a certain class, i.e., the class of those who do the action denoted by

the verb. The participle in this case becomes a simple adjective or noun and is, like any other adjective or noun, timeless and indefinite. This usage is a departure from the primary idea of progress in the present participle.

A class may consist of those who habitually or constantly do a given act; as in I Clem. 11:1<sup>3</sup>, τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτόν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει, or of those who once do the act the single doing of which is the mark of the class; as in Magn. 5:2<sup>1</sup>, καὶ ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει. The full list follows:

I Clem. 1<sup>1-2</sup>; 1:1<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>2-3</sup>; 3:4<sup>1</sup>; 5:4<sup>2</sup>; 7:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>; 8:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>3</sup>; 10:3<sup>2-3</sup>; 11:1<sup>3-4</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 12:5<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>2-3</sup>; 13:1<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 2<sup>1-2</sup>, 3<sup>1-2-3</sup>; 12<sup>1</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>; 17:3<sup>1</sup>; 20:4<sup>2</sup>; 21:2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1-2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1-2</sup>; 22:2<sup>1-2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 23:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 3<sup>1-2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 24:5<sup>1</sup>; 25:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>7</sup>; 28:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 30:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 32:2<sup>1-2-3</sup>; 33:3<sup>1-2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 34:8<sup>1</sup>; 35:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1-2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1-2-3</sup>, 11<sup>1-2</sup>; 36:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 37:2<sup>1-2-3</sup>; 3<sup>1-2</sup>; 38:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 39:5<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 40:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 41:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1-2</sup>; 42:4<sup>2</sup>; 45:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1-3-5</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 46:2<sup>1</sup>; 47:7<sup>1</sup>; 48:4<sup>3</sup>; 49:1<sup>1</sup>; 51:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 52:2<sup>1</sup>; 53:4<sup>1</sup>; 54:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 55:1<sup>1</sup>; 56:1<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 15<sup>1</sup>, 16<sup>1-2</sup>; 57:7<sup>1</sup>; 58:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; 59:3<sup>2-13-15-17</sup>, 4<sup>2-6</sup>; 60:1<sup>1-2-4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 61:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 62:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 63:1<sup>5</sup>.

II Clem. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>1-4</sup>, 2<sup>1-2</sup>, 3<sup>1-3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>2</sup>; 4:2<sup>1-2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 5:4<sup>2-3</sup>; 6:7<sup>1</sup>; 7:4<sup>1</sup>; 9:7<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 10:5<sup>3</sup>; 11:2<sup>1-2</sup>; 13:4<sup>1-4</sup>; 14:1<sup>1-3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 15:2<sup>1-3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1-2</sup>; 17:2<sup>1</sup>; 18:1<sup>1-3</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; 19:1<sup>2-5</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 20:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>.

Barn. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>2-3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1-3</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 4:1<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>; 5:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>2-2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>1-3</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>, 18<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>1-3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1-2</sup>, 9<sup>6</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup>, 8:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1-3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1-2</sup>; 10:5<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1-2</sup>, 10<sup>1-2</sup>, 11<sup>1-4-7-10-12-13</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 12:4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 13:7<sup>2</sup>; 14:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>; 15:6<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>1-2-3-5-6</sup>; 18:2<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1-2-3</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1-2-3</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1-12-14-17</sup>; 21:1<sup>2-3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 1:1<sup>5-6</sup>; 2:2<sup>1-4</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1-2</sup>; 3:4<sup>2-3</sup>, 5<sup>1-5</sup>; 4:3<sup>1</sup>; 5:6<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>1</sup>; 6:6<sup>1-2</sup>; 7:2<sup>1-3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:6<sup>1-3-5</sup>, 7<sup>2-3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>3-8</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1-2-5</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1-2-3</sup>.

Eph. 1<sup>5</sup>; 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>2-3</sup>; 8:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 9:1<sup>4-5-9</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>1-3</sup>; 15:1<sup>2</sup>; 16:2<sup>1-3</sup>; 17:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 18:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 21:2<sup>2</sup>.

Magn. 1<sup>2</sup>; 1:3<sup>1-2</sup>; 3:2<sup>2</sup>; 5:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>2-2</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 9:3<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 1<sup>2</sup>; 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2-3</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>2-3</sup>; 7:2<sup>1-2</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:2<sup>2</sup>; 10:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1-2</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>.

Philad. 1<sup>1</sup>; 1:1<sup>1-3</sup>, 2<sup>2-3</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>2</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 1<sup>5</sup>; 1:1<sup>7</sup>; 2:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 5:2<sup>2-3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 2<sup>1-3-6-7</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 11:1<sup>2-3</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1-2</sup>; 5:2<sup>1-2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>; 7:3<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>2-3-4</sup>.



Philip.  $1^1$ ;  $2:1^6 \cdot 7 \cdot 3^3$ ;  $3:3^3$ ;  $5:3^3$ ;  $6:3^4$ ;  $9:2^2$ ;  $13:2^3$ .

Mart.  $1^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $1:1^3$ ;  $2:3^3$ ;  $4:1^5$ ;  $5:1^2 \cdot 5$ ;  $6:1^2 \cdot 3 \cdot 6$ ;  $7:2^5 \cdot 9$ ;  $8:1^3$ ;  $9:1^3 \cdot 3^2$ ;  $10:2^2 \cdot 3$ ;  $11:2^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $12:2^2 \cdot 3 \cdot 5$ ;  $16:1^1$ ;  $17:1^1$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 8$ ,  $3^1$ ;  $19:2^2 \cdot 5$ ;  $20:1^2 \cdot 4$ ,  $2^1$ .

Herm. Vis. I,  $1:6^1 \cdot 3 \cdot 4$ ,  $8^2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5$ ;  $2:3^1$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 3$ ;  $3:1^2$ ; II,  $2:6^1$ ,  $7^1$ ;  $3:2^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $4^1$ ;  $4:3^1$ ; III,  $2:1^1$ ,  $2^1$ ,  $6^1$ ,  $7^1$ ,  $8^2 \cdot 4$ ,  $9^8$ ;  $4:1^2$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $3^3$ ;  $5:1^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $3^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $5^2$ ;  $6:1^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $2^6$ ,  $3^{1-4}$ ,  $4^3$ ,  $5^1 \cdot 3 \cdot 4$ ,  $6^2 \cdot 3$ ;  $7:2^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $2^4$ ,  $3^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ ,  $5^3$ ;  $8:3^1$ ,  $4^2$ ;  $9:2^1$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $5^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $7^1$ ;  $10:1^2$ ; IV,  $2:3^2$ ,  $4^2$ ;  $3:4^2$ ; V,  $1:5^2$ .

Mand. I,  $1:1^4 \cdot 5 \cdot 6$ ; II,  $1:1^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 5$ ,  $4^1$ ,  $5^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 4$ ; III,  $1:1^1$ ,  $2^1$ ; IV,  $1:8^2$ ,  $11^2 \cdot 3$ ;  $2:2^1$ ,  $3^1$ ;  $3:4^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $5^1$ ;  $4:1^2$ ; V,  $1:3^1$ ;  $2:1^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $3^{1-8}$ ,  $4^1$ ,  $6^1$ ; VI,  $1:3^1$ ,  $4^1$ ;  $2:4^1$ ,  $5^1$ ,  $10^2$ ; VII,  $1:1^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $4^1$ ,  $5^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4$ ; VIII,  $1:4^1$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $10^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ ,  $12^1$ ; IX,  $1:3^1$ ,  $5^1$ ,  $6^1$ ,  $8^3$ ,  $11^1$ ,  $12^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ; X,  $1:5^2$ ,  $6^{1-4}$ ;  $3:1^1 \cdot 2$ ; XI,  $1:1^5$ ,  $2^1$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $4^3$ ,  $5^2$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $7^1$ ,  $8^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $9^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $11^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $12^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $14^1$ ,  $16^1$ ,  $17^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $20^1$ ; XII,  $1:2^1$ ,  $3^1$ ;  $2:1^1$ ,  $2^1$ ;  $3:2^1$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $4:3^1$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 3$ ,  $5^1$ ,  $6^1$ ,  $7^1$ ;  $5:1^1$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 4$ ;  $6:1^1$ ,  $3^1$ .

Sim. I,  $1:2^1$ ,  $4^1$ ,  $5^1$ ,  $6^1$ ,  $7^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $10^1 \cdot 2$ ; II,  $1:5^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $6^3$ ,  $7^1$ ,  $8^5$ ,  $9^1 \cdot 3$ ,  $10^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ; III,  $1:1^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ ,  $3^2$ ; IV,  $1:2^5$ ,  $5^1$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $7^1$ ; V,  $2:1^1$ ,  $4^8$ ,  $9^3$ ;  $3:2^1$ ,  $7^4$ ,  $8^1$ ;  $4:3^2$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 4$ ;  $5:3^1 \cdot 4$ ;  $6:5^1$ ;  $7:4^1$ ; VI,  $1:1^4$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $2:2^1$ ,  $5^2$ ;  $3:3^1$ ;  $4:1^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $2^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $5:3^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $4^3 \cdot 4$ ,  $5^2$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $7^1$ ; VII,  $1:4^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ,  $5^1 \cdot 2$ ; VIII,  $1:9^1$ ,  $10^1$ ,  $17^1$ ,  $18^1$ ;  $2:1^3$ ,  $2^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $3^1$ ;  $3:2^1$ ,  $3^{1-4}$ ,  $6^1$ ,  $7^2 \cdot 3$ ;  $4:5^2$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 7$ ;  $5:1^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 3$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 3$ ,  $5^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $6:1^1$ ,  $5^2 \cdot 3$ ;  $7:2^1$ ,  $4^2$ ,  $5^2$ ,  $6^1$ ;  $8:1^3$ ;  $9:4^3 \cdot 4$ ;  $10:1^2$ ,  $3^2 \cdot 4$ ;  $11:1^2 \cdot 3$ ; IX,  $1:4^1$ ,  $5^1$ ,  $6^1$ ,  $7^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $8^1$ ,  $9^1$ ;  $2:2^2$ ,  $5^1$ ,  $6^1$ ;  $4:1^1$ ,  $4^2$ ,  $8^1$ ;  $5:1^1$ ;  $6:2^3$ ,  $4^2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $7:2^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $7^1$ ;  $8:3^1$ ,  $4^3$ ,  $5^2$ ,  $7^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $9:2^1$ ,  $7^2 \cdot 6$ ;  $11:4^1$ ;  $12:6^1$ ,  $7^1$ ,  $8^1$ ;  $13:5^3 \cdot 4$ ;  $14:3^1$ ,  $5^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $6^1$ ;  $15:2^2$ ,  $3^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $16:4^1$ ,  $6^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ ;  $17:1^1$ ,  $2^1$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $4^1$ ;  $18:1^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4 \cdot 8$ ,  $3^6$ ;  $19:3^1$ ;  $20:1^1$ ;  $21:1^1 \cdot 4 \cdot 5$ ,  $2^1$ ,  $4^2$ ;  $22:1^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 4$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $3^2$ ,  $4^1$ ;  $23:1^1$ ,  $2^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $4^{1-5}$ ;  $24:1^1$ ,  $4^1$ ;  $26:1^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $2^1$ ,  $4^2$ ,  $8^1$ ;  $27:2^1$ ;  $28:3^1$ ,  $4^2$ ,  $5^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $7^1 \cdot 2$ ;  $29:3^1$ ,  $4^5$ .

Did.  $1:3^{1-4}$ ,  $5^{1-5}$ ;  $3:8^1$ ,  $10^1$ ;  $4:1^1$ ,  $3^1$ ,  $5^1 \cdot 2$ ,  $8^1$ ,  $10^1$ ;  $5:2^{1-11}$ ,  $13-16$ ;  $7:1^2$ ,  $2^1$ ,  $4^1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$ ;  $11:2^1$ ,  $4^1$ ,  $7^1$ ,  $8^1$ ,  $9^1$ ,  $10^1$ ,  $11^2 \cdot 3$ ,  $12^1$ ;  $12:1^1$ ,  $2^1$ ,  $3^1$ ;  $13:1^1$ ;  $14:2^1$ ;  $15:3^1$ ;  $16:2^2$ .

## II. THE AORIST PARTICIPLE

The aorist participle is used of an action that is thought of as a simple event; it expresses completed action without further modification. This is its constant and only function. It may be graphically represented by a point. It denotes neither the time of the action, nor its progress, nor the existence of a result. These are learned, if at all, not from the tense, but in some other way.

The verb, by its root or composition, and the context show: (1) that the action is single and momentary, the beginning and end occurring practically at the same instant or, at most, in a very brief period (momentary); (2) or that the action or state extends over any conceivable length of time, definite or indefinite, which may be represented by a line of definite or indefinite length, but reduced to a point by perspective (comprehensive); (3) or that the action consists of a series of events any one of which may be momentary or comprehensive, and represented by a point or by a line reduced to a point, the whole series being in turn reduced to a point by perspective (collective); (4) or that the act to which the aorist tense is applied is, in fact, the beginning of an action or state (ingressive); (5) or that the act to which the aorist tense is applied is, in fact, the conclusion of an action, the speaker having in mind only the end, or culmination, of the action (effective).

The ingressive and the effective action are not always strictly momentary, but practically they may be so regarded, and may be represented by a point.

Grammarians usually speak of the ingressive and the effective force as functions of the aorist tense, and so they seem. But may not this be due, in part at least, to the fact that the aorist tense describes an action as a simple event, thus allowing the inception or the result of the action (the possibility of which in such cases lies inherent in the verb) to manifest itself at the demand of the context? Not the aorist but something else tells whether a given case is ingressive or effective or not. The same verb, e.g., *βαλεῖν*, may be ingressive, "let fly" (an arrow), or effective, "hit" (a man), or it may possibly describe the whole of an action as simply having occurred, "hurl" (an unlimited, indefinite conception). The tense as such does not tell which of these is meant in any given case. This, like momentary, comprehensive, and collective action, is learned from the verb and the context.

It is important for the exact meaning to observe these distinctions, though it is neither possible nor necessary to apply them with certainty, in every case.

It is impracticable to use momentary, comprehensive, and collective as exclusive categories, as they overlap; the series denoted by a collective aorist may contain momentary and comprehensive action. It is serviceable, however, to attempt to classify all cases as referring to an action or state in its entirety or beginning or conclusion. Various writers give these classes various names, with some difference of meaning. The first is called indefinite, constative, summary, complexive, concentrated, and

punctualized; the second, inceptive and ingressive; and the third, resultative and effective. Strictly applied, resultative is limited to those verbs which in the present and the imperfect tense imply effort, while effective is applied to the final issue of the action of any verb.

Constative, ingressive, and effective seem to describe the classes best. Constative is not satisfactory, but uniformity in terminology with the other two requires it. Ingressive and effective are perfective as over against constative; and Delbrück, Brugmann, and others insist that perfective be limited to ingressive and effective verbs that are compounded with prepositions.

Momentary action is classified as constative or effective according as the emphasis seems to be upon the action as such or upon its accomplishment.

The time of the action denoted by the aorist participle, of which the tense itself says nothing, may be past, present, or future with reference to the speaker, and antecedent to, or coincident with, the action of the principal verb.

1. *The aorist participle of antecedent action.*—The aorist participle is most frequently used of an action antecedent in time to the action of the principal verb, the action of the participle ending when or before that of the verb begins.

a) Constative action: Constative action may be momentary, comprehensive, or collective. It may be graphically represented as described above or by the circumference of a circle. The action as a whole is looked upon as completed, without emphasis upon any one point. The bare root meaning is presented under its simplest and most indefinite aspect:

I Clem. 9:2<sup>1</sup> ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τοὺς τελείως λειτουργήσαντας τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ.

I Clem. 5:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1. 2. 4</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 7:3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>; 14:3<sup>1</sup>; 20:10<sup>1</sup>; 26:1<sup>1</sup>; 38:3<sup>1. 2</sup>; 44:3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 45:7<sup>2</sup>; 63:3<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 1:7<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>2. 3</sup>; 15:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 17:6<sup>1. 2</sup>, 7<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>.

Barn. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 7:11<sup>2. 4. 5</sup>; 8:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 9:8<sup>2</sup>; 14:4<sup>2</sup>; 16:1<sup>2</sup>; 19:2<sup>1. 2</sup>; 20:2<sup>13</sup>.

Diogn. 3:4<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1. 2</sup>; 8:7<sup>1. 2</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>.

Eph. 10:3<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>.

Magn. 1:2<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 1<sup>4</sup>.

Smyrn. 7:1<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 3:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 1:3<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 2:3<sup>5</sup>; 12:3<sup>3</sup>; 16:2<sup>1</sup>; 17:2<sup>9</sup>; 19:1<sup>2</sup>; 20:1<sup>3</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>5-6</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>1-5</sup>; II, 2:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 3:4<sup>2</sup>; III, 1:2<sup>1-2</sup>, 9<sup>5</sup>; 3:3<sup>2</sup>; 4:1<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>3-6</sup>, 2<sup>5</sup>; 6:2<sup>5</sup>; IV, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>.

Mand. I, 1:1<sup>1-2-3</sup>; II, 1:6<sup>3</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>4</sup>.

Sim. IV, 1:4<sup>1</sup>; V, 5:2<sup>1-2-3</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 6:5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1-4</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; VI, 1:4<sup>4-5</sup>; VIII, 2:9<sup>1</sup>; 3:6<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>4-5</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; IX, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 11:4<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 25:2<sup>4</sup>; 26:2<sup>2</sup>; 28:2<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>12</sup>.

b) Ingressive action: Ingressive action may be represented by a point. It is the point of entrance into a state or the initial point of an action. The inception of the state or action precedes the action of the principal verb, but the state or the action itself may continue simultaneously with that of the principal verb. Verbs, which in the aorist are ingressive in the present and imperfect tense, very frequently denote a state, emotion, sound, or exercise of office:

II Clem. 1:7<sup>1</sup>; ἡλέησεν γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἔσωσεν.

I Clem. 5:7<sup>4</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 10:4<sup>1</sup>; 12:4<sup>1</sup>; 25:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>; 42:3<sup>3</sup>; 43:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 44:3<sup>1</sup>; 48:1<sup>2</sup>; 55:1<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 56:15<sup>2</sup>; 63:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 1:7<sup>1</sup>; 2:3<sup>2</sup>; 11:5<sup>1</sup>; 12:5<sup>1-2</sup>; 17:5<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 6:12<sup>1</sup>; 11:8<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>; 13:7<sup>1</sup>; 15:8<sup>1</sup>; 16:8<sup>2</sup>.

Diogn. 2:1<sup>5</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>2</sup>; 12:1<sup>4</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>.

Eph. 1:1<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>; 16:2<sup>2</sup>.

Magn. 10:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1-2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 2:1<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>.

Rom. 2:2<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 5:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>2</sup>; 11:3<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 2:1<sup>3</sup>.

Mart. 3:1<sup>5</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>; 7:2<sup>7</sup>; 8:1<sup>5</sup>; 9:2<sup>7</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>; 14:1<sup>4</sup>; 15:1<sup>3</sup>; 18:1<sup>1-2</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:2<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:5<sup>1-5-6</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 9:10<sup>2</sup>; 11:3<sup>2</sup>; 12:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 13:2<sup>2</sup>; IV, 1:8<sup>2-3</sup>; 2:4<sup>1-3</sup>; 3:7<sup>2</sup>; V, 1:1<sup>2</sup>.

Mand. I, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; II, 1:2<sup>4</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>2</sup>; IV, 3:3<sup>3-4</sup>; X, 1:4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>; XII, 4:2<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. V, 2:5<sup>1</sup>; VI, 3:3<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 3:2<sup>6</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 9:1<sup>3-4</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; IX, 1:10<sup>2</sup>; 4:7<sup>1</sup>; 9:7<sup>1-4</sup>; 11:6<sup>1</sup>; 13:5<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>4</sup>; 15:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 16:5<sup>3</sup>; 17:4<sup>3</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>2</sup>; 21:1<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 22:1<sup>3</sup>; 23:1<sup>3</sup>; 24:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 25:1<sup>1</sup>; 26:1<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>4-5</sup>; 27:1<sup>2</sup>; 28:1<sup>2</sup>; 29:1<sup>1</sup>; 30:2<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 1:5<sup>6</sup>.

c) Effective action: Effective action may be represented by a point. It is the point of final issue, or conclusion of an action, the point that is *stressed* in the mind of the speaker:



Mart. 8:3<sup>1</sup>, οἱ δὲ ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πείσαι αὐτὸν, δεῖνὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον.

I Clem. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 5:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>1-4</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 7:7<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1-2</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>1-3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:5<sup>2</sup>; 16:17<sup>2</sup>; 17:5<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>2</sup>; 20:6<sup>1</sup>; 24:5<sup>2</sup>; 25:2<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 26:3<sup>1</sup>; 27:2<sup>1</sup>; 31:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 32:2<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 33:3<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 34:6<sup>1</sup>; 35:5<sup>3</sup>; 38:3<sup>3</sup>; 41:2<sup>1</sup>; 42:3<sup>1-2</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>; 43:2<sup>1-5</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 44:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 46:6<sup>1</sup>; 48:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 50:3<sup>1</sup>; 51:3<sup>1</sup>; 53:2<sup>1-2</sup>; 55:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 57:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 58:2<sup>1</sup>; 59:3<sup>1-16</sup>; 60:1<sup>3</sup>; 63:1<sup>1-2-4</sup>; 64:1<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 1:6<sup>5</sup>; 2:7<sup>2-3</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 6:5<sup>1</sup>; 7:4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 8:4<sup>1-2-3</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:6<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 14:3<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2-3</sup>; 16:1<sup>1-3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 17:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>4-5-6</sup>; 18:2<sup>1</sup>; 19:4<sup>1</sup>; 20:5<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 1:4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 2:10<sup>4</sup>; 3:6<sup>1</sup>; 4:6<sup>5</sup>; 4:13<sup>3</sup>; 5:7<sup>3</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 6:10<sup>2</sup>; 6:18<sup>2</sup>; 7:3<sup>1-3-4</sup>, 9<sup>3-4-5</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 9:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>; 12:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>2-5</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 15:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2-3-6</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 16:3<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 21:1<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 1:17<sup>8</sup>; 2:1<sup>1-4</sup>; 7:2<sup>1</sup>; 8:9<sup>1</sup>; 9:17<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>1-2</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>; 11:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1-3-4-8</sup>, 3<sup>1-2</sup>, 4<sup>1-2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 12:1<sup>1-6</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>.

Eph. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 17:2<sup>1</sup>.

Magn. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>1-3</sup>; 8:2<sup>3-4-5</sup>; 11:1<sup>2-3</sup>.

Trall. 1:2<sup>1-2</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>3</sup>.

Rom. 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 9:3<sup>1-3</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>5</sup>; 11:1<sup>2-3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 11:2<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 1:1<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 1:1<sup>1-2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>1-2-4-5</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>1-2</sup>; 7:2<sup>1-2</sup>; 9:2<sup>3-4</sup>; 13:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>3</sup>; 6:1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 7:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1-3-6</sup>; 8:1<sup>1-4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1-3</sup>; 9:1<sup>4-5</sup>, 2<sup>1-4-5-6</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2-6</sup>; 13:2<sup>1-2</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 14:1<sup>1-2</sup>; 15:1<sup>1-2-4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>1-3-4</sup>; 17:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 18:1<sup>3-4</sup>; 19:1<sup>1-3</sup>, 2<sup>1-3</sup>; 20:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 22:3<sup>2-3-4</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:3<sup>5</sup>; II, 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1-2</sup>; 2:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1-4</sup>; III, 1:5<sup>7-8</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>; 2:3<sup>1-2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1-6</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 8:11<sup>1-2</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>1-5</sup>; 13:4<sup>1-3</sup>; IV, 1:8<sup>1</sup>; 2:6<sup>1-2</sup>; 3:4<sup>1-3-4</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1-2</sup>.

Mand. III, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:6<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:5<sup>1</sup>; VI, 2:6<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 1:8<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:7<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; X, 1:4<sup>1-2</sup>; 2:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; XI, 1:5<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>4</sup>; XII, 2:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1-2</sup>; 5:2<sup>2</sup>.

Sim. I, 1:6<sup>2</sup>; V, 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1-2</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1-2</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>; 3:7<sup>1-3</sup>, 9<sup>1-2</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; VI, 1:4<sup>3</sup>; VII, 1:5<sup>3</sup>; VIII, 1:4<sup>3</sup>; 2:2<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2-3-4</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2-3-5</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>6</sup>; 4:6<sup>4</sup>; 6:3<sup>2-6-7-8</sup>, 4<sup>2-4-5</sup>; 7:5<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 10:1<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>; 11:1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>1-2</sup>, 5<sup>1-2</sup>; IX, 2:6<sup>2</sup>; 3:5<sup>1</sup>; 5:3<sup>3</sup>; 6:2<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>4-5-6</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>; 9:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 13:7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 14:3<sup>2</sup>; 15:5<sup>1</sup>; 16:5<sup>2</sup>;

17:4<sup>2·4</sup>; 18:1<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 22:3<sup>3</sup>; 25:2<sup>1·2·3</sup>; 26:2<sup>3·4</sup>, 3<sup>2·3</sup>, 4<sup>1·3</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 27:3<sup>1</sup>; 28:4<sup>1</sup>; 29:4<sup>4</sup>.

Did. 2:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 10:5<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1·2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>1·2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 16:5<sup>1</sup>.

2. *The aorist participle of coincident action.*—

a) The aorist participle of identical action: The aorist participle agreeing with the subject of a verb not infrequently denotes the same action that is expressed by the verb, but it usually describes the action from some different point of view. The relation between the different points of view of the action of the verb and the participle may be:

a) That of fact to method:

Mart. I, 1:1<sup>2</sup>, ὅστις ὡσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμόν.

I Clem. 6:1<sup>2</sup>; 7:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; 24:1<sup>2</sup>; 54:3<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 5:3<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>4</sup>.

Barn. 4:8<sup>1</sup>; 6:7<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 14:6<sup>1</sup>; 19:12<sup>2</sup>.

Eph. 9:1<sup>3</sup>.

Trall. 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 12:3<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 10:1<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>3</sup>; 4:1<sup>4</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>5</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:7<sup>1</sup>; II, 2:2<sup>1</sup>; III, 3:1<sup>4</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 6:5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 10:2<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>1·2</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; IV, 2:3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:5<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. IV, 2:2<sup>1</sup>; XII, 3:5<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. III, 1:1<sup>3</sup>; V, 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3·4</sup>; VI, 5:2<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 2:7<sup>1</sup>; 11:3<sup>1</sup>; IX, 7:4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>, 11:2<sup>1</sup>.

β) That of outward form to inner significance or quality.

I Clem. 55:5<sup>1</sup>, παραδοῦσα οὖν ἑαυτὴν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἐξῆλθεν δι' ἀγάπην τῆς πατρίδος.

I Clem. 11:1<sup>2</sup>; 55:5<sup>1</sup>; 57:1<sup>2</sup>; 61:2<sup>2</sup>.

II Clem. 9:5<sup>1</sup>; 14:4<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 9:7<sup>1·2</sup>.

Herm. Vis. III, 7:5<sup>1</sup>.

γ) That of act to purpose or result:

I Clem. 58:1<sup>1</sup>, ὑπακούσωμεν οὖν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ φυγόντες . . . ἀπειλάς.

I Clem. 58:1<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 1:7<sup>4</sup>.

δ) The aorist participle as part of the object of verbs of perception: The aorist participle is very rarely used as an integral element of the

object of a verb of perception, and represents an action which, when it is directly perceived, is coincident in time with that of the principal verb. It represents the action so perceived as a simple event without reference to progress:

Herm. Sim. IX, 13:4<sup>3</sup>, λίθους εἶδες . . . μείναντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν.

Sim. IX, 13:4<sup>3</sup>; 18:3<sup>3</sup>.

3. *The aorist participle of undefined time-relation.*—The aorist participle is sometimes used where the context does not make it clear whether the action denoted by the participle occurs before, at the time of, or after, the action of the principal verb:

Mart. 9:1<sup>2</sup>, καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν.

I Clem. 14:2<sup>1</sup>; 16:7<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 5:2<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 2:2<sup>5</sup>.\*

Mart. 9:1<sup>2</sup>.

Herm. Sim. IX, 12:7<sup>2</sup>.

### III. THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE

The perfect participle is used of action which at the time of the principal verb stands completed.

1. *The perfect participle of past action and resulting state.*—The perfect participle is most frequently used of action in which the reference is double, the participle implying a past action and affirming a result existing at the time of the principal verb:

I Clem. 16:17<sup>1</sup>, ὁρᾶτε, ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοί, τίς ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς ὁ δεδομένος ἡμῖν.

I Clem. 1<sup>3</sup>; 2:1<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>2</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>; 16:17<sup>1</sup>; 17:1<sup>2</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1. 2</sup>; 20:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>; 25:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 27:5<sup>1</sup>; 30:5<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1. 2</sup>; 32:1<sup>1</sup>; 35:4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 36:2<sup>1</sup>; 39:7<sup>1</sup>; 40:1<sup>2. 3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 41:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 43:1<sup>2. 3. 5</sup>, 2<sup>3. 4</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 44:2<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 45:3<sup>1. 2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 47:4<sup>1. 2</sup>; 48:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 50:7<sup>1</sup>; 51:2<sup>2</sup>; 52:4<sup>1</sup>; 54:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 55:2<sup>1</sup>; 58:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2. 3</sup>; 59:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 61:1<sup>4. 6</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 62:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 63:2<sup>2</sup>; 64:1<sup>2</sup>; 65:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 4:5<sup>2</sup>; 14:1<sup>2</sup>; 17:3<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>; 18:1<sup>2</sup>.

Barn. 1:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 2:10<sup>1. 3</sup>; 3:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>; 4:7<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>; 5:3<sup>1</sup>; 7:9<sup>1</sup>; 10:5<sup>2</sup>; 11:3<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 14:2<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3. 4</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 15:7<sup>5</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>2</sup>.

Diogn. 2:2<sup>2. 3. 6. 7</sup>, 3<sup>1. 2</sup>; 3:2<sup>1. 2</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>4</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>7</sup>.

Eph. 1<sup>1-4</sup>; 1:2<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2. 4</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1. 2</sup>, 2<sup>2. 3</sup>; 19:3<sup>2</sup>; 21:2<sup>1</sup>.

\* There seems to be no adequate explanation of the aorist here. Stephanus read it future. The only known MS has been destroyed.

Magn. 1<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>·3; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 1:1<sup>2</sup>.

Rom. 1<sup>1</sup>·3·6·7·8; 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 4:3<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 1<sup>2</sup>·3·5·6; 5:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>·4; 8:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 1<sup>2</sup>·3; 1:1<sup>3</sup>-6·8·9, 2<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>4</sup>·5; 11:1<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 1<sup>1</sup>; 1:1<sup>2</sup>.

Philip. 1:1<sup>3</sup>·4, 3<sup>2</sup>·4; 6:1<sup>3</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 13:2<sup>2</sup>.

Mart. 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 8:3<sup>4</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>3</sup>; 17:1<sup>3</sup>·4, 2<sup>3</sup>; 18:2<sup>2</sup>; 22:3<sup>1</sup>·5.

Herm. Vis. I, 2:4<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>3</sup>; II, 2:5<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>4</sup>; 2:5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>·3; 8<sup>1</sup>·3; 3:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 4:3<sup>4</sup>; 5:1<sup>7</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>3</sup>·4, 4<sup>1</sup>·2; 7:1<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 8:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 9:8<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>3</sup>; 11:2<sup>2</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>·4; 13:4<sup>2</sup>; IV, 1:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>·3; 3:5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>.

Mand. IV, 1:8<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; V, 2:7<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 1:10<sup>3</sup>; IX, 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; X, 1:4<sup>4</sup>·5, 5<sup>3</sup>; 3:3<sup>2</sup>·3·4; XI, 1:4<sup>1</sup>; XII, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 2:4<sup>2</sup>; 4:2<sup>2</sup>·3, 4<sup>2</sup>; 5:2<sup>3</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. II, 1:3<sup>1</sup>·2, 4<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>1</sup>; V, 2:4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>·3·4, 6<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 3:7<sup>5</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>·4, 4<sup>2</sup>·3; 5:3<sup>2</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; VI, 1:5<sup>1</sup>; 2:3<sup>2</sup>·3, 4<sup>3</sup>·4, 7<sup>1</sup>; 5:7<sup>4</sup>; VIII, 1:4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>·2, 7<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>·3, 7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>·3·4·5; 4:2<sup>2</sup>·4, 4<sup>1</sup>·2·3, 5<sup>1</sup>·3·4·5·6, 6<sup>5</sup>·6; 5:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>·4·5, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>·4, 6<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>·2, 4<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 11:3<sup>2</sup>; IX, 1:7<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>·2; 3:1<sup>1</sup>·2·3, 3<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>·2; 5:3<sup>1</sup>·2, 4<sup>2</sup>·3; 6:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>·2, 5<sup>1</sup>; 9:5<sup>1</sup>·2·4·5, 7<sup>3</sup>·5·7; 10:1<sup>3</sup>·4, 2<sup>1</sup>; 12:4<sup>1</sup>·4, 5<sup>1</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>·2·4, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>·2, 8<sup>1</sup>·3, 9<sup>2</sup>; 14:3<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>·2; 16:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>·4, 6<sup>3</sup>; 17:3<sup>2</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>·5·6·7, 3<sup>1</sup>·2·4·5, 4<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>3</sup>·4, 2<sup>1</sup>; 21:4<sup>1</sup>; 23:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 24:2<sup>3</sup>; 26:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>·2, 6<sup>3</sup>; 28:1<sup>1</sup>; 29:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>·2·3; 30:1<sup>1</sup>·2·3.

Did. 2:5<sup>1</sup>; 9:4<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1</sup>·2.

2. *The perfect participle of existing state.*—The perfect participle is sometimes used when the attention is directed wholly to the present resulting state, the past action of which it is the result being left out of thought. This usage occurs most frequently in a few verbs which use the perfect in this sense only:

I Clem. 13:1<sup>2</sup>, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ γεγραμμένον.

I Clem. 3:1<sup>1</sup>·2; 13:1<sup>2</sup>·4; 16:3<sup>4</sup>; 23:4<sup>1</sup>; 25:3<sup>5</sup>; 34:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 45:7<sup>4</sup>; 57:7<sup>2</sup>; 58:1<sup>4</sup>; 59:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>16</sup>; 60:1<sup>5</sup>.

II Clem. 1:2<sup>2</sup>; 2:6<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:9<sup>1</sup>; 10:5<sup>2</sup>; 11:3<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 1:4<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; 3:6<sup>2</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 5:3<sup>2</sup>; 7:3<sup>2</sup>; 10:11<sup>11</sup>; 17:2<sup>1</sup>; 19:6<sup>4</sup>.

Diogn. 1:1<sup>1</sup>·3; 3:3<sup>4</sup>; 4:4<sup>1</sup>; 12:3<sup>1</sup>.

Eph. 11:1<sup>2</sup>; 14:2<sup>2</sup>; 15:2<sup>1</sup>.

Magn. 3:2<sup>3</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>·2; 15:1<sup>2</sup>.

Trall. 1<sup>1</sup>.



Rom. 1<sup>2</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 7:2<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 1<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 1:3<sup>1</sup>; 7:3<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 1:3<sup>3</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>9</sup>.

Mart. 2:2<sup>2, 5</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; II, 2:1<sup>3</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>2</sup>; 10:4<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. V, 2:8<sup>2</sup>; IX, 1:6<sup>2</sup>; XII, 2:4<sup>3</sup>.

Sim. V, 3:7<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; IX, 2:3<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>; 12:5<sup>2</sup>; 18:5<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 3:10<sup>2</sup>.

3. *The perfect participle for the pluperfect.*—The perfect participle is occasionally used as a pluperfect to denote a state existing antecedent to the time of the principal verb. The action of which it is the result is, of course, still earlier:

Mart. 8:1<sup>2</sup>, κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχήν, μνημονεύσας πάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ.

Barn. 16:9<sup>3</sup>.

Mart. 8:1<sup>2</sup>.

Herm. Sim. VIII, 9:1<sup>2</sup>; IX, 5:4<sup>1</sup>.

#### IV. THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE

The future participle represents an action as future from the point of view of the principal verb, and so is an exception to the general timelessness of the participle. It is rarely used by the Apostolic Fathers.

I Clem. 12:2<sup>2</sup>, καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν ἄνδρας τοὺς συλληψομένους αὐτούς.

I Clem. 12:2<sup>2</sup>.

II Clem. 5:4<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 2:1<sup>6</sup>; 10:7<sup>4</sup>.

Philip. 13:1<sup>1</sup>.

The present participle μέλλων followed by an infinitive of another verb is used as a periphrasis for a future participle of the latter verb, but with a somewhat different range of use. That which is to take place may be expressed by either form, but μέλλων is usually employed of events that are certain or destined to occur. The future participle is not used in the genitive absolute, but μέλλων is. μέλλων is not used to express the purpose of an action, and is used, as the future participle is not, to express an intention without designating the intended action as the purpose of another act:

Barn. 7:10<sup>2</sup>, οὐκοῦν ἶδε τὸν τράγον τὸν τύπον τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν Ἰησοῦ.

I Clem. 24:1<sup>1</sup>; 42:4<sup>5</sup>; 55:6<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 5:9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; 6:7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>.

Pol. 8:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 13:3<sup>2</sup>.

Herm. Vis. II, 2:8<sup>2</sup>; III, 5:5<sup>3</sup>.

Mand. IV, 3:3<sup>2. 5</sup>; XII, 3:3<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. IV, 1:2<sup>2</sup>; V, 1:3<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 6:2<sup>1. 2</sup>; IX, 2:4<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1. 2</sup>; 6:8<sup>2</sup>;  
12:3<sup>1</sup>; 26:6<sup>2</sup>.

## CHAPTER II

### LOGICAL FORCE

In respect to logical force, participles may be classified as adjective, adverbial, and substantive.\*

#### I. THE ADJECTIVE PARTICIPLE

The adjective participle may be used attributively or predicatively. When used attributively it may be either restrictive or explanatory. It is in the attributive position, the use and force of the article with the participle being the same as with the ordinary adjective.

1. *The restrictive attributive participle*.—An attributive participle may be used to define or identify its subject, pointing out what person or thing is meant. It is then equivalent to a restrictive relative clause.†

I Clem. 1<sup>1</sup>, ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα ῥώμην.

I Clem. 1<sup>1.2</sup>; 1:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 12:2<sup>2</sup>; 14:2<sup>1</sup>; 16:17<sup>1.2</sup>; 18:8<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 19:2<sup>2</sup>; 20:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>; 21:2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1.2</sup>; 22:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 23:4<sup>1</sup>; 24:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 25:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2.7</sup>; 26:3<sup>1</sup>; 28:1<sup>3</sup>; 32:1<sup>1</sup>; 33:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 35:4<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 40:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 41:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 43:2<sup>4</sup>; 44:2<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1.2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 46:6<sup>1</sup>; 47:4<sup>1.2</sup>; 48:2<sup>1</sup>; 51:2<sup>2</sup>; 52:4<sup>1</sup>; 54:2<sup>2</sup>; 55:5<sup>2</sup>; 57:1<sup>1</sup>; 58:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 59:2<sup>2</sup>; 61:1<sup>4.6</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 63:1<sup>5</sup>; 64:1<sup>2</sup>.

II Clem. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>1.2.4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>2</sup>; 5:5<sup>1</sup>; 9:11<sup>1</sup>; 10:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 11:3<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 15:1<sup>1.3.4</sup>; 16:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 17:1<sup>1</sup>; 18:2<sup>5</sup>; 19:1<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 20:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>.

Barn. 2:10<sup>1.2</sup>; 3:5<sup>3</sup>; 4:9<sup>3</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>; 6:9<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>2</sup>; 7:3<sup>3.4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>1.2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 9:8<sup>1</sup>; 10:8<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 12:7<sup>2</sup>; 13:7<sup>2</sup>; 14:8<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>5</sup>; 19:1<sup>2.3</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 2:1<sup>2.3</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; 7:4<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>; 11:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 12:5<sup>2</sup>.

\* This is the terminology employed for the classification of participles as to logical force in Burton's *New Testament Moods and Tenses*. Goodwin and others classify participles as attributive, circumstantial, and supplementary. A terminology based upon the assertive function of words in the sentence would be more satisfactory, especially in the adverbial class; but as yet such a one has not been worked out.

† It is not clear whether some attributive participles are restrictive or explanatory, and they are put into one class or the other according to the emphasis they seem to express.

Eph. 1<sup>5</sup>; 6:1<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>9</sup>; 11:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 14:2<sup>1</sup>; 17:1<sup>2</sup>; 18:1<sup>2</sup>.

Magn. 1<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>1, 2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>2</sup>.

Trall. 1<sup>2</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 1<sup>2, 3</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>; 9:3<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 1<sup>1</sup>; 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 1<sup>5</sup>; 4:2<sup>2</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>2</sup>; 11:3<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 8:1<sup>2</sup>.

Philip. 1<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>3</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>2</sup>; 9:2<sup>2</sup>; 13:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 10:2<sup>1, 3</sup>; 11:2<sup>1-4</sup>; 12:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>, 14:3<sup>1</sup>; 15:2<sup>2-6</sup>; 18:1<sup>2</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:8<sup>6</sup>; 2:4<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>3</sup>; II, 2:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1, 2</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 4:3<sup>1</sup>; III, 2:5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1, 2</sup>; 9:4<sup>1, 2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 13:2<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 2:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>1, 4</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; V, 1:5<sup>2</sup>.

Mand. II, 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; V, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 2:8<sup>2</sup>; IX, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>; X, 1:5<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; XI, 1:5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1, 2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>1, 2</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>; XII, 1:2<sup>1, 2</sup>; 3:4<sup>2</sup>; 4:3<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>.

Sim. I, 1:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1, 2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:2<sup>1, 3, 4</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; V, 2:4<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2, 3, 4</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 5:3<sup>1-4</sup>; 6:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; VI, 1:4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:4<sup>3, 4</sup>, 7<sup>1, 4</sup>; VII, 1:4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 1:2<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>2, 3</sup>, 2<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>; 3:2<sup>1, 4</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>4, 5</sup>; 4:6<sup>4</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>4</sup>; 9:4<sup>2</sup>; 11:1<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; IX, 2:3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>2, 3</sup>, 4<sup>1, 2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 4:8<sup>1</sup>; 5:3<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>, 4<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>1, 3</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 9:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>5</sup>; 10:1<sup>3, 4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 12:4<sup>1, 3</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1, 2</sup>; 13:5<sup>4</sup>, 6<sup>1, 2</sup>; 14:3<sup>2</sup>; 15:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 3<sup>1, 2</sup>, 4<sup>1, 2</sup>; 16:3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>; 17:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 18:5<sup>1</sup>; 19:3<sup>1</sup>; 20:2<sup>1</sup>; 21:4<sup>2</sup>; 22:4<sup>1</sup>; 23:1<sup>2</sup>; 24:4<sup>1</sup>; 26:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2, 3, 4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 27:1<sup>1</sup>; 28:5<sup>1, 2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 29:4<sup>1-4</sup>; 30:1<sup>1, 2</sup>.

Did. 3:10<sup>1</sup>; 4:10<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>.

2. *The explanatory attributive participle.*—An attributive adjective participle may be used to describe a person or thing already identified. It is then equivalent to an explanatory relative clause:

Magn. 8:2<sup>8</sup>, *ὅτι εἰς θεός ἐστιν, ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

I Clem. 10:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:5<sup>1</sup>; 16:3<sup>1, 3, 4</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>; 20:10<sup>1</sup>; 23:3<sup>1, 2</sup>; 32:2<sup>1</sup>; 36:2<sup>1</sup>; 52:2<sup>1</sup>; 56:15<sup>1, 2</sup>; 59:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2-12, 15, 16, 18</sup>; 62:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 63:3<sup>1</sup>; 64:1<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 1:6<sup>1, 2</sup>; 9:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>1, 2</sup>; 14:1<sup>2</sup>; 15:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>3</sup>; 17:5<sup>3</sup>; 18:1<sup>3</sup>; 20:5<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:6<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 5:9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; 6:8<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1, 2</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>; 7:5<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; 9:7<sup>1</sup>; 11:3<sup>1</sup>; 12:4<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3, 4</sup>; 16:9<sup>3</sup>; 21:5<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 1:1<sup>6</sup>; 2:2<sup>3-6</sup>, 7<sup>1, 2</sup>; 6:6<sup>1</sup>; 8:7<sup>1, 2</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 11:4<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>, 5<sup>1, 3-6, 8</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>4, 5</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>.

Eph. 1<sup>2</sup>; 1:3<sup>2</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 7:2<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>6</sup>; 12:2<sup>2, 3</sup>; 21:2<sup>2</sup>.



Magn. 3:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 6:1<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 8:2<sup>3.4</sup>; 10:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 11:1<sup>2.3</sup>.

Trall. 1<sup>3</sup>; 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:2<sup>2</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 12:3<sup>2</sup>.

Rom. 17<sup>.8</sup>; 7:24<sup>.5</sup>.

Philad. 12<sup>-6</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 1<sup>1-4</sup>; 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>2</sup>.

Pol. 1<sup>1</sup>; 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:3<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 6:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 13:2<sup>3</sup>.

Mart. 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>; 9:3<sup>4</sup>; 12:2<sup>3</sup>; 14:1<sup>3</sup>; 16:2<sup>1</sup>; 17:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>9</sup>; 19:1<sup>2</sup>; 20:1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:6<sup>1.2.5.6</sup>; 2:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1-5</sup>; II, 2:3<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>2</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>2</sup>, 94<sup>.5</sup>; 3:3<sup>2</sup>; 4:3<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>3-6</sup>; 6:6<sup>2</sup>; 8:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>2</sup>; 12:24<sup>1</sup>; IV, 2:1<sup>1.3</sup>, V, 1:1<sup>3.4</sup>.

Mand. I, 1:1<sup>1.2.3.5.6</sup>; II, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>; III, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:12<sup>2</sup>; X, 2:6<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; XI, 1:11<sup>1.2</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>; XII, 1:3<sup>1</sup>; 4:5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. II, 1:7<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; V, 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>8</sup>; 6:5<sup>2</sup>; VI, 2:5<sup>1.2</sup>; 3:2<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:4<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 6:6<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>3</sup>; 9:5<sup>1-4</sup>; 16:5<sup>2</sup>; 17:1<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>1</sup>; 21:1<sup>1</sup>; 22:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 23:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 25:2<sup>1-4</sup>; 26:1<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:5<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>2.3</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1</sup>.

3. *The attributive-adverbial participle*.—An attributive participle equivalent to a relative clause may at the same time convey subordinately some one or even more than one of the ideas of time, cause, etc., expressed by the adverbial participle. It then partakes of the nature of both the adjective participle and the adverbial participle. See II Clem. 17:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>; Barn. 7:3<sup>4</sup>; Trall. 3:1<sup>1</sup>; Eph. 5:1<sup>2</sup>; Rom. 3:3<sup>1</sup>; Herm. Vis. III, 13:2<sup>1</sup>; Sim. V, 4:5<sup>1</sup>; IX, 23:4<sup>4</sup>.

4. *The predicative adjective participle*.—A participle may be used as the predicate of *εἰμί* or other copulative verbs. When so used it is always in the predicate position, and may be:

a) A predicative participle retaining its adjective force:

Herm. Vis. I, 2:4<sup>1</sup>, *ἔστιν μὲν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη βουλὴ ἀμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσα*.

I Clem. 16:3<sup>2</sup>; 21:8<sup>1</sup>; 30:5<sup>1</sup>; 34:4<sup>2</sup>; 54:1<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 12:10<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 2:4<sup>2.3</sup>.

Eph. 10:3<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 12:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 19:2<sup>1</sup>.

Magn. 5:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 8:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 12:2<sup>5</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:3<sup>4</sup>; 2:4<sup>1</sup>; III, 2:8<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 4:2<sup>2</sup>.

Mand. V, 2:3<sup>1-7</sup>; X, 1:4<sup>5</sup>; XI, 1:12<sup>2</sup>; XII, 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>1</sup>; 4:4<sup>2</sup>.

Sim. II, 1:5<sup>2</sup>; VI, 1:1<sup>4</sup>; VIII, 1:6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>1</sup>, 18<sup>1</sup>; 3:7<sup>2-3</sup>; 4:5<sup>3-5</sup>, 6<sup>2-3-6-7</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>2-3</sup>; 5<sup>2-3</sup>; 7:4<sup>2</sup>; 10:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; IX, 1:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1-2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 6:4<sup>1-4</sup>; 13:8<sup>3</sup>; 16:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1-2-4</sup>; 18:3<sup>5</sup>; 20:1<sup>3</sup>; 21:2<sup>1</sup>; 24:1<sup>1</sup>; 28:3<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 2:5<sup>1</sup>.

b) A part of a periphrastic verb form:

The copula is to be supplied in a few cases:

Sim. IX, 4:2<sup>1</sup>, ἡ δὲ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη ἦν βαστάζουσα ὅλον τὸν πύργον.

The present participle is combined:

(1) With the present indicative:

Sim. II, 3:2<sup>3</sup>.

(2) With the imperfect indicative:

I Clem. 2:1<sup>8</sup>.

Barn. 11:10<sup>1</sup>.

Vis. I, 2:1<sup>1</sup>; III, 10:5<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>3</sup>.

Sim. VI, 1:6<sup>1-2-3</sup>; IX, 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 21:1<sup>2</sup>.

(3) With the future indicative:

Mand. V, 2:8<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. V, 4:2<sup>3</sup>; IX, 13:2<sup>1</sup>.

(4) With the present subjunctive:

Eph. 5:3<sup>2</sup>.

Philad. 3:2<sup>2</sup>.

The perfect participle is combined:

(1) With the present indicative:

I Clem. 40:5<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 10:5<sup>2</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 2:3<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 1:3<sup>4</sup>; 13:2<sup>2</sup>.

Vis. III, 3:2<sup>2</sup>; 4:3<sup>4</sup>; 8:7<sup>1</sup>; 9:8<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. VI, 2:4<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 3:6<sup>3</sup>; 4:2<sup>4</sup>; IX, 13:4<sup>4</sup>; 18:2<sup>5</sup>; 21:4<sup>1</sup>; 23:2<sup>3</sup>.

(2) With the imperfect indicative:

Barn. 11:9<sup>1</sup>.

Vis. I, 2:1<sup>1</sup>; II, 2:1<sup>3</sup>; III, 1:4<sup>2</sup>; 2:6<sup>2</sup>; 10:1<sup>3</sup>; 11:2<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. VIII, 1:7<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:10<sup>1</sup>; 2:4<sup>1-2</sup>, 6<sup>1-2</sup>; 9:7<sup>3-5</sup>.

Did. 9:4<sup>1</sup>.

(3) With the future indicative:

I Clem. 10:3<sup>1</sup>; 58:2<sup>3</sup>.

Vis. 13:4<sup>2</sup>.

Sim. II, 2:9<sup>2</sup>; V, 4:2<sup>2-4</sup>.

(4) With the present subjunctive:

I Clem. 35:5<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 4:5<sup>2</sup>; 17:3<sup>3</sup>.

Eph. 2:2<sup>4</sup>.

(5) With the present optative:

I Clem. 43:2<sup>3</sup>.

In one passage according to a MS the aorist participle is combined with the future indicative:

II Clem. 17:7<sup>6</sup>. (A fails here. C [H] gives the aorist, *δόντες*. The Syriac MS, however, represents the present, *δίδοντες*. Lightfoot, Funk, and Blass adopt the present.)

The number of the periphrastic verb forms in the Apostolic Fathers would be slightly decreased by rejecting a few doubtful cases. Two-thirds of the periphrases, 40 instances, are in Hermas, which fills about three-eighths of the volume of the Apostolic Fathers, leaving 23 instances in five-eighths. Three of the latter are in quotations from the Old Testament.

It appears by comparison with the list of W. H. Simcox (*The Language of the New Testament*, pp. 131 f.) that the periphrastic verb form occurs about one-half oftener in the New Testament than in the Apostolic Fathers. The contrast is very much greater in the case of the present participle combined with some form of the imperfect indicative. The periphrasis in this case occurs nearly four times as frequently in the New Testament as in the Apostolic Fathers, where it is limited to Hermas except I Clem. 2:1<sup>8</sup> and Barn. 11:10<sup>1</sup>. The latter is in a quotation from the Old Testament.

5. *The adjective participle used substantively*.—The subject of the restrictive attributive participle is often omitted. The participle is then an adjective participle used substantively, with any of the uses of a substantive in the sentence. Such a participle usually has the article, but not invariably:

I Clem. 3:1<sup>1</sup>, *καὶ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον*.

I Clem. 1<sup>3</sup>; 1:3<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>; 7:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 8:4<sup>1</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:3<sup>2, 3</sup>; 11:1<sup>3, 4</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 12:5<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>2, 3</sup>; 13:1<sup>2, 3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 16:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>; 17:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>2</sup>; 20:4<sup>5</sup>; 21:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 22:6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 23:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 24:5<sup>1</sup>; 25:3<sup>5</sup>; 26:1<sup>1</sup>; 27:2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 28:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 30:4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1, 2</sup>; 31:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 32:2<sup>2, 3</sup>; 34:1<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 35:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1, 2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>; 36:3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 37:2<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>, 3<sup>1, 2</sup>; 38:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1, 2</sup>; 39:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 40:4<sup>2</sup>; 41:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1, 2</sup>; 42:4<sup>2, 5</sup>; 43:1<sup>1, 2, 3, 5</sup>; 44:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1, 3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 45:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1, 2, 3, 5</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 46:2<sup>1</sup>; 47:7<sup>1</sup>; 48:4<sup>2, 3</sup>; 49:1<sup>1</sup>; 50:3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 51:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 53:4<sup>1</sup>; 54:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 55:1<sup>1</sup>; 56:1<sup>1</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>; 57:7<sup>1</sup>; 58:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1, 4</sup>; 59:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>13, 14, 17</sup>, 4<sup>1-6</sup>; 60:1<sup>1-5</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 61:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 62:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 63:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 65:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1.3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1.2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 10:5<sup>3</sup>; 11:6<sup>1</sup>; 13:4<sup>1-4</sup>; 14:4<sup>1</sup>; 15:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2.3</sup>; 16:1<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 17:2<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1.2</sup>, 7<sup>4.5.8</sup>; 18:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 19:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 20:2<sup>2</sup>.

Barn. 1:7<sup>1.2.3.6</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>3</sup>; 3:3<sup>2.3</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 4:1<sup>1.3.4</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>; 5:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>1.2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>3</sup>; 6:18<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>6</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup>; 8:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 10:10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1-4.7-13</sup>; 11:6<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 14:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1.2</sup>, 9<sup>1.2</sup>; 15:6<sup>1</sup>; 16:3<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1.2.3.5</sup>; 17:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 18:2<sup>1</sup>; 19:2<sup>1-4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1.2</sup>, 9<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1-17</sup>; 21:1<sup>2.3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 1:15<sup>.8</sup>; 2:2<sup>1.7</sup>; 3:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1-5</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:6<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>1</sup>; 6:6<sup>2</sup>; 7:2<sup>2.3.4</sup>; 8:11<sup>1</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2.5</sup>, 7<sup>2.4.5</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>2.4</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>7</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 12:1<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1.4.5</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>.

Eph. 1<sup>1</sup>; 1:3<sup>1</sup>; 5:3<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>4</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>2.3</sup>; 15:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 16:2<sup>1.3</sup>; 17:1<sup>1</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>.

Magn. 1<sup>1</sup>; 1:3<sup>2</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 8:2<sup>2.5</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 1<sup>1</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>1.2</sup>.

Rom. 1<sup>1.4.6</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:3<sup>3</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 1:1<sup>3</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>2</sup>; 11:1<sup>3</sup>.

Smyrn. 5:2<sup>2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1.3-7</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1.2</sup>.

Pol. 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 5:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 1:1<sup>3.4</sup>; 2:1<sup>4-7</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 3:3<sup>3</sup>; 5:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 6:1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>; 9:2<sup>3.4</sup>.

Mart. 1:1<sup>1.3</sup>; 2:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>3.5</sup>; 5:1<sup>5</sup>; 6:1<sup>2.3.6</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>5.9</sup>; 8:1<sup>2.3</sup>; 9:1<sup>2.3.5</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 10:2<sup>2</sup>; 12:1<sup>3</sup>; 13:3<sup>3</sup>; 15:1<sup>4</sup>; 17:2<sup>1.3.8</sup>; 18:2<sup>2.3</sup>; 19:2<sup>2.5</sup>; 20:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 22:3<sup>1</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>3.4</sup>, 8<sup>2-5</sup>; II, 2:6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 3:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; III, 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>1.2.3.5</sup>, 3<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 6:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>3-6</sup>, 3<sup>1-4</sup>, 4<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1.3.4</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>; 7:1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 3<sup>3.4</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>2.3</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 12:4<sup>1.3</sup>; IV, 2:6<sup>1.2</sup>; 3:5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>.

Mand. II, 1:2<sup>1.3.5</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 6<sup>1.4</sup>; III, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:8<sup>1.2</sup>, 11<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 2:2<sup>2.3</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2-5</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>; V, 2:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>; VI, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 2:5<sup>1</sup>; VII, 1:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1-4</sup>; VIII, 1:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1.2</sup>, 10<sup>1-4</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>, 12<sup>3</sup>; X, 1:4<sup>1-4</sup>, 6<sup>1-4</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; XI, 1:1<sup>3.4.5</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1.2</sup>; XII, 3:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 4:4<sup>1.3</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. I, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; II, 1:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>5</sup>, 9<sup>1.3</sup>, 10<sup>1.2.3</sup>; III, 1:1<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; IV, 1:2<sup>5</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2.3</sup>; V, 2:9<sup>3</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2.4.5</sup>; 4:4<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>1.2.3</sup>; VI, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 2:3<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 3:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 4:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1.2</sup>; 5:3<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1.2</sup>; VII, 1:4<sup>1.2.4.5</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1.2</sup>; 3:2<sup>5.6</sup>, 3<sup>3.4</sup>, 6<sup>1.2.4</sup>, 7<sup>4.5.6</sup>, 8<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 4:4<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>1.2.4.6</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.3-6</sup>, 4<sup>2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 7:2<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>; 9:1<sup>1-4</sup>, 4<sup>3.4</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.3.4</sup>; IX, 4<sup>1.2</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1.3</sup>, 7<sup>1.2</sup>; 11:4<sup>1</sup>; 12:3<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 13:5<sup>2.3</sup>, 9<sup>1.2</sup>; 14:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 15:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 16:5<sup>4</sup>; 18:1<sup>2.3.4</sup>, 2<sup>1-8</sup>, 3<sup>4.6</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>2.4</sup>; 21:1<sup>3.4.5</sup>; 22:1<sup>3.4</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 23:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1.2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 24:1<sup>2</sup>; 25:1<sup>1</sup>; 26:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 27:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 28:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 29:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>; 30:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.



Did. 1:3<sup>1-4</sup>, 5<sup>1. 2. 3. 5</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>; 3:8<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1. 2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>1-16</sup>; 7:4<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>; 9:5<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 15:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 16:2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>.

## II. THE ADVERBIAL PARTICIPLE

The adverbial participle logically modifies, as well when in the absolute construction as otherwise, some other verb of the sentence in which it occurs, being equivalent to an adverbial phrase or clause denoting time, condition, concession, cause, purpose, means, manner, or attendant circumstance.

While the adverbial participle stands in all these relations, it does not definitely and distinctly express them. The different uses interlace sometimes, and more than one classification may then be assigned. We note:

1. *The adverbial participle of time, equivalent to a temporal clause.*—Rom. 4:2<sup>1</sup>, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινι γένωμαι.

I Clem. 4:12<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1. 2</sup>; 17:5<sup>2</sup>; 25:2<sup>2. 3</sup>, 3<sup>1. 4</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 33:7<sup>1</sup>; 40:4<sup>3</sup>; 43:2<sup>1. 2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 51:4<sup>1</sup>; 53:2<sup>1. 2</sup>; 55:1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 56:10<sup>1</sup>; 60:4<sup>2. 3</sup>.

II Clem. 1:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>3. 4</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 2:3<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>4</sup>; 12:5<sup>1. 2</sup>; 13:3<sup>1. 2</sup>; 15:3<sup>2</sup>; 16:1<sup>2</sup>; 17:5<sup>1</sup>; 19:2<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 2:3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 3:5<sup>1</sup>; 4:6<sup>5</sup>; 5:7<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>; 6:12<sup>1</sup>; 7:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2. 3</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>; 9:8<sup>2</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>; 11:3<sup>2</sup>; 12:2<sup>1. 2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 12:8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 15:7<sup>2-5</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 16:2<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 19:11<sup>1</sup>; 21:7<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 5:16<sup>2</sup>; 6:8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1. 2</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>4</sup>.

Eph. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>3</sup>; 19:3<sup>1</sup>.

Magn. 1:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:3<sup>2</sup>.

Trall. 1:2<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 7:2<sup>1. 2</sup>.

Philad. 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:2<sup>2</sup>.

Smyrn. 9:2<sup>1. 2</sup>.

Pol. 3:1<sup>3</sup>.

Philip. 3:2<sup>1. 2</sup>.

Mart. 2:2<sup>1. 4</sup>; 3:1<sup>1. 2</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1. 4</sup>; 6:1<sup>1. 4</sup>; 7:2<sup>1. 6</sup>; 8:2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1. 4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1. 3</sup>; 10:1<sup>1. 2</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1. 3. 5. 7</sup>; 13:3<sup>2</sup>; 15:1<sup>1. 2</sup>; 16:1<sup>1. 4</sup>; 17:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>3</sup>; 21:1<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>; 22:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>1. 2</sup>; 4:3<sup>1. 2</sup>; II, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>1. 2</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:2<sup>1. 2</sup>, 5<sup>1. 5. 6. 7</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2. 3</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1. 6</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>6</sup>, 5<sup>2. 3</sup>; 9:10<sup>1</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>2. 5</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 13:2<sup>2</sup>; IV, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1. 2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 3:7<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:1<sup>1. 2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. II, 1:5<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>1. 2</sup>; IV, 1:6<sup>1</sup>; 3:7<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:4<sup>1</sup>; VI, 2:6<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; X, 3:3<sup>2. 3. 4</sup>; XI, 1:8<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>1. 2</sup>; XII, 2:5<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. I, 1:4<sup>2</sup>; II, 1:1<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1. 2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:1<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>; 2:3<sup>1. 2</sup>, 4<sup>2. 3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; 6:6<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; VI, 1:1<sup>1. 2. 3</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 5:4<sup>1. 2</sup>; VIII, 1:4<sup>2. 3</sup>;

2:5<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>2</sup>; 7:5<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>; 11:2<sup>1·2·3</sup>; IX, 1:10<sup>2</sup>; 4:7<sup>1</sup>; 7:5<sup>1</sup>; 9:7<sup>1·4</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 11:4<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 13:7<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>4</sup>; 14:3<sup>3·4</sup>; 16:5<sup>3</sup>; 17:4<sup>2·3</sup>; 18:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 21:3<sup>1</sup>; 22:3<sup>1</sup>; 24:3<sup>1</sup>; 26:6<sup>1</sup>; 28:4<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 1:5<sup>4</sup>; 4:7<sup>1</sup>; 9:4<sup>2</sup>; 11:6<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>; 13:6<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>; 16:4<sup>1</sup>.

2. *The adverbial participle of condition, equivalent to a conditional clause.*—

II Clem. 8:4<sup>1·2·3</sup>, ὥστε, ἀδελφοί, ποιήσαντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀγνὴν τηρήσαντες καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου φυλάξαντες ληψόμεθα ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

II Clem. 4:5<sup>1</sup>; 6:7<sup>1</sup>; 8:4<sup>1·2·3</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 12:6<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 2:9<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 10:4<sup>1·2</sup>; 11:7<sup>1</sup>; 12:8<sup>1·2</sup>.

Magn. 1:3<sup>1·3</sup>.

Trall. 2:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1·2</sup>.

Philad. 10:2<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 9:2<sup>3</sup>; 11:3<sup>3</sup>.

Herm. Mand. II, 1:2<sup>4</sup>; III, 1:5<sup>1</sup>; IV, 1:1<sup>2</sup>; VI, 2:10<sup>1·2</sup>; VII, 1:1<sup>1·2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; XII, 1:1<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. V, 3:5<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; VII, 1:3<sup>1·2</sup>; IX, 2:6<sup>1</sup>; 26:4<sup>2</sup>; 28:7<sup>2</sup>.

Did. 1:5<sup>6</sup>; 12:3<sup>1</sup>.

3. *The adverbial participle of concession, equivalent to a concessive clause.*—The concessive force is emphasized by καίπερ in seven instances, or in 25 per cent of the occurrences:

Herm. Vis. III, 1:9<sup>1</sup>, θέλοντος οὖν μου καθίσαι εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη οὐκ εἰσέν με.

I Clem. 7:7<sup>3</sup>; 16:2<sup>1</sup>; 17:5<sup>1</sup>; 44:6<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 11:2<sup>3</sup>; 20:4<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 5:5<sup>1</sup>; 12:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>4</sup>.

Diogn. 5:16<sup>1</sup>; 6:5<sup>1·2</sup>; 10:7<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 3:3<sup>2</sup>.

Smyrn. 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>2</sup>.

Philip. 1:3<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 13:2<sup>3</sup>; 17:1<sup>5</sup>.

Herm. Vis. III, 1:9<sup>1</sup>; 2:9<sup>9</sup>; IV, 2:4<sup>3</sup>.

Sim. VI, 5:4<sup>5</sup>; VIII, 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:4<sup>5</sup>; 9:1<sup>5</sup>; 11:1<sup>2</sup>; IX, 2:5<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 22:2<sup>2</sup>.

4. *The adverbial participle of cause, equivalent to a causal clause.*—ὡς (ὥσπερ) accompanies the participle 16 times:

Trall. 3:3<sup>1</sup>, ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι.

I Clem. 3:4<sup>2</sup>; 8:5<sup>1</sup>; 9:3<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>2</sup>; 19:2<sup>1</sup>; 28:1<sup>1·2</sup>; 30:1<sup>1</sup>; 31:2<sup>1</sup>; 32:2<sup>4</sup>; 33:8<sup>1</sup>; 38:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 40:1<sup>1·2</sup>.

II Clem. 1:7<sup>1, 2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:5<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>1</sup>; 18:2<sup>4</sup>.  
 Barn. 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>; 2:1<sup>1, 3</sup>; 6:7<sup>1</sup>; 12:10<sup>2, 3</sup>; 19:6<sup>4</sup>.  
 Diogn. 3:3<sup>3</sup>; 4:2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>2-5</sup>; 12:3<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>.  
 Eph. 7:1<sup>3</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>5</sup>; 17:2<sup>1</sup>.  
 Magn. 8:1<sup>6</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>.  
 Trall. 1:2<sup>2</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; 8:1<sup>2</sup>; 11:2<sup>1</sup>.  
 Rom. 3:3<sup>2</sup>; 5:2<sup>2</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>.  
 Philad. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>4</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.  
 Smyrn. 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pol. 1:1<sup>3</sup>; 7:3<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>4</sup>.  
 Philip. 1:1<sup>1, 2</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:1<sup>9</sup>.  
 Mart. 3:1<sup>4</sup>; 12:1<sup>2</sup>; 14:1<sup>3</sup>.  
 Herm. Vis. III, 8:1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; IV, 1:4<sup>3, 4</sup>; 3:7<sup>2, 3</sup>.  
 Mand. III, 1:3<sup>4</sup>; V, 2:6<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; XII, 2:4<sup>4</sup>; 5:2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>.  
 Sim. I, 1:6<sup>1, 2</sup>; II, 1:3<sup>3</sup>; IV, 1:6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; V, 2:4<sup>4, 7</sup>; VI, 2:7<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 10:1<sup>3</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>; IX, 7:4<sup>1</sup>; 8:5<sup>2</sup>; 18:4<sup>1</sup>; 20:2<sup>3</sup>; 22:2<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 3:10<sup>2</sup>.

5. *The adverbial participle of purpose, equivalent to a final clause.*—

Herm. Vis. V, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, ἔδοξα ἐγὼ ὅτι πάρεστιν ἐκπειράζων με.

I Clem. 7:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 20:11<sup>1</sup>; 58:1<sup>1</sup>; 62:2<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 14:3<sup>2</sup>; 19:1<sup>3</sup>.

Barn. 1:7<sup>4</sup>.

Diogn. 12:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>.

Philip. 13:1<sup>1</sup>.

Herm. Vis. V, 1:3<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. IV, 3:3<sup>1</sup>.

6. *The adverbial participle of means.*—

Herm. Vis. III, 3:5<sup>1</sup>, ἐκζητῶν οὖν εὐρίσκεις τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

I Clem. 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 7:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>; 61:2<sup>2</sup>.

II Clem. 5:6<sup>1</sup>; 17:3<sup>2</sup>; 19:1<sup>4</sup>.

Barn. 5:7<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; 7:11<sup>2, 4, 5</sup>; 14:5<sup>2</sup>; 16:8<sup>1, 2</sup>.

Diogn. 1:1<sup>7</sup>; 4:5<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>1</sup>.

Eph. 2:2<sup>3</sup>.

Trall. 2:1<sup>3</sup>.

Rom. 4:3<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 4:2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>3</sup>.

Mart. 4:1<sup>4</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 3:2<sup>1</sup>; II, 2:2<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>; III, 3:5<sup>1</sup>; 8:11<sup>1, 2</sup>.

Mand. I, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; IV, 2:3<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 1:8<sup>1</sup>; XII, 6:4<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. II, 1:8<sup>2, 3, 4</sup>; V, 6:2<sup>1, 2</sup>; VI, 1:4<sup>3</sup>.

7. *The adverbial participle of manner, describing the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is done.*—Participles that give fuller definition, content, etc., of the principal verb are placed here to avoid more detailed classification.

The following particles of manner occur with the participle, the instances being 23 in all:  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma^{19}$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho^2$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho^1$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu^1$  (Barn. 6:11<sup>2</sup>).

Barn. 19:11<sup>2.3</sup>,  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ .

I Clem. 1:3<sup>1.4</sup>; 6:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>2</sup>; 12:7<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>5</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 16:2<sup>2</sup>; 17:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 20:4<sup>1</sup>; 21:1<sup>1</sup>; 24:1<sup>2</sup>; 30:1<sup>2</sup>; 31:3<sup>1</sup>; 48:1<sup>1</sup>; 53:3<sup>1</sup>; 55:5<sup>1</sup>; 57:1<sup>2</sup>; 59:2<sup>1</sup>; 62:2<sup>4</sup>.

II Clem. 2:2<sup>2</sup>; 5:3<sup>1</sup>; 13:3<sup>3</sup>; 17:7<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 2:4<sup>1</sup>; 2:9<sup>2</sup>; 4:6<sup>1.4</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>; 6:7<sup>2</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>; 7:3<sup>2</sup>; 9:7<sup>2</sup>; 10:4<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>; 13:4<sup>1</sup>; 14:6<sup>1</sup>; 15:4<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>1.2.4.5</sup>; 19:11<sup>2.3</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>; 21:7<sup>2</sup>.

Diogn. 2:3<sup>2</sup>; 7<sup>3.4.5</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 5:16<sup>3</sup>; 7:25<sup>.6</sup>, 4<sup>2.3.4</sup>, 5<sup>1-4</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 10:6<sup>4</sup>; 11:1<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>.7</sup>.

Eph. 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>3.8</sup>; 15:3<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 6:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>; 12:3<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>6</sup>; 9:3<sup>2</sup>.

Philad. 5:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:2<sup>1</sup>.

Smyrn. 1:1<sup>4</sup>; 5:2<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>.

Pol. 8:1<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 2:3<sup>2</sup>.

Mart. 1:1<sup>2</sup>; 2:2<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>2.3</sup>; 3:1<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>3.4</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>2.5</sup>; 8:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>2.4</sup>; 9:2<sup>3</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:2<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>4.5</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>; 6:5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>5</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 8:9<sup>1</sup>; 10:2<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1.2</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>; IV, 2:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:5<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. IV, 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:1<sup>1</sup>; X, 3:2<sup>2.3</sup>; XI, 1:4<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>; XII, 3:1<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. I, 1:6<sup>3</sup>; II, 1:6<sup>2</sup>; III, 1:1<sup>3</sup>; IV, 1:5<sup>2.3</sup>; V, 1:4<sup>1</sup>; 2:4<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:3<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>3.4</sup>; VI, 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>1.2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 5:2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 1:4<sup>1</sup>; 2:7<sup>1</sup>; 6:5<sup>5.6</sup>; 7:4<sup>1</sup>; 9:3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 11:3<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:7<sup>3</sup>; 2:4<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 6:8<sup>2</sup>; 7:4<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>1</sup>; 19:2<sup>1</sup>; 23:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>; 26:4<sup>3</sup>.

Did. 16:2<sup>1</sup>.

a) The hebraistic participle of manner: in quotations from the Old Testament a participle is in two instances placed before a personal form of the same verb. The idiom arises from an imitation of the Hebrew construction with the infinitive absolute. It adds intensity:

I Clem. 56:3<sup>1</sup>,  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; 12:5<sup>1</sup>.

8. *The adverbial participle of attendant circumstance, simply adding some associated fact or conception to the action of the principal verb.*—

Vis. I, 1:5<sup>1</sup>,  $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\gamma\eta\eta\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta$ .



I Clem. 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>5.6.7</sup>; 2:1<sup>1-7</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 5:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1-4</sup>, 7<sup>1-4</sup>; 7:7<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>; 13:1<sup>1.4</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>; 17:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>3.4</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 23:5<sup>1</sup>; 24:5<sup>2</sup>; 25:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.6</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 29:1<sup>1.2</sup>; 30:3<sup>1-4</sup>; 32:4<sup>1</sup>; 33:3<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 34:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 35:5<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 36:2<sup>2</sup>; 38:3<sup>3</sup>; 39:1<sup>1</sup>; 40:3<sup>1</sup>; 41:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 42:3<sup>1-4</sup>, 4<sup>1.3.4</sup>; 43:1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 44:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2.4</sup>; 45:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>4</sup>; 48:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1.4</sup>; 55:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 56:16<sup>2</sup>; 57:2<sup>1.2</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>; 58:1<sup>4</sup>; 59:3<sup>1</sup>; 61:1<sup>3.5</sup>; 62:2<sup>2</sup>; 63:1<sup>1.2.4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 1:2<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>5</sup>; 2:7<sup>2.3</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 6:5<sup>1</sup>; 7:4<sup>3</sup>; 9:5<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 11:5<sup>1</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>; 14:3<sup>1</sup>; 17:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 18:2<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 19:4<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>4</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>; 3:6<sup>1</sup>; 4:1<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>1.3</sup>, 13<sup>1.3</sup>; 5:4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>1.2</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>3</sup>; 6:17<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1.2</sup>, 9<sup>3.4.5</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 9:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>; 10:4<sup>2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1.3</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>5.6</sup>, 12<sup>1</sup>; 11:8<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 12:2<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>1.3</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>; 13:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 14:2<sup>1.3</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>5</sup>; 15:5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1.6</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>; 19:10<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 21:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 1:1<sup>3.4</sup>; 2:1<sup>1.4.5</sup>; 5:4<sup>1.2</sup>; 8:9<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>1.2.7.8</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>1.2</sup>; 10:6<sup>2</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>6.8</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1.2.6.7</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>.

Eph. 1<sup>3.4</sup>; 1:1<sup>1.3</sup>, 2<sup>2.3</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 4:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>2.7</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1</sup>; 16:2<sup>2</sup>; 17:2<sup>2</sup>; 20:2<sup>1</sup>; 21:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

Magn. 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1.2</sup>; 6:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 9:1<sup>2.3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 15:1<sup>1.2</sup>.

Trall. 3:3<sup>3</sup>; 5:1<sup>2</sup>; 8:1<sup>3</sup>; 9:1<sup>1</sup>; 10:1<sup>2</sup>; 12:2<sup>1</sup>; 13:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>.

Rom. 1<sup>5</sup>; 2:2<sup>1.2</sup>; 5:1<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>3</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>3.5</sup>, 2<sup>1-4</sup>; 6:2<sup>2</sup>; 9:1<sup>2</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>2</sup>.

Smyrn. 1:1<sup>6</sup>; 2:1<sup>1</sup>; 3:2<sup>1</sup>; 5:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1.3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>.

Pol. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philip. 1:2<sup>2</sup>; 2:1<sup>1.2.3</sup>, 2<sup>2.3</sup>; 3<sup>1</sup>; 3:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 4:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 3<sup>3.4</sup>; 5:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 6:1<sup>1.3-8</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 7:2<sup>1.3.4.5</sup>; 9:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 1:2<sup>1</sup>; 2:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>5</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>; 3:1<sup>5</sup>; 5:2<sup>3</sup>; 6:1<sup>5</sup>; 7:1<sup>1.3</sup>, 2<sup>3.4.7.8</sup>; 8:1<sup>1.4.5.6</sup>; 2<sup>1.2</sup>, 3<sup>3.5.6</sup>; 9:2<sup>2.4-7</sup>; 12:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>6</sup>; 13:1<sup>1.2</sup>, 2<sup>1.2</sup>; 14:1<sup>1.2.4</sup>; 15:1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 16:1<sup>3</sup>; 17:2<sup>2.4.5.7</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 18:1<sup>3.4</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 19:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1.3.4</sup>; 22:3<sup>2.3.4</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:3<sup>2.3.5</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>4.5.6</sup>; 3:1<sup>2</sup>; II, 1:1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 2:5<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:5<sup>4.8</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>; 2:3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>4</sup>; 5:1<sup>7.8</sup>; 8:2<sup>1</sup>; 9:10<sup>2</sup>; 10:4<sup>1</sup>; 11:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 12:2<sup>1.3</sup>; IV, 1:8<sup>1.2.3</sup>; 2:4<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:7<sup>1.2</sup>.

Mand. II, 1:4<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; III, 1:2<sup>2</sup>; IV, 2:4<sup>1</sup>; 3:4<sup>2.3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:2<sup>2.3.4</sup>, 3<sup>1-4</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 2:4<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1.2</sup>; VI, 2:4<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 1:2<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:6<sup>2.3</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>; XI, 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 14<sup>2</sup>; XII, 2:2<sup>1.2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 5:2<sup>2.3</sup>, 4<sup>1.3</sup>.

Sim. I, 1:7<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>1.2</sup>; II, 1:5<sup>1.4</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:3<sup>1</sup>; V, 1:5<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>1.3</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>; 6:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>4.5</sup>; 7:4<sup>1</sup>; VI, 2:7<sup>1</sup>; 3:5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 5:7<sup>3</sup>; VII, 1:5<sup>3</sup>; VIII, 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>; 2:2<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>3.4</sup>; 4:6<sup>5</sup>; 6:3<sup>7.8</sup>; 7:4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>; 9:3<sup>1.2</sup>; 10:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1.2</sup>; 11:1<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>1.2</sup>; IX, 1:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2.3</sup>; 2:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 4:1<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>4</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1.2</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 8:2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>4.5.6</sup>; 9:3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>6</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>; 11:5<sup>1</sup>; 12:5<sup>1</sup>; 13:4<sup>2</sup>; 14:1<sup>1</sup>; 15:5<sup>1</sup>; 17:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>; 20:2<sup>2</sup>; 22:1<sup>5</sup>, 3<sup>3</sup>; 24:2<sup>1-4</sup>; 26:3<sup>4-7</sup>; 28:1<sup>1</sup>; 29:3<sup>1</sup>.

Did. 4:13<sup>1.2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; 14:1<sup>2</sup>.

## III. THE SUBSTANTIVE PARTICIPLE

The substantive participle is employed as itself the name of an action of which its subject is the doer or, in the passive voice, the recipient. It thus performs a function which is more commonly discharged by the infinitive. It always stands in the predicative position.

1. *The substantive participle as subject.*—The substantive participle may be used as an integral element of the subject of a verb, the action which it denotes being itself an essential element of that of which the predicate is affirmed.

Sim. VIII, 4:4<sup>3</sup>, καὶ ὡσαύτως εὐρέθησαν ξηραὶ καὶ κεκομμέναι.

I Clem. 43:5<sup>2, 3</sup>.

II Clem. 6:9<sup>1</sup>; 7:4<sup>2</sup>.

Diogn. 6:4<sup>1</sup>; 12:9<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 2:1<sup>1</sup>.

Herm. Vis. III, 2:6<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>2, 3</sup>; 8:9<sup>3</sup>; 10:3<sup>1</sup>; 11:2<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. X, 2:4<sup>1</sup>.

Sim. IV, 1:3<sup>1</sup>; V, 7:1<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 3:1<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>; 5:2<sup>2, 3</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; 6:4<sup>1</sup>; IX, 8:4<sup>1</sup>; 9:7<sup>7</sup>; 10:1<sup>2</sup>; 11:8<sup>1</sup>; 26:5<sup>1, 2</sup>.

2. *The substantive participle as object.*—The substantive participle may be used as an integral part of the object of a transitive verb. This occurs especially after verbs of perception, the action denoted by the participle being an essential element of that which one perceives.

The substantive participle agrees grammatically with the subject of verbs of *finishing*, *ceasing*, etc., yet the action denoted by the participle must be regarded as logically the object of such of these verbs as are transitive.

Mand. III, 1:3<sup>3</sup>, ἰδὼν δέ με κλαίοντα λέγει· Τί κλαίεις;

I Clem. 14:5<sup>1, 2</sup>; 39:8<sup>1</sup>.

II Clem. 10:5<sup>1</sup>; 20:1<sup>1, 2</sup>.

Barn. 1:3<sup>2</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 7:9<sup>1, 2</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>.

Eph. 4:2<sup>3</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>.

Mart. 5:2<sup>2</sup>; 7:1<sup>4</sup>; 12:3<sup>1</sup>.

Herm. Vis. I, 1:2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>; 3:2<sup>2</sup>; 4:1<sup>1</sup>; II, 1:3<sup>1, 2</sup>; III, 1:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2, 3</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>; 2:4<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>1-8</sup>; 3:2<sup>3</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>; 6:2<sup>1, 2</sup>; 7:1<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>; 8:1<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup>; 10:1<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>; 12:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>; IV, 3:6<sup>1</sup>.

Mand. III, 1:3<sup>3</sup>; V, 2:2<sup>1</sup>; IX, 1:8<sup>1</sup>; XI, 1:1<sup>1, 2</sup>; XII, 2:4<sup>2, 3</sup>.

Sim. IV, 1:1<sup>2</sup>; V, 1:1<sup>4, 5</sup>; 2:3<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>2-5</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; VI, 1:2<sup>1, 2</sup>, 6<sup>4, 5, 6</sup>; 2:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1, 2</sup>; 3:1<sup>2, 3</sup>; VII, 1:6<sup>1, 2</sup>; VIII, 3:4<sup>1</sup>; 4:2<sup>2, 3</sup>; 6:2<sup>1</sup>; IX, 3:1<sup>1</sup>; 4:4<sup>1</sup>; 12:4<sup>2, 4</sup>; 13:3<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1, 3</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>; 18:3<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>; 27:3<sup>2</sup>.

Did. 16:8<sup>1</sup>.

3. *The substantive participle in indirect discourse.*—A substantive participle forming a part of the object of the verb is sometimes equivalent to a clause of indirect discourse.

I Clem. 55:2<sup>1</sup>, ἐπιστάμεθα πολλοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς δεισμά, ὅπως ἑτέρους λυτρώσονται.

I Clem. 12:6<sup>1</sup>; 45:3<sup>2</sup>; 55:2<sup>1</sup>.

Barn. 10:8<sup>1</sup>.

Diogn. 1:1<sup>1. 2</sup>; 7:7<sup>1. 2</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>.

Eph. 9:1<sup>1</sup>.

Magn. 3:1<sup>1. 3</sup>; 11:1<sup>1</sup>.

Trall. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>3</sup>.

Rom. 10:2<sup>2</sup>.

Philad. 1:2<sup>2</sup>.

Smyrn. 1:1<sup>3. 5. 7. 8. 9</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>; 3:1<sup>1</sup>.

Phillip. 4:3<sup>1. 2</sup>.

Mart. 7:2<sup>2</sup>; 16:1<sup>2</sup>; 17:1<sup>3. 4</sup>.

Mand. XII, 4:2<sup>2. 3</sup>.

Sim. III, 1:1<sup>2</sup>; VIII, 6:6<sup>1</sup>; 7:2<sup>4</sup>; IX, 9:2<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>.

4. *The substantive participle as a limiting genitive.*—The substantive participle may be used as an integral element of a genitive limiting phrase.

Herm. Sim. IX, 11:7<sup>1</sup>, καὶ ἔχαιρον αἱ παρθένοι οὕτω μου προσευχομένου.

Barn. 11:11<sup>4</sup>.

Eph. 6:2<sup>1</sup>.

Philad. 8:2<sup>1</sup>.

Vis. I, 2:3<sup>2</sup>; 3:3<sup>1</sup>; III, 1:6<sup>1. 2</sup>.

Sim. IX, 3:1<sup>4</sup>; 6:1<sup>1</sup>; 11:7<sup>1</sup>; 13:8<sup>1. 2</sup>.

5. *The substantive participle as the object of a preposition.*—II Clem. 1:8<sup>2</sup> and Mand. I, 1:1<sup>4</sup> are best explained as substantive participles in the genitive after the preposition ἐκ. The article does not appear in the texts with the participle in Barn., but the MS C [H] has it.

## CHAPTER III

### CONDENSED STATEMENTS AND TABLES

#### I. USE OF THE GENITIVE ABSOLUTE

One hundred and twenty-six of the participles are in the genitive absolute.

With respect to tense they are distributed as follows: present, 83; aorist, 34; and perfect, 9, 3 being μέλλων combined with the infinitive of another verb.

In logical force they are all adverbial: time, 80; condition, 8; concession, 4; cause, 7; means, 2; manner, 4; attendant circumstance, 20; and anacoluthic, 1.

The Martyrdom of Polycarp, which is one twenty-fifth of the whole volume of the Apostolic Fathers, has 31 of the 126 participles in the genitive absolute. Moreover, it has two absolute genitives with the article simply; Mart. 7:2<sup>6</sup>; 9:2<sup>2</sup>, and one standing alone, Mart. 16:1<sup>4</sup>. Hermas also has one standing alone, Vis. III, 2:9<sup>9</sup>.

#### II. NEGATIVES WITH THE PARTICIPLE

The negative is used with the participle in the Apostolic Fathers 168 times. Μή with its compounds is used 139 times (μή, 108; μηδέν, 16; μητέ, 4; μηδέποτε, 4; μηκέτι, 3; εἰ μή, 2; μηθέν, 1; μήπω, 1) and οὐ (οὐκ, 9) is used 29 times.

Nearly 5½ per cent of the participles have the negative. The number is large in comparison with classical Greek, and shows the growth of the feeling that a participle is equivalent to a subordinate clause.

Μή occurs with all the classes of the participle except that of means. It expresses the condition, reason, etc., of the action of the participle; it is subjective, expressing some mental attitude of the subject of the principal verb toward the action denoted by the participle. When used of external fact, it leaves the fact of the action in the background and brings the condition, cause, etc., of the action into prominence.

The presence of οὐ can, in general, be explained by noting that the action to which it is applied is conceived to be simply a matter of fact. It leaves the condition, cause, etc., of the action out of view and asserts the fact simply as such. Both μή and οὐ are used of external fact, but with the above difference apparently well marked.



The cases of  $\sigma\upsilon$  may well be treated more in detail.  $\text{O}\sigma$  is used in consequence of emphatic antithesis in I Clem. 14:2<sup>1</sup>; Diog. 7:4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>. 4. It coalesces with the participle, thus expressing a single negative idea, in Barn. 20:2<sup>3</sup>. 4. 5. 9. 10. 12; Trall. 5:1<sup>2</sup>; Herm. Mand. VI, 2:5<sup>1</sup>; Sim. VI, 1:6<sup>6</sup>; Did. 5:2<sup>3</sup>. 4. 8. 9. 11. In Smyrn. 11:1<sup>2</sup> and Philip. 1:3<sup>1</sup> the participle with  $\sigma\upsilon$  is equivalent to a concessive clause, in II Clem. 1:8<sup>1</sup>, to a temporal clause, in Philip. 3:1<sup>1</sup>, to a causal clause, in II Clem. 1:2<sup>2</sup>; 10:5<sup>2</sup>, to an expression of attendant circumstance, and in Magn. 3:1<sup>1</sup>, the participle is in indirect discourse.  $\text{O}\sigma$  with the participle in II Clem. 2:1<sup>1</sup>. 2. 4, 2<sup>1</sup> is from the Septuagint, where it is the regular translation of  $\text{נ}\dot{\text{ב}}$ , not, of the Hebrew; moreover, used with the article,  $\sigma\upsilon$  makes the reference definite, whereas  $\mu\eta$  would leave it indefinite.

In the earliest Greek literature negative particles were not used with the participle, but the negative idea was expressed by participles negative in root or by composition. This manner of expressing the negative in the participle has largely given place in the Apostolic Fathers to negative particles, which occur about six times as often.

### III. PARTICIPLES USED FOR THE FINITE VERB

The construction requires the indicative in Barn. 6:11<sup>1</sup>; Diogn. 2:1<sup>5</sup>, and Smyrn. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, and the subjunctive in Barn. 19:1<sup>1</sup>; but in each of these passages the participle appears in the text.

Eph. 10:3<sup>1</sup>. 2. 3 are of very doubtful text. Lightfoot, Funk, Hilg, and others have the subjunctive, some the indicative.

### IV. ANACOLUTHIC PARTICIPLES

II Clem. 3:1<sup>1</sup>; Eph. 1:1<sup>1</sup>, and Rom. 1:1<sup>1</sup> are in broken construction.

TABLE I  
NUMBER OF PARTICIPLES IN EACH CLASS

Tense		Logical Force	
PRESENT.....	1,783	Adjective.....	1,667
1. Simultaneous.....	650	1. Restrictive.....	420
2. Identical action.....	108	2. Substantively.....	826
3. Past still in progress....	1	3. Explanatory.....	278
4. For the imperfect.....	5	4. Predicative.....	
5. For the future.....	10	a) Adjective.....	80
Periphrase with infinitive.....	31	b) Periphrastic.....	63
6. General.....	978	ADVERBIAL.....	1,252
AORIST.....	794	1. Time.....	271
1. Antecedent.....		2. Condition.....	43
a) Constative.....	125	3. Concession.....	31
b) Ingressive.....	134	4. Cause.....	102
c) Effective.....	466	5. Purpose and result....	13
2. Coincident.....		6. Means.....	41
a) Identical.....	61	7. Manner.....	187
b) Object of verbs of perception.....	2	a) Hebraistic.....	2
3. Undefined time.....	6	8. Attendant circumstance.	562
PERFECT.....	518	SUBSTANTIVE.....	174
1. Action and state.....	433	1. Subject.....	28
2. Resulting state.....	81	2. Object.....	95
3. For pluperfect.....	4	3. Indirect discourse....	14
FUTURE.....	5	4. Limiting genitive.....	37
		5. Object of preposition...	2
		WITHOUT LOGICAL FORCE....	7
Total.....	3,100	Total.....	3,100

TABLE II

## AVERAGES OF OCCURRENCE OF THE PARTICIPLE IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

The following table shows the average occurrence of the participle to the page in each book or group of epistles of the Apostolic Fathers and the number of participles in each tense, with totals.

NAMES OF BOOKS	NO. OF PAGES	NO. OF PARTICIPLES	AVERAGE NO. TO PAGE	TENSE			
				Present	Aorist	Perfect	Future
I Clem.....	34	460	13.8	247	117	95	1
II Clem.....	10	164	16.4	96	55	12	1
Barn.....	22	318	14.4	208	75	35	..
Diogn.....	9	174	19.3	106	44	22	2
Ign. Epistles.....	27	345	12.8	197	74	74	..
Philip.....	4	72	18	39	21	11	1
Mart.....	8	192	24	102	74	16	..
Herm.....	82	1,288	15.7	728	314	246	..
Didache.....	7	87	12.4	60	20	7	..
Total.....	203	3,100	15.3	1,783	794	518	5

TABLE III  
THE TENSES OF THE PRINCIPAL VERB WITH WHICH THE PARTICIPLE IS USED. THE FUTURE PARTICIPLE IS OMITTED

Participle.....	PRESENT										AORIST						PERFECT				
	Simultaneous					Identical					Antecedent			Identical							
	Pr.	A.	Pf.	Fut.	Imp.	Plp.	Pr.	A.	Pf.	Fut.	Imp.	Pr.	A.	Pf.	Fut.	Imp.	Pr.	A.	Pf.	Fut.	Imp.
Verb.....																					
I Clem. ....	24	35	1	..	11	..	5	9	1	1	3	26	74	..	5	..	1	7	..	2	..
II Clem. ....	19	14	2	2	1	..	1	2	..	1	..	17	15	..	18	..	1	2	..	1	..
Barn. ....	33	23	..	11	6	..	11	2	1	..	..	20	31	..	11	4	..	6	1	1	..
Diogn. ....	26	17	..	2	..	..	10	3	..	..	..	18	14	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ign. Epist. ....	46	21	2	4	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	34	31	..	4	..	1	3	..	..	..
Philip. ....	18	9	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	18	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mart. ....	10	35	..	3	13	..	..	4	..	..	3	8	43	1	2	14	..	5	..	2	2
Herm. ....	98	96	4	14	40	1	27	12	..	2	2	123	125	3	19	11	21	8	..	1	40
Didache. ....	1	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	12	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	1

TABLE IV

THE LOGICAL FORCE OF THE PARTICIPLES

The following table distributes the participles according to logical force into classes of the tense divisions of the participle. The whole number of participles in the class appears in the first column.

	LOGICAL FORCE																			
	WHOLE NUMBER	Adjective					Adverbial								Substantive					
		Attributive		Predicate			Time	Condition	Concession	Cause	Purpose	Means	Manner	Att. Circumstance	Subject	Object	Indirect Discourse	Limiting Genitive		
				Restrictive	Substantive	Explanatory													Adjective	Periphrastic
General. . . . .	977	168	512	111	53	..	3	21	8	23	..	1	8	52	2	4	2	9		
Simultaneous. . . . .	649	51	20	22	..	16	121	10	13	33	1	8	28	222	12	70	11	11		
Identical. . . . .	108	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	9	9	6	92	..	..	..	..	..		
Miscellaneous. . . . .	47	13	13	9	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	4	..	..	1	..	1		
Antecedent. . . . .	722	65	148	76	4	1	129	11	6	25	..	16	1	236	3	..	..	1		
Identical. . . . .	60	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	7	47	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Miscellaneous. . . . .	8	2	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..		
Perfect. . . . .	518	120	126	57	23	46	15	1	3	20	..	3	9	50	11	18	1	15		
Future. . . . .	4	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Total. . . . .	3093	420	826	278	80	63	271	43	31	102	13	41	189	562	28	95	14	37		

Total + 7 without logical force, 3,093 + 7 = 3,100



## V. COMPARISONS WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT AND CLASSICAL GREEK

Each page of the Apostolic Fathers contains 15.3 participles; in the New Testament, the number averages about 15.2 to the page of the same size.

Fifty-eight per cent of the participles in the Apostolic Fathers are in the present tense, 25 per cent in the aorist tense, 16 per cent in the perfect tense, and one-sixth of 1 per cent (5 instances) are in the future tense. In the New Testament, 56 per cent of the participles are in the present tense, 35 per cent in the aorist tense, 9 per cent in the perfect tense, and one-fifth of 1 per cent (14 instances) are in the future tense.\*

The participle as a whole occurs not quite as frequently in the New Testament as in the Apostolic Fathers, but the periphrastic verb form occurs more frequently in the New Testament than in the Apostolic Fathers, and the present participle combined with the imperfect indicative occurs nearly four times as frequently in the New Testament as in the Apostolic Fathers.

In logical force, 54 per cent of the participles in the Apostolic Fathers are adjectival, 40 per cent adverbial, nearly 6 per cent, substantive, and nearly one-fourth of 1 per cent (7 instances) stand in broken construction.

There are 17 uses of the participle in the Apostolic Fathers. The adjectival participle used substantively occurs as often as all the other adjective participles together, and constitutes nearly 27 per cent of all the participles in the Apostolic Fathers. The adverbial participle of attendant circumstance is next in frequency of occurrence, followed by the definitive adjective participle, constituting respectively 18 and 14 per cent of all the participles in the Apostolic Fathers. The remaining uses, arranged in the order of their relative frequency of occurrence, are as follows: explanatory, time, manner, cause, substantive, object, predicate adjective, periphrastic, condition, means, substantive indirect discourse, concessive, substantive subject, limiting genitive, purpose. Two instances (II Clem. 1:8<sup>2</sup>; Mand. I, 1:1<sup>4</sup>) are best explained as substantive participles in the genitive after the preposition *ἐκ*.

No case of the neuter participle equivalent to an abstract noun occurs. This usage is rare both in the New Testament and in classical Greek. Neither the nominative nor the accusative absolute occurs. Nor does *λανθάνω*, *τυγχάνω*, or *φθάνω* occur in the Apostolic Fathers in construction with a participle. *τυγχάνω* with a participle occurs once in the Septuagint (II Macc. 3<sup>9</sup>), and *λανθάνω* also once in the

\*The data for the New Testament were obtained from unpublished investigations of Professor H. F. Allen.

Septuagint (Tobit 12<sup>13</sup>) and once in the New Testament (Heb. 13<sup>2</sup>). The rare classical usage of a verb in construction with a participial form of *τυγχάνω* occurs twice in the Apostolic Fathers (Diogn. 10:7<sup>1</sup>; Sim. IX, 26:4<sup>2</sup>).

The aorist participle is not used in the Apostolic Fathers to express action subsequent to that of the principal verb as it is thought by some to do in the New Testament. The only case of the aorist in a periphrastic form is of doubtful text (II Clem. 17:7<sup>6</sup>).

ὤς ἄν is used twice (Pap. 2:8<sup>1</sup>; Barn. 6:11<sup>2</sup>) in the Apostolic Fathers with a participle, in like manner three times in the Septuagint (I Macc. 1<sup>11</sup>; II Macc. 12<sup>4</sup>; III Macc. 4<sup>1</sup>).

The Apostolic Fathers have 174 substantive participles. The verbs with which they are used, arranged in order of their frequency of occurrence, are as follows: *ὁράω* (εἶδω, 48; ὤφθην, 4), 62; *βλέπω*, 34; *εὐρίσκω*, 15; *γινώσκω*, 10; *ἀκούω*, 8; *δείκνυμι*, 7; *νοέω*, *φαίνω*, *παύω*, *διαλείπω*, *παραμένω*, *εὐφραίνω*, *ἐπιμένω*, *διδάσκω*, *δηλόω*, *ἐπιγινώσκω*, *ἐφίστημι*, *μετανοέω*, *συγτελέω*, *τελέω*, *χαίρω*. The last seven occur once each. \*Οφελὸς . . . ἐστίν (Vis. III, 3:1<sup>2.3</sup>) and ἰλαρὸς ἦμην (Sim. IX, 10:1<sup>2</sup>) with the participle seem to be extensions of such classical usage as the participle with *δῆλός εἰμι* and *φανερὸς εἰμι*.

The Apostolic Fathers are closely allied to the New Testament in the uses of the participle employed, in the particles used with the participle, and in the classes of verbs with which the participle occurs. The difference from the New Testament, which consists largely of frequency of usage and emphasis, indicates that the Apostolic Fathers are freer from hebraistic influence than the New Testament.



A Historical Examination of Some Non-Markan  
Elements in Luke





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# A Historical Examination of Some Non-Markan Elements in Luke

By ✓  
ERNEST WILLIAM PARSONS, PH.D.



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## INTRODUCTION

The discovery and recognition of the practical or functional element in the writings of both Old and New Testaments have produced results of great value for the interpretation of these books. As long as the approach was from the standpoint of absolutism—that is, as long as the statements which the writings contained were considered valid and true *per se*, as well as authoritative and equally applicable to all time and to every conceivable circumstance—so long did formidable difficulties arise on almost every page the scholar examined. It is not claimed that the application of the principle of pragmatic interest has solved all the problems or laid all the specters, but it is contended that no scientific interpretation is possible where the immediate circumstances of the writing, with regard both to the writer and to those to whom the document was directed, are ignored.

A brief review of some of the New Testament writings will serve to illustrate and establish the position. The correspondence of Paul with the Corinthian church presents almost innumerable difficulties if an attempt is made to interpret it apart from a definite problem-situation. As long as the thought of universal validity was maintained the difficult passages, such as speaking with tongues, eating of meats, the suggestions regarding marriage, the conduct of women in public worship, either were passed by lightly, received fanciful explanations, or were rendered grotesque by an attempted application of them unchanged to the differing conditions of another age. The recognition of the definite purposes and aims of this correspondence not only has cleared up many perplexing statements, but has enhanced the religious value of the letters for modern life. The reality of the problems of that day, the primitive ideas, the crude yet splendid attempts at readjustment of old and new on the part of this church, as well as the sanity and insight of the great apostle, emerge with considerable clearness when viewed from the strictly historical side.

The strange atmosphere of the Colossian letter, especially in the sphere of christological thought and statement, is exceedingly difficult apart from a knowledge and recognition of the definite aim which the writer had before him. The differences between this letter and those generally acknowledged to be Pauline are so marked as to have occasioned grave questioning as to whether the apostle could have produced



it. The recognition of the incipient heresy with its peculiar characteristics against which the writer so stoutly contended has furnished the key to the situation, and, although we may not know all we wish to know concerning the sect at Colossae, enough is known to explain why the theological thinking of the apostle manifests this rather sharp turn.

The Roman letter is but poorly understood until we remember the bitter conflicts and bitterer experiences which had fallen to the lot of the author while he labored in the East. His work practically completed there,<sup>1</sup> this missionary-statesman, with visions of western worlds to conquer, in which campaign Rome as a base of operations was almost indispensable, pens the document which is to introduce him to the church in that city and forestall those opponents who hung upon him so tenaciously. Approached in this way, much of the letter becomes luminous.

Few, if any, of the books of the New Testament have given rise to so many baffling questions, have suffered so many fantastic interpretations, as that which closes the Canon. The history of its interpretation is full of interest<sup>2</sup> but that is not our concern here. It was not until indications of a definite situation were discovered and expressions which disclosed the purpose of the writer in connection with this situation were noted that any real progress in the comprehension of the Apocalypse was made. If this book is read in the light of the Domitian persecution, the rare faith and fine courage of the author bear a message which cannot fail to be of effect.

The First Epistle of John is in danger of sad misunderstanding unless it is recognized that it was written to combat certain errors which the author considered serious. Hostility to Docetic Gnosticism which was developing along the lines of aristocracy and libertinism was without doubt one of the determining factors in the composition of this letter. Not to remember this and not to allow for it is to miss the original meaning of its composer.

So far little exception will be taken to our statements. In fact it would not be a difficult matter to show that all the epistolary literature of the New Testament was produced by problem-situations more or less definite. But what of the gospels—those fountain-heads of our knowledge of Jesus? Has the pressure of circumstances been operative there? Do these gospels with their resemblances and differences arise from definite situations which have determined their material and

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 15:23.

<sup>2</sup> See von Dobschütz, *The Eschatology of the Gospels*, pp. 39-60; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, pp. cciii-ccxv; R. H. Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*.

colored its presentation to a greater or less degree? It is coming to be, if it is not already, generally recognized that this is true in a striking way of the Fourth Gospel. The points of dissonance and disagreement between it and the Synoptics are seen to be very largely the result of definite situations and aims which controlled its production. To take but one example: the representation of John the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel with its peculiar and striking dissimilarities to the Synoptic picture is wonderfully well explained as a polemic against a Johannine sect which preferred claims for its founder that made him a rival of the Christ.<sup>1</sup> It can scarcely be gainsaid that the Fourth Gospel is a pragmatic work, and in the light of this admitted fact it must be interpreted.<sup>2</sup>

As to the Synoptics, the answer is not so clear nor so unanimous. There have been statements as to the purposes of these gospels, but they are general purposes only and throw but little light on many of the problems. It is true that Luke gives a statement of purpose in his preface,<sup>3</sup> but it carries us only a short distance on our way. Of Mark some are content to say that he sets forth the public career of Jesus with little or no conscious argumentative purpose;<sup>4</sup> others, however, detect a more or less definite purpose. One is justified in saying that it was written for purposes of propaganda and not as critical history. With regard to Matthew it is generally said that his aim is to show that Jesus is the Old Testament Messiah founding the kingdom which after Jewish rejection is thrown open to all. Sometimes a definite situation is suggested, but rarely with assurance. It is in the very nature of things that there should be a greater amount of indefiniteness in discovering the exact purpose of the Synoptics, assuming for the moment that they have more than a general one. In the first place, the narrative and biographical material which they use serves at times to make the discovery of purpose difficult. The charm of the narrative diverts the attention and only by careful searching can such purpose be detected. In the second place, these writers are using for a later period stories of a past or passing generation, and sayings that ostensibly were spoken by a person of a past generation in view of situations which confronted him at the time of speaking. The matter is further complicated by the

<sup>1</sup> As to the existence of such a sect, cf. Acts 19:1-5, and p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Note the specific aim of the Fourth Gospel as stated in 20:31. For a statement of the aims of the Fourth Gospel, cf. E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 65-103; Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums*.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 1:1-4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ernest D. Burton, *A Short Introduction to the Gospels*, pp. 33-40.

use of sources which in all probability themselves took form in whole or in part in response to immediate needs in the early Christian communities. It is not required for the purposes of this essay to trace this matter farther here. The pragmatism of the Synoptics, while highly probable and generally admitted, is discoverable only after a patient and somewhat minute examination. But its discovery, even with what lack of definiteness may attach to it, has been of value and will be increasingly so in the determination of origin and date.

The point of the foregoing partial survey has been merely to show the existence, and that generally of a specific and definite purpose in the New Testament writings. They were not written merely because an author wished to produce. They did not aim—in nearly all cases—to be historical works, at least, primarily. They were rather writings pressed out in the heat of controversy, struck out by the blows of the militant young religion as it met its foes and thrust back its frontiers, and sometimes called forth by the pain and mystery of persecution. That is to say, they were produced in some definite historical situation and to meet some specific need which is reflected more or less clearly on their pages.

If the books of the New Testament as they now stand are found on examination to manifest practical aims which help in their interpretation and elucidation, is there any valid reason against carrying back the process to the sources of these books where such sources are discoverable? Will it not yield the same assistance in regard to these sources as it has yielded in regard to the books themselves? This has been done in a measure in the case of the Apocalypse. The remains of an older Jewish apocalypse, some Christian apocalyptic reflecting the time of Nero, and later additions from the time of Domitian, have been thought by some to be discoverable there. But we are in a better position in the matter of the discovery of sources with respect to the First and Third Gospels than with respect to any other books in the Canon. The use of Mark by each, the statement of Luke himself, and the comparison of the non-Markan sections of these gospels yield us results which cannot be obtained elsewhere in our field. There is no need to detail or even to outline the work that has been done on the literary relationships of the Synoptics. Our concern is not with that. The purpose of this essay is to submit some of the non-Markan material of the Third Gospel to an examination from the historical and problem-situation standpoints, with a view to discovering the interests which lay behind the formation of the tradition and thus to gain a knowledge of the provenance of such tradition and the date at which it probably took form.



Too often the approach to the study of the gospels is from the standpoint and the days of Jesus. This is done even by those who are investigating in a historical spirit and who are endeavoring by historical method to interpret the documents. Is there not at least as much to be said in favor of an approach from the standpoint of the Christian community in the period of gospel-making when these traditions were taking shape, or assuming new forms, either orally or in writing? Is it not strictly historical and psychologically correct to consider the gospel sources in the light of the pressing and insistent needs of the primitive Christian communities? It is incredible that the circumstances which caused the tradition to be preserved and emphasized should not color, and possibly determine, the selection and form of the products of their literary and pedagogical activity.

It is with the hypothesis that the problem-situation is a valuable touchstone for interpretation that the approach to this material is made. The method pursued will be to interrogate the various sections of the material with a view to discovering the purpose which it was designed to serve and to find the situation into which it fits with the greatest degree of probability. It is claimed that if certain sections manifest aptitude to serve certain purposes and such purposes which needed serving can be located in time and place we shall be justified in giving grave consideration to the possibility of those sections having arisen in oral or literary form at that time and in that location. Moreover, if a considerable number of sections show marked ability to function at a similar place and about the same period, and if we find this material existent in compact and solid form, it will be considered that there is a strong presumption in favor of considering this material either a document or a selection from a document. On the other hand, if in the course of our examination of the material certain sections of it should disclose such a diversity of problem-situations and characteristics as to call for a change of provenance, or if the controlling purposes appear to be essentially different, and if such diversity should continue in a fairly consistent way, it will be considered a valid argument for the differentiation of these sections into separate sources. This difference need not extend to every detail, for whatever the provenance or situation, there would of necessity be some common elements through community of general subject and aim.

Two matters call for consideration here. This discussion does not concern itself with the question of the historicity of the statements recorded in the material it considers. There will be little inclination



to deny that our gospels are interpretations of Jesus—his person, teaching, and works. The fact that they are interpretations, even interpretations arising amid stress of special situations to meet which they assumed approximately their present form, does not of itself involve a departure from essential historicity. A reflective interpretation may be as accurate as an unreflective one. It may even be possible that a reflective interpretation may give a closer approximation to the real significance of the events.<sup>1</sup>

Neither does the literary aspect of the synoptic problem intimately concern us here. This study may have a bearing on that question, but it approaches the material unhampered by any theory. While this is true, it must be said that the two-document theory is assumed to be not proven. The second source, Q, is on the basis of that hypothesis assumed to be a document. Upon how precarious a foundation this assumption rests the various attempts which have been made to reconstruct it clearly show. Much work on the problem has been vitiated by too rigid an adherence to it. It is at least as probable, in view of the phenomena of the First and Third Gospels, that Matthew had sources independent of Luke, and vice versa, while these sources may have possessed common material. Is it not possible that in the crystallization of tradition common material may have found itself in juxtaposition with peculiar material? The possibility of the emergence of similar problem-situations in various places and at slightly different times must be considered in the attempt to explain the variations of Matthew and Luke. It is an assumption largely gratuitous that all the common material in Matthew and Luke must have come from the same immediate source. Our approach to the study of the non-Markan Luke will be unhampered by the question of its relation to Matthew. The material will be taken as it stands in Luke and examined by the method outlined above.

Those parts of the Third Gospel which will come under our consideration are: (1) that block of material extending from 9:51 to 18:14; (2) the sections peculiar to Luke contained in 3:7—8:3. These latter sections do not appear consecutively, being broken by Markan material, but they are, nevertheless, rather clearly defined.

It may be urged as an objection to the following treatment that it goes on its own way with a degree of complacency and does not take into consideration the work that has been done by others and the conclusions which they have reached. It is quite true that there is an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 292-94.

apparent ignoring of much that has been said on the Synoptic Gospels, but this is not in any way due to a lack of appreciation of the excellence of the work done or of the very great value of its results. It has been thought advisable to avoid the literary question as far as possible as tending, on the one hand, to obscure the historical argument, and, on the other hand, to increase the length of this essay beyond its proper limits. It is not for a moment denied that the literary aspect of the problem has most important bearings on the matter; the desire has been to present the other phase. As to any failure to consider work done from the historical point of view, this is due to the fact that almost all of it, if not all, has a different approach, and thus it has been deemed wise to follow the main thread of the thought without deviating to discuss other conclusions. The wisdom, or the reverse, of this proceeding must be left to the individual judgment. In a very few cases exception has been made and an opposing position considered. To have discussed or even to have noticed the various matters of this kind would have unduly beclouded what the writer intended should be his chief interest.

A further objection may be that there is underlying the argument of this essay an assumption that a very important, if not a determining, reason for the preservation and promulgation of traditions concerning Jesus is the ability to serve a situation obtaining after his departure. This assumption, it may be charged, is seriously challenged by the fact that the gospel-writers, working at a later date, used material which *ex hypothesi* took form to meet an earlier condition. The reply to such a charge will be along several lines: the persistence in the early church of situations generally similar to those which the formulation was first designed to meet, the greater freedom of adjustment and selective power in the period when the tradition was oral and first applied to the problems of the community, the increasing disinclination to interfere with apostolic tradition, and the fact that in some cases alterations due to needs existent at the time of the writing of the gospels can be detected. Moreover, is there not underlying such a criticism an assumption that there was a pre-resurrection tradition of more or less fixity? Is it not nearer the fact to say that the literature is a product of the movement and bears the marks of the problems amid which it arose and for the solution of which it was designed?

## I. AN EXAMINATION OF THE MATERIAL CONTAINED IN LUKE 9:51—18:14

We shall first pass in review that mass of material which is found in Luke 9:51—18:14, and which is known by various designations, such as "The Great Interpolation," "The Perean Section," etc. In this material the points of contact with Mark are reduced to a minimum and the peculiarly Lukan material is predominant. As already stated, the purpose of examining this material is to discover the interests of the early church which were served by it and to determine as accurately as possible their time and place.

### I. THE GENERAL MISSIONARY INTEREST

It does not require a very close study of the section before us to show that one of the interests served by it is the general missionary activity of the Christian community. The statement of the appointment of the Seventy, the instructions given to them, the classes among which they labored are in close alignment with it.<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that the function of these messengers is purely a missionary one. There is no word of their selection for instruction by Jesus as there is of the Twelve. They are appointed to give a specific message and to do a specific work (vs. 9). The first matter that impresses one in reading this account is the number—seventy. It appears nowhere else in connection with the work of Jesus, and it is rather surprising to find that such a number of competent evangelists were available. The number seventy, which varies with seventy-two, is a natural number, and, at the same time, a somewhat artificial one. When the expanding interests of the church called for assistants to the Twelve, we find the seven deacons, the seventy (seventy-two) evangelists. In the predilection of the Jews for such numbers is found one reason for the choice, while the analogy of the seventy (seventy-two) elders who counseled with Moses might be adduced as another. The number suggests a time when the evangelizing task of the church had become too great for the Twelve. The emphasis placed upon the house in this tour of the Seventy suggests the important part played by the house in primitive Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luke 10:1-24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts 2:46; 5:42; 8:3; 9:32 ff.; chap. 10; 12:12; Col. 4:15; Philem., chap. 2.



The impression regarding Jesus is that very much of his work was done in connection with the synagogues and in the open air. Assuredly some of his activity was in houses, just as some of the early Christian activity was in synagogues, but the emphasis on the house is suggestive. A rather striking phrase meets us in this account—"son of peace." In early Christian thought peace was one of the possessions of the true Christian. *Χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη* is a frequent combination. Is a "son of peace" a Christian, and is the evangelist to search out the house of such a one as a place from which to work? These verses are quite intelligible from the standpoint of a statement of regulations of primitive Christian evangelists. A Christian house is to be the base of operations and the prohibition of the long Jewish salutations is to prevent secondary matters from interfering with that which is of supreme importance. The injunction to "eat such things as are set before you" looks in the direction of a relaxation of the customs regarding clean and unclean. It points to a time when the work of Christian evangelists brought them into intimate contact with others than rigid Jews. Was this the case in the ministry of Jesus? The command to wipe off the dust from their feet against a rejecting city is very Jewish, but indicates that the activity of these men extended to others than orthodox Jews. The Jew is said to have shaken off the dust of Samaria when he left its unclean soil. The verses containing the woes on the cities have a twofold tendency. There is a distinctly favorable inclination to the extra-Palestinian cities represented by Tyre and Sidon, while the woes pronounced on the Jewish cities seem to indicate a rejection of the Christian message by the Jews and to reflect a time when the Christians would be interested in recalling any word of Jesus which represented the anger of God as falling on the Jews for such rejection.

The verses 17-24 reflect a stage when the missionary work of the church has met with some success and some failure. The exorcism of demons—the spectacular part of the work of the church—has made the greater impression and threatens to engross the attention of the Christians to the exclusion of the moral and spiritual aspects of their task.<sup>1</sup> This is very primitive and points to a time when the gifts of the Spirit were still a unique possession. The partial failure is shown in vss. 21 ff. The message of the preacher has not met with approval and acceptance on the part of the influential classes, but it is in the main, if not exclusively, by the lower and humble people that its appeal has been answered. The word of Jesus that it was the will of the Father

<sup>1</sup> Vss. 17-19.



that "babes" should receive the revelation would be of immense value in such a situation. The statement of Paul to the Corinthians<sup>1</sup> might be considered here.

These indications tend to show that this tradition serves interests which would emerge when the church began systematically to expand the scope of her activities. This expansion necessitated the use of a larger number of evangelists than the Twelve, instructions for missionaries in their new work, and explanations of the phenomena attendant upon their work.

The parable of the Supper contained in 14:15-24 manifests the missionary interest in a most striking manner. There can be little doubt that the supper which is prepared represents the kingdom with its blessing. The invitation has been extended to those with whom the host had more or less intimate relations, people who might be expected to appreciate the honor and eagerly to embrace the opportunity. Their astounding conduct could not fail to arouse the ire of the despised and rejected benefactor. He in turn meets the situation with conduct equally strange, in that he sends his servants to gather from the most unlikely places—the lanes and streets—people who had hitherto seemed to be at the farthest remove from those who were originally invited to enjoy the hospitality and generosity of the lord of the supper. Still more striking is the command to furnish his table with guests even to the extent of constraint. The keen disappointment and righteous indignation of the master is revealed by the stern statement that the refusal of his invitation brings absolute exclusion from the joys of the feast.

The most probable interpretation of this parable is that it sets forth the rejection of the gospel of the kingdom and its blessings by the Jews and their acceptance by the Gentiles. The situation reflected would be that of the early church in those days when she was feeling the obligation to press beyond the limits which had hitherto circumscribed her endeavors, and to give the message of redemption to people whom she had hitherto not considered eligible and who had been looked upon as having no claim on the blessings of the kingdom. The forces which brought about such a feeling of obligation are not to be discussed here, but the very essence of the gospel on its religio-ethical side was universalism. It is very evident that part of the early narrow, restricted community of Jewish Christians did break the "insidious bar" and "follow the gleam." But the very existence of the parable in its present

<sup>1</sup> I Cor. 1:26 ff.

form shows that this step was not taken without serious questioning as to its propriety. There was a question of tremendous import to be answered: How could it be that the heritage of the chosen people was to be taken away and given to those "without the pale"? In the time of Paul this question was insistent and the mighty mind of the apostle grappled with it. His solution is contained in the letter to the Romans, chaps. 9-11. How important a question it was and how bitterly contested is seen with some clearness in the situations discussed in Acts, chaps. 10, 11, 15, and in the long struggle between Paul and the Judaizers. This parable explains the matter by two implicit statements: (1) Those to whom the invitation was first extended, namely, the Jews, had wantonly refused it. (2) By a direct command of the master of the feast the invitation is given to those without.

The situation thus reflected is that of the early days of missionary activity, when the barriers which had kept the church's endeavor entirely within the Jewish nation were being broken down and the gospel was being carried to the Gentiles. How great an advance and how perplexing a question this was we shall not comprehend unless we succeed in appreciating, in a measure, the strong and deep Jewish convictions of the early Palestinian Christians, especially those of Jerusalem. The foundations of their universe were being removed and it was inevitable that intense and bitter opposition should arise. If in this situation the missionary leaders, men with keener insight and broader horizons than their fellows, could adduce a tradition that Jesus had taught them that this would be the line of development—if the missionary endeavor of the church could be reinforced by an *ipse dixit* of the Master—it would be of immense value and importance. Such a tradition we have in the verses under discussion.

The inimitable parables of the fifteenth chapter come under this general missionary interest. The introductory verses to the parables which show how Jesus associated intimately with publicans and sinners, and which contain the Pharisaic protest against this intimacy, can easily be understood as rendering service in such a situation as that in which Peter is described as finding himself in Acts 10:10; 11:3 ff. If the Master had eaten with sinners the disciple is not above him. This would furnish a most powerful argument in favor of the broader and more generous spirit which was reaching out with the gospel to those beyond. The parables themselves, so well known, bear directly on missionary endeavor. The ratio of ninety-nine to one is not of national significance; to consider it as such would be to make a mere incident of the parable

the important matter. The parables of the Lost Sheep and Coin are not polemics against the Jews nor arguments for the Gentile mission as such. They are rather arguments, the more potent because so apposite, setting forth the urgency of saving the lost, and the "imperative" of missionary activity. If there is significance in the ratio of the numbers, it is to show the value of such work, even if it appears insignificant in results. It is the qualitative rather than the quantitative emphasis.

The third parable, that of the Prodigal Son, has a similar point if we go no farther than the twenty-fourth verse. The point is made in a somewhat different manner, but it is the same thought that is emphasized, namely, the supreme necessity and value of the work of saving the lost. The joy of the father and the glad willingness of the reception of the wayward one reproduced in the attitude of the missionaries and Christians generally would be of no little value in their work. If the Father so receives the repentant sinner, surely his followers must not refuse. The incident of the elder brother appears to have another interest. Does it reflect the opposition to missionary endeavor which was much in evidence in the early Christian community according to our sources? The visit of Peter to Caesarea was followed by a summons to explain his attitude and conduct.<sup>1</sup> It might well be that the story of the elder brother was an answer to this hostility to the broader sphere of activity and the more generous spirit which was manifesting itself in the missionary wing of the church.

So much for the interest of the church's general missionary activity. The questions now confront us: At what place and at what time did such situations obtain as seem to be reflected in the sections which have just been discussed? There are three phases of the church's missionary endeavor set forth: (1) In the sending of the Seventy with the accompanying instructions there is little, if anything, to show the area to which their labors were to be confined. It is doubtless a Palestinian mission—the whole atmosphere is Jewish—but whether it is a mission which includes Gentiles or is limited to Jews is not easy to determine. We are, however, safe in saying that it represents a missionary activity in a territory beyond that which the Twelve were able to comprehend. The questions as to the authority of those who were not of the Twelve and the conduct of missionaries were such as must early have created no little difficulty. In what place would a pronouncement on such questions be made? Undoubtedly in Jerusalem. Jerusalem was not only the headquarters for Christian activity, it was also the seat of the

<sup>1</sup> Acts 11:1 ff.



Twelve with whatever authority accrued to them. Such a position of leadership and prominence is shown in Acts 4:32-35; 6:1 ff.; 8:14. Moreover, we are told that the apostles remained there after the persecution had scattered the members of the Jerusalem communities abroad throughout the land.<sup>1</sup> That it would be from their circle or from their community that such a pronouncement on this new activity would issue is favored by several things: (1) The apostles were the channels of tradition and from them must come the words of Jesus. (2) The position of the Jerusalem church with its apostolic leaders in the council of Acts, chap. 15.<sup>2</sup> The position of James in that church is to be explained on the ground of his relationship to Jesus. That Jerusalem was and remained the center of Christian activity for a considerable time—that she was the mother-church to which all others looked with a certain esteem and deference—is witnessed by the attitude of Paul in the controversy just referred to and by his earnest desire to win the favor of the Jerusalem church, as shown by his conciliatory efforts in gathering contributions and his endeavor to avoid occasions of offense.<sup>3</sup> (3) There was no other center which was of sufficient importance or enjoyed sufficient prestige to enable it to speak at such a time.

As to the time at which such a situation obtained, we are dependent on the account in the Acts.<sup>4</sup> With the exception of the Pentecostal

<sup>1</sup> Acts 8:1.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. also Gal., chaps. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., the assumption of a vow, Acts 21:23 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A criticism might issue against some of the arguments advanced in this discussion to the effect that too much reliance is placed on the Acts of the Apostles and too large an assumption made of its historical accuracy. Such a point would not seem to the writer to be well taken. It is but a general accuracy that is assumed. The arguments rest, not on details in Acts, but on movements and tendencies which seem to bear the marks of verisimilitude and which in some cases have corroborative testimony. For example, there may be reason for questioning some of the details of the imprisonment of the apostles as recorded in Acts 5:17 ff., but that by no means necessarily invalidates the general statement of imprisonment and that at the hands of the officials to whom it is ascribed. Similarly, some features of the Samaritan mission may fail to carry conviction of accuracy without involving a refusal to accept the general fact of missionary expansion to Samaria. In general outline we must depend upon Acts for our knowledge of the lines along which Christianity moved in its onward march, and the statements of the book regarding the large features of development and expansion seem worthy of credence.

The criticism might carry farther to the point of objecting to what might appear to be a very different attitude toward the two books generally admitted to proceed from the same author. It may be said that the historicity of the Acts of the Apostles is assumed while that of the Third Gospel is tacitly challenged. The first point has just been considered. Already it has been pointed out (p. 13) that this essay does



outburst (and that is really not an exception) the activity of the early Christians as set forth in chaps. 1-7 of this book was confined entirely to Jerusalem. It is, of course, more than probable that isolated Christians and perhaps isolated communities of Christians existed outside Jerusalem at this period. There was such a group at Damascus very soon after the dispersion of Christians from Jerusalem (Acts 9:1 ff.). But so far as our sources take us, there was no definite or widespread propaganda outside Jerusalem until after the death of Stephen. At that time the church which was at Jerusalem suffered persecution and "they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles. . . . They therefore that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word." There seems to be no good reason for doubting the general accuracy of this statement. We know that the church did break beyond the Jerusalem limits and such an incident as that described has the marks of verisimilitude. When the young organization embarked on such a project as this there would be insistent need of an authoritative basis for such work to encourage missionaries and to silence objections, as well as to give directions which should govern the new enterprise. In such a situation emphasis upon the tradition of the mission of the Seventy would be natural.

Passing to the second phase, that represented in the parable of the Supper, we have the missionary situation after the appeal has been made to the Jews and has met with but a scant measure of success. One of the interesting phenomena of the development and spread of early Christianity is the comparative silence regarding its progress in Palestine apart from Jerusalem. Were the bonds of Judaism too strong to be broken, the patriotic desire for a world-ruling kingdom too deeply rooted to be removed? But the early Christian missionaries were Jews and to them the refusal of the gospel by their compatriots and its acceptance by others constituted a problem of the most serious kind. Amid such questionings the parable of the Supper would serve as a solution and would perform a function beyond that which it could exercise in any other situation we know. Again, we see that the probable place of issue is Jerusalem, and the time would be the early part of the Gentile

not concern itself with the question of historicity, but is engaged in another task. Regarding such a tacit challenging the following is evident upon even slight reflection: The fact that certain traditions owe their preservation and literary formulation to the necessity of meeting needs in the early Christian community in no way necessarily impairs the essential historicity of these traditions. The presence or extent of modification induced by the exigencies of the time when they received oral or written form is another problem.

mission. That is to say, it comes from the period when the Palestinian Christians were gradually reaching out with the gospel to those who were not their fellow-countrymen before the Gentile activity of Paul and the Antioch church.<sup>1</sup>

The third phase, the fifteenth chapter, comes from a situation very similar to that just outlined, namely, when the question of contact with those who were unclean from a Jewish point of view was before the community and when the value and importance of mission work required elucidation and emphasis. As in the case of the previous sections, the place where this question would become acute was Jerusalem and the time would be at the dawn of the church's wider mission.

Thus we have these three sections, strongly missionary in character, falling in tolerably well with situations and needs which we know to have existed in the Jewish-Christian community at Jerusalem in the very early years of its life. It is, of course, impossible to fix accurately the date, but the period 35 A.D.-50 A.D. would meet the facts fairly well. The year 35 A.D. is an approximate date for the commencement of missionary endeavor, and by 50 A.D. the emphasis was being shifted from the general question as to the propriety of a Gentile propaganda to the narrower question of the admission of Gentiles to Christian status and privileges apart from the observance of certain Jewish requirements. As to the formulation of such traditions at this time as against their previous existence and emphasis one cannot but wonder at the tardiness of the apostles in moving out to larger spheres if they possessed the definite declarations regarding mission work which now appear in our gospels. Moreover, if the universalism of some of the traditions was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts 8:26 ff.; chap. 10; 11:19-26. It may be urged that the parable of the Supper would function as well after the Gentile mission of Paul as in the first break of the Christians with the Jews and the corresponding turning of the Gentiles. That is to say, the Jewish Christians always intended to go to the Gentiles with the gospel, but not in Paul's way, and this is a reflection of that later phase of the perplexing problem. Against this may be placed the real inner struggle of the Jerusalem Christians when the first overtures to the Gentiles were made by Peter and others. It is highly probable that a tradition such as this would rise in the keenness of the initial contest. Secondly, there was little remaining of the Gentile question after Paul had done his work. His success was too overwhelming. Whatever was the actual result of the Jerusalem conference, the intensity of the problem of a Gentile mission could never be the same afterward. Moreover, the general Jerusalemic character of the material in this whole section tells against the later formulation of this paragraph. The center of missionary activity and missionary struggle was transferred from Jerusalem to Greek soil after the apostles left that city, and this greatly decreases the probability of such a tradition arising in this latter environment.

existent, one cannot fail to be amazed at the difficulties which Paul and others had to overcome in practicing it. Is it not at least probable, in view of the historical fact of the confinement of apostolic and Christian work to Jerusalem for a number of years, that it was the essence of the movement itself combined with the external situation which drove Christianity out to a wider conquest? In such a case it is quite comprehensible that these traditions were given form in the place and at the time when the need for them was most acute.

## II. THE SAMARITAN INTEREST

There is another interest found in the material under consideration which might have been subsumed under the previous section, but it is of such a definite character and of such importance that a separate treatment has been thought proper. It is what we may call the Samaritan interest. Nowhere else in the Synoptics do the Samaritans come into prominence as in this peculiarly Lukan material. In fact, Samaria or the Samaritans are mentioned but once in the Synoptics outside the section Luke 9:51—18:14. This is in Matt. 10:5, where an injunction is given to the twelve disciples to avoid any Samaritan city. In the Fourth Gospel two rather curious references to the Samaritans appear. The fourth chapter is for the most part concerned with the conversation of Jesus and the Samaritan woman. A very striking parenthesis occurs in vs. 9: "For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." In a passage still more striking<sup>1</sup> the Jews are represented as saying to Jesus: "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan and hast a demon?" In this Lukan material, however, the Samaritans occupy a position which, while not large absolutely, is of great importance by reason of contrast and by reason of the striking character of the passages containing the allusions. These passages are: (1) 9:51-56, in which the unwillingness of the Samaritans of a certain village to receive Jesus and extend him hospitality calls forth from the "Boanerges," on the one hand, a desire for vengeance, and from Jesus, on the other hand, a mild rebuke of his disciples' impetuosity; (2) the parable of the Good Samaritan, 10:25 ff.; and (3) the story of the healing of the ten lepers, only one of whom, a Samaritan, returned to express gratitude for the benefits received, 17:11 ff. That these people, so thoroughly neglected elsewhere in the Synoptics, should occupy such a position of prominence in these nine chapters surely merits our attention. The probable significance of the phenomenon we shall discuss later.

<sup>1</sup> John 8:48.



We must turn aside for a moment to consider the relationship and feelings which existed between the orthodox Jews and the Samaritans. There is little reason to doubt the essential historicity of the story of the origin of the Samaritan people as given in II Kings 17:3 ff., although it is probable that more than one Assyrian king, possibly three, figured in the importations of colonists. The population resulting from the deportation of the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom and the introduction of foreigners from various conquered countries to take their places was known by the name of Samaritan. However strong a strain of Israelitish blood was retained by the resulting mixed race, it was inevitable that the Jews who prided themselves on the maintenance of purity of blood should despise and look with contempt on those who persisted in calling themselves **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** without possessing the right so to do. This contempt is shown by the rabbinical term for this people, **בְּנֵי חִתִּים**.<sup>1</sup>

The exclusive policy of the rigid Jews would compel them to refuse recognition to a people of mixed blood, whose religion was under grave suspicion of containing foreign elements.<sup>2</sup> The old cleavage between North and South would easily revive to deepen the difference, and the politico-religious barrier thus formed would be hard to surmount. How formidable this barrier was is seen in the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim, to which the Samaritans could have been driven only after being convinced that reconciliation was impossible. The most frequent references to the relations which existed between the Jews and the Samaritans are found in Josephus, and while one does not receive the statements without caution, there is little reason to doubt that he represents the general attitude with fair accuracy. In the inter-biblical literature there are two references to the Samaritan people which indicate the hostility and contempt which a rigid Jew felt toward them. The first is in the Wisdom of Ben Sirach:<sup>3</sup> "With two nations is my soul vexed and the third is no nation: They that sit upon the mountain of Seir, and the Philistines, and the foolish people that dwelleth in Shechem." In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Levi, chap. 7) we have the statement: "From this day shall Shechem be called the city of fools." The testimony of the rabbinical literature is not uniform, but there are not lacking indications that with many of the Jews the hostility was an abiding one. In some of its Samaritan

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cuthah, II Kings 17:24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II Kings 17:33 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 50:25 ff.



passages the New Testament gives an interesting light on the matter. The statement of Matthew,<sup>1</sup> in which Jesus is represented as forbidding the missionary apostles to go into any city of the Samaritans, but to "go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," sets forth strongly the difference which was made between the two peoples. The fact that such a word was allowed to remain in the mouth of Jesus at the time of the composition of Matthew is extremely suggestive in this regard. The refusal of the Samaritans to receive Jesus and his followers, as shown in Luke,<sup>2</sup> manifests the same attitude. The Johannine references in the fourth chapter, where the woman practically refuses a draught of water to Jesus on the ground that she is a Samaritan while he is a Jew, followed by the explanatory parenthesis mentioned above, "For the Jews have no dealings with [ask no favors of (?)] the Samaritans," show that the distrust and dislike were deep and strong. The last reference in the gospels is that in which the term is applied to Jesus himself, and expresses the strongest contempt and antipathy.<sup>3</sup> These statements in the gospels can be explained on no other ground than the existence of an intensely bitter feeling between those who considered themselves of pure Jewish blood and faith and the inhabitants of the central district of Palestine.<sup>4</sup>

In the outline of the spread and development of early Christianity as presented in the Acts of the Apostles we find that no Christian work was done among the Samaritans before the dispersion which followed upon the persecution of the Jerusalem church. This is the case in spite of the stated command of the risen Lord to be witnesses in Judea and Samaria, and so forth.<sup>5</sup> In fact, when such work was undertaken it was in a way as great an innovation as the Gentile mission. The easy way in which the spread of the gospel among the Samaritans is recorded in the eighth chapter of Acts gives no hint of the difficulties, internal and external, which beset the Samaritan mission. Apparently it was a triumphant conquest on the part of Philip and the apostles Peter and John. Practically nothing is known of the Samaritan Christians in any organized way and it is probable that the terrible experiences of 67 A.D.-70 A.D. shattered any such work. But that the Samaritan people as such were not evangelized is to be inferred from the massacre

<sup>1</sup> 10:5.<sup>2</sup> 9:51 ff.<sup>3</sup> John 8:48.

<sup>4</sup> As to the persistence of feeling between Jews and Samaritans, see Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4. Aufl., II, 18-23; *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II, Vol. I, pp. 5-8.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 1:8.

of the Galileans under the procuratorship of Cumanus, 48-52 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The references in the gospels show that with the Christians the antipathy persisted, which would be very doubtful if such a sweeping Christianizing had taken place.

It would seem to be inevitable that, when the Christian missionaries went on Samaritan soil with the gospel message and offered the blessings of the kingdom to the people toward whom the orthodox Jews entertained such feelings, such a procedure would meet with strong opposition. A study of the early chapters of Acts shows clearly that the Christians at Jerusalem did not for some time differentiate themselves from the orthodox Jews save on the question of the messiahship of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> The whole of the controversy over circumcision ultimately rests on this fact. This being so, it must have seemed to strict Jews, in spite of points of contact between Jews and Samaritans, a casting of the children's bread to dogs to give the promises to the schismatics of the middle country. The name of the Samaritan missionary—Philip—and his appointment among the Seven raises the interesting question whether or not he was a Hellenist and possibly of more liberal views than many of the Palestinian Jews.

Bearing in mind these two facts, (1) the steady and persistent dislike which obtained between Jews and Samaritans and which Christianity did not easily obliterate from the Jewish heart, (2) that nowhere in the New Testament apart from the eighth chapter of Acts (this is shadowed by the Simon Magus story) are the Samaritans mentioned with approval except in this peculiarly Lukan section, we proceed to discover what interest could prompt or be served by such a departure from the otherwise constant attitude. It would, of course, be easy to say that it was the universalism of Jesus manifesting itself. But there are grave difficulties in the way of such a solution.

The allusions themselves are instructive. The first one<sup>3</sup> recognizes the general attitude of the Samaritans toward the Jews and, conversely, that of the Jews toward the Samaritans. The occasion of the hostility is said to be the purpose of Jesus to go to Jerusalem. Undoubtedly the apostles thought they were showing true loyalty to their Master and true devotion to their nation in their request for vengeance, and the rebuke of Jesus in favor of the despised enemies must have sounded strange in their ears. Yet it is a very mild form of approval, if that be the correct term, which the passage shows. The parable of the Good

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Ant.*, XX, 118-36; *B.J.*, II, 232-46.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 3:1 ff., chap. 13; 5:12(?), 30.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 9:51-56.

Samaritan sets this people in a much better light. The story and its setting are too well known to require repetition. It will not be disputed that the central teaching of the story is that of neighborliness, but that does not entirely explain the selection of the Samaritan as its shining example. It is true that the Samaritan had the advantage of proximity in being chosen for such a purpose, but the point could have been made equally well, if not better, had a Gentile been pressed into service. It is not easy to think that the three classes of men mentioned—priest, Levite, and Samaritan—merely chanced to be selected to illustrate the point. There is a suspicion that there is underlying a plea for the people whose representative could rise higher in the scale of mercy and generous service than the religious leaders of the self-complacent Jews. The Samaritan appears here in strong contrast with those who were supposed to typify the best in Israel's life, and the inference is inevitable that such a people could not be wholly bad. The third instance is also a case in which the Samaritan is set in the best possible light by contrast. Of the ten who had been the recipients of the blessing of healing only one cared to return to thank his benefactor. Here the Samaritan is not the model of service and neighborliness as above, but he stands forth as an example of gratitude. The marked contrast with the others, ostensibly Jews, is expressed in the words, "Were there none found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger?" The three allusions seem to be in climactic order of favorableness, but it would not be well to press such a point. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here traditions formulated or emphasized to meet the same general situation. Can we discover a situation which would be met by them?

The previous discussion makes it evident that it was the inception and process of the Samaritan mission. The very fact that Jews brought the new message could not fail to arouse antagonism among the Samaritans. To them the new propaganda would be little more than an attempt to induce them to acknowledge the purity and superiority of the rigid Jews. It does not require a great stretch of the imagination to conceive that some villages showed decided opposition to the missionaries, thus discouraging them and arousing the slumbering fires of hatred. In such a case what more powerful argument could be used than the story of the Samaritan churlishness, the refusal of Jesus to execute vengeance, and the calm turning from one village to another? It is an inimitable piece of work, looked at from the standpoint of what might easily be the pressing needs of the Samaritan mission.



But all the hostility did not emanate from Samaria. The Jerusalem Christians, some of them at least, were far too strict Jews to look on this proffer of the kingdom to these semi-aliens with equanimity. Very easily could mutterings against the movement arise, and even positive criticism. With what tremendous force could a word of the Master be used, if one could be obtained, in such a situation! Here we have the Good Samaritan, with the positive qualities of ethical righteousness, towering above the religious representatives of the Jews. If a Samaritan could be of this sort, surely the people were worthy of the best evangelizing efforts of the Christians. The great commandment is love to God and man. Up to the point of missionary departure it does not appear that the church had placed any broad emphasis on the latter. As soon as it began to be understood, the wider appeal was inevitable. The Samaritan is your neighbor; therefore see to it that he gets the same opportunity for blessing as you.<sup>1</sup> This story would be of real value in combating what would seem to be an unavoidable opposition to a Samaritan mission. A similar use could be made of the healing of the ten lepers. That the only one of the ten Palestinians who returned to acknowledge the benefits received was a Samaritan, a stranger, would tend to show that these people were not wanting in proper feelings of gratitude and would acknowledge their indebtedness to their benefactors beyond many who plumed themselves on their pure Jewish extraction. The manifestation of thankfulness would do much to break down the bars of prejudice.

Two lines of argument, then, seem to suggest that these Samaritan sections gained prominence at the time of the dispersion of the Jerusalem Christians, mentioned in Acts 8:1-2. These lines are: (1) the very high degree of probability that such a mission would create antagonism and opposition on the part of Jews who could not quite forget the deep cleft between them and their neighbors; (2) the isolated character of these phenomena of favorable consideration of the Samaritans in the whole field of primitive Christian literature. It scarcely needs argument to show that the place where such traditions would be of use, and, therefore, assume the form in which they could be used, was Jerusalem. There the apostles remained even in the days of the persecution (an indication of the closeness with which they adhered to Judaism); to them and to the church in that place the rebuffed missionaries would naturally turn for encouragement and instruction. There also would

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that there is a change of application of the term "neighbor." The Samaritan is the neighbor in vs. 36, but it should be the victim of the thieves.



most naturally arise the opposition to the movement which threatened to break down the barriers which the brooding and hatred of ages had raised. Thus we find the traditions of this specific Samaritan interest aligning themselves with those of the more general missionary interest in their pragmatic character and in that Jerusalem was the place of their promulgation.

### III. THE RECIPROCAL OPPOSITION OF PHARISEES AND CHRISTIANS

Readers of the gospels are so familiar with the differences which arose between Jesus and the religious leaders of his people that but scant attention is paid to features of the tradition which fit but strangely into the career of Jesus as we know it. It is not to be doubted that there was opposition between Jesus and the scribes and Pharisees, and that it was an important, in some respects a determining, factor in his career. But it may well be questioned whether the portrayal of these classes, as we have it, is quite a fair and unprejudiced one. Religious prejudice is an adept at giving a twist to the facts. Modern Jewish apologists have risen to protest against this depicting of their compatriots, and to declare the inaccuracy and inadequacy of the description.<sup>1</sup> From unprejudiced Jewish sources we gain the impression that these apologists have many things in their favor.

One cannot avoid questioning whether if this hostility of the Pharisees to Jesus had ceased at his death and resurrection the bitterness and vituperation which some parts of our gospel story manifest would have been remembered and recorded. It does not make pleasant reading, and it is hard to believe that the early Christians would have preserved such traditions and have given them prominence if the antagonisms of the Jewish religionists to the thought and attitude of Jesus had not been transferred to his followers.

We learn from the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles that such opposition did persist, and that it rose at last into persecution. It is true that the Sadducees seem to have the prominent part in any proceedings against the Christians, but this may be accounted for in several ways. (1) The high priests, who possessed great authority, belonged to the Sadducean party. To them would be the most telling

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the discussion among Schürer, Abraham, Montefiore, and Menzies, in *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4. Aufl., II, 537-79; *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 90-125, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XI, 626-42; *Hibbert Journal*, I, 335-46, 789-92; cf. also *Revue des études juives*, LI, 191-216; LII, 1-23.

appeal in the matter of safeguarding the national religion from everything that had in it the possibilities of inconvenience for the official class. Already in the case of the death of Jesus the Pharisees, generally their bitter opponents, had joined hands with them. It was an easy matter to continue the alliance against the followers of Jesus. (2) The Sadducees were dominant in influence in the Sanhedrin, and were the officials. To act legally in a matter of this sort their interest and support must be enlisted. (3) The doctrine of the resurrection which the Christians preached would be offensive to them.

But the jealous party in the matter of opposing innovations on the national religion was the Pharisees. This had been true at all times since the Maccabean period. The interference of the authorities with the apostles in which the Sadducees appear to be the leaders<sup>1</sup> was but a herald of the coming storm. Even in these cases the Pharisees would not lack representatives in the punitive court—the Sanhedrin. It is quite possible that they were the real instigators of the opposition, as in the case of Jesus. At any rate, when severe persecution makes its appearance at the time of the death of Stephen and during the following months it is not a Sadducee, but a Pharisee of the Pharisees, that is the moving spirit and the most active agent. Here again the authority of the high priest has to be invoked to give an air of legality to the matter.<sup>2</sup> The incentive to move against Stephen and the sect of which he was a member is very similar to that which actuated the Pharisees in their opposition to Jesus. The sanctity of their religion was being invaded, its permanency and authority disputed. There are many indications that the Pharisees were the moving spirits in the persecution of the early church, working, of course, in conjunction with the priestly authorities, who would be aroused on personal rather than on religious grounds.

What situation do the sections of Luke under consideration reflect? The first section is one of considerable length and extends from 11:37 to 12:12. It is readily admitted that much of this fits well in the ostensible situation and represents a fairly acute stage of the controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees. But there are features which suggest a later situation. The intensely Jewish atmosphere of this section is shown in 11:41, "But give for alms those things which are within and behold all things are clean unto you." That is to say, that which makes

<sup>1</sup> Acts 4:1 ff.; 5:17.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 9:1. As to Paul's energy and persistence in persecution, cf. Gal. 1:13, 23; Phil. 3:6.

clean is almsgiving. It was among the Jews that almsgiving was almost tantamount to righteousness.<sup>1</sup> One wonders if the ἀρπαγῆς of 11:39 is material and refers to the wealth of the Pharisees when compared with the poverty of the Christians. It would not be hard to find there an added cause of censure.<sup>2</sup> "Ye build the tombs of the prophets and your fathers killed them. So ye are witnesses and consent unto the works of your fathers: for they killed them, and ye build their tombs. Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send unto them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall kill and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world may be required from this generation. . . . Woe unto you lawyers! for ye took away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves and them that were entering ye hindered." How could it be said that these Pharisees were witnesses and participants of the works of their fathers? It may be that it meant that the scribes were perpetuating the same system that killed the prophets, but that is not an adequate explanation. In the time of Jesus, so far as we know, no prophet, save himself, suffered at the hands of the Pharisees. But the matter gains point when we link up the memory of their part in his death, their supreme sin, with the persecution and death of Christians.<sup>3</sup> The combination "prophets and apostles" is very natural as coming from a primitive Christian community. These were two important orders in the early church.<sup>4</sup> The prophets enjoyed a place of prominence and esteem among early Christians and their words were considered to have authority. With regard to the term "apostles,"<sup>5</sup> it is a matter of grave doubt whether the title was given to the Twelve in the days of Jesus. In Eph. 4:7 ff. "apostleship" is a gift of the ascended Christ, that is, of the Spirit, and is placed in the same list as prophets, evangelists, and so forth. It is probable that this title was conferred on the intimates of Jesus to mark their peculiar qualifications as witnesses of the resurrection. In any case the collocation "prophets and apostles" admirably fits the situation of the early church at Jerusalem, and the passage suggests a time when the leaders of the church were suffering

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tob. 4:6 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Note the attitude of the early Christians toward wealth.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Acts, chaps. 7, 8; 12:1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> As to the position of Christian prophets, cf. Acts 11:27; 13:1; I Cor. 12:10, 28 f.; Revelation, and patristic references.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ernest D. Burton, "The Office of Apostle in the Early Church," *American Journal of Theology*, XVI, 561-88.



at the hands of the Jewish authorities. For such a situation and its effect on the early church the twelfth chapter of Acts may be consulted. "This generation" is to be held responsible for the whole process<sup>1</sup> and the penalty imposed is the abandonment of the Jews by God and the working of the power of evil among them. The rejection by the Jews of the proffered blessings of the kingdom through Jesus is set forth in vs. 52 and the greater blame attached to the *νομικοί*. But Luke 12:2 ff. suggests still more strongly the Apostolic age and the situation of the early church. The comforting assurance that the thing spoken secretly should have wide publicity would be of immense importance in reviving the drooping spirits of the Jerusalem Christians when, under stress of Pharisaic opposition, they had, at least for a time, to carry on their meetings secretly. It might well be that some wondered how they were to prosecute their work when publicity was prevented.<sup>2</sup>

That this section represents the Christian church under Pharisaic persecution seems clear from Luke 12:4 ff. There is a worse fate than bodily death, so terrible that it should be feared: the death of the soul, which death can be brought about by apostasy and denial. It is true that the Pharisees cause fear by the exercise of their persecuting power, but it is far better to suffer at their hands than to be unfaithful to God. Moreover, this suffering on their part is no indication that God has forgotten. He has numbered the hairs of their heads and everything is under his permissive control. The passage regarding confession or denial of the Son of Man would be of inestimable value in encouraging steadfastness and checking any tendency to apostasy. That such encouragement and warning were necessary stands almost in the nature of the case. The mention of the synagogues, the rulers, and the authorities in Luke 12:11 fits the Jewish-Christian situation in Jerusalem and its mission to Jews as it fits no other. The theme of the whole paragraph<sup>3</sup> is Christianity under persecution by the Pharisees. The Christians are to do their task, remain faithful, endure trials under the assurance of ultimate triumph. The appositeness of this section to the situation in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem, at the time of the Pharisaic opposition seems too clear to require further argument. It seems highly probable that we have here a primitive tradition regarding the Pharisaic religion and attitude adapted and brought into use in the time of its need. There does not appear to be any real reason for the

<sup>1</sup> Luke 11:50-51.

<sup>2</sup> For such prevention, cf. Acts 4:18; 5, 28; 12:12.

<sup>3</sup> 12:1-12.



preservation of this tradition unless it was called forth by continued opposition on the part of the sect so severely censured.

The anti-Pharisaic interest—for the expression of which we have found adequate cause—appears again in Luke 16:14-15. The section 16:14-17 seems to be composed of two originally independent parts, at least logically such, which interrupt the main thought. Vss. 14-15 contain the application to the Pharisees of the previous statements regarding the allurements and dangers of wealth, and suggest that in the gathering of their wealth their trust of the true riches had been betrayed. A further recurrence of the feeling against the Pharisees is seen in Luke 18:9-14 in the comparison of the Pharisee and the publican in their attitude of spirit in prayer. However genuine a tradition this might be from the standpoint of Jesus, it would never be of such significance as when the Christians, drawn from humble ranks, suffering privations and hardships, wondering as all Jews did why their piety was not rewarded with prosperity, became conscious of the wealth and the power and the unrighteousness of the Pharisees and oppressed with the burden of the contrast. Did the rank and file—yes, even the apostles themselves—reach this consciousness before their actual experience with the sect in Jerusalem? That their Master with his supreme insight saw thus clearly may be indisputable, but did even the clearest-visioned of his followers attain this? It is quite probable that this story gained currency in the days when the leaders of the church were antagonizing the Pharisees and when they wished to show to their half-doubting followers that in the sight of God they were the possessors of the true riches.

#### IV. THE EMPHASIS ON DISCIPLESHIP

In the very nature of the case the problems of discipleship, with their almost bewildering variety, would obtrude themselves very prominently in the early years of the Christian movement. The Christian body was composed of people who had broken, or were breaking, from moorings to which they had long held fast in safety and with more or less tranquillity. Many, possibly the overwhelming majority, of these people were from the humbler walks of life, uneducated, lacking in powers of self-control, creatures of impulse to a degree, suspicious and wayward, very human. The organization to which they attached themselves was new and untried, the motives which led to the attachment almost as varied as the people were numerous. It was a period of experiment, fluidity, uncertainty, and trial. The possibilities for

vagaries were many, and the need of instruction, encouragement, admonition, and control urgent. It would be strange indeed if such conditions and such need had not left their mark on the traditions of the time. In the section before us the interest of control of discipleship emerges very early. The passage Luke 9:57-61, which contains some very perplexing matters if interpreted from the standpoint of Jesus, becomes interesting and illuminating when looked at from the point of view of the early Christian community and the interest now under consideration. The language is so striking that one suspects a very insistent need for a clear and strong statement of the terms of discipleship. The glad abandon of the new convert is expressed in the words, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest"; and is in turn met by the ardor-dampening, "The foxes have holes and the birds of the heaven their nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." If there were those pressing into the new movement thoughtlessly or with hopes of any material benefit in the kingdom, such a reply must have given them pause. If there be any motive of self-aggrandizement it would be better to follow foxes, for the Son of Man has nothing material to offer. It does not require a high degree of imagination to think of such motives as actuating ones. The murmuring of the Grecian Jews regarding their widows,<sup>1</sup> the communistic experiment,<sup>2</sup> and the sordidness of Ananias<sup>3</sup> are straws which indicate the current.

The next statement of the passage<sup>4</sup> is an exceedingly strange one: "Let the dead bury their own dead, but go thou and publish the kingdom of God." On the face of it, the saying seems perfectly heartless, but it is somewhat intelligible if we can think of it as meeting a situation when the performance of filial duties threatened to interfere with a matter that seemed to be of supreme importance. It is probable that missionary tasks necessitated some hardships which might well cause some faint souls to waver. Such a word as this, as coming from the lips of Jesus and touching a thing of such importance to the Jews as decent burial,<sup>5</sup> would teach that true discipleship and membership in the kingdom called for the acme of self-abnegation. After this word, any plea on this or similar grounds would be ruled out of court. Very similar, but with a slightly different emphasis, is the third statement and reply.<sup>6</sup> One cannot but feel that the answer to a very natural desire to bid farewell to friends is harsh and unyielding. It is a minor thing for which to deem one unworthy of the kingdom. But if the statement be applied

<sup>1</sup> Acts 6:1 ff.<sup>2</sup> Acts 5:1 ff.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tob. 1:18; 2:3 ff.<sup>4</sup> Acts 4:32-36.<sup>5</sup> Vss. 59-60.<sup>6</sup> Vss. 61-62.

to a time when social and domestic ties and duties and the bond of blood were threatening to interfere with devotion to the new movement and its tasks, its value as coming from Jesus is instantly seen. That such a situation arose frequently in the early church is easy to believe. The scantiness of our sources and the unlikelihood of such a phase being directly recorded does not permit a definite assignment to a specific situation. The epistolary literature of the New Testament reflects similar or analogous situations. The point is that the paragraph represents Jesus as requiring of disciples absolute devotion and sacrifice. If Jesus demanded these or similar things no disciple who recognized his lordship could refuse them.

The same interest is clearly seen in a passage which has been discussed under the previous topic, Luke 12:1 ff. Here the disciples are exhorted to steadfastness and fidelity under persecution, evidently a persecution on the part of the Pharisees. The designation of the disciples as friends (*φίλοι*) in 12:4 is a fine touch and would serve to dignify discipleship. There is a strong exhortation to fidelity and watchfulness in 12:35 ff. The "burning lamp" and "girded loins" are striking figures of watchfulness and preparedness. This would seem to represent a time when the Christians were beginning to wonder at the delay of the Lord's return, which they had thought from the beginning would be immediate. With the wonderment are mingled some disappointment and a relaxing of vigilance, perhaps also a looseness of conduct and an indifference to work. The promise that the Master will come suddenly and himself minister to their needs and exalt them would fit such a situation excellently. That such situations of impatience and wonderment did exist is shown by Acts 1:6-7; I Cor., chap. 15; I Thess. 4:13 ff. It is a Christian recurrence of the problem, part of which the Jews solved by the doctrine of the resurrection.

There is a further appearance of the interest in Luke 12:49-53. It is not hard to think that a religious movement such as Christianity interfered with social and family relations. We scarcely need to look beyond our own generation and its denominationalism for proof. Amid the bitter differences which could so easily obtain when some members of a family or group embraced the new faith, what more telling word from the Master could be pressed into service than this? One of the purposes of the Lord's life on earth was that these divisions and struggles might come to pass. The pragmatic value of the passage is very evident.

Another outcropping of the interest in discipleship occurs in Luke 14:25 ff. The demands made on the true and worthy disciple and the



characteristics of such a one are here set forth. The previous paragraph has suggested how bitter an opposition could arise when Christianity differentiated itself from Judaism and began to be recognized as a different sect. The bitterness of feeling, the depth of resentment, and the measures of persecution which could obtain among members of the same household have a modern analogy on many mission fields. It would not be at all surprising if, in the face of social opposition and the hostile forces of domestic relations exerted in the same direction, not a few converts wavered in their resolution and threatened to apostasize. In such a case the reference to hatred of those nearest by ties of blood and to the bearing of severe discipline as typified by the term "cross," the reference to these as absolute essentials to true discipleship and, therefore, to participation in the blessings of the kingdom, would be a most potent force in steadying the wavering and restraining the feet of those who were faltering. The fact of apostasy in the early Christian community needs little argument. As soon as our sources expand, we find it appearing in Paul's work and causing him no little embarrassment and sorrow. Such apostates would be the occasion of much scandal and a serious hindrance to other converts. For the purpose of preventing hasty professions of Christian faith which would later be quickly denied under stress of privation, persecution, or opposition of any kind, the illustrations regarding counting the cost and planning the whole campaign in order to avoid the mockery of one's fellows and the sting of defeat would be strong weapons. These two illustrations are followed by the categorical statement that nothing under heaven must be allowed to stand between the disciple and the claims of his Lord.<sup>1</sup>

These passages do not complete the number which are concerned with statements regarding discipleship. Luke 17:1-10 concerns itself ultimately with the community life. The "little ones" are believers and some persons or things are causing them to stumble. It is not possible to say with any degree of assurance what are the causes of offense, but the seriousness of the matter is indisputable. It may be that the persecutors are here referred to and that on them the curse falls. But with equal, even with greater, probability, if we take "thy brother" of vs. 3 into consideration, the reference is to the treatment of the weak brother by some stronger one. This treatment is according to a standard which tends to discourage the weaker one and cause him to fall away. The seriousness of such a situation is clear. The exhortations to forgiveness<sup>2</sup> breathe the spirit of some generous soul and suggest

<sup>1</sup> Vs. 33.<sup>2</sup> Vss. 3-4.



that too stringent demands had been made by some puritanical disciplinarians and forgiveness and restoration withheld.

The following verses, especially 7-10, seem to indicate that some were beginning to plume themselves on the amount and quality of the service they were rendering. This might easily happen where the labors of some had been more successful than those of others. Thoughts would naturally fly to the greater rewards of the kingdom, and such a spirit would have large possibilities of creating discontent and dissension.<sup>1</sup> It would be very salutary and of great force to have a word of the Master which would tell them that after the utmost service had been rendered by them there was no cause for congratulation, but rather for humility of spirit; all they have done is but the mere fulfilment of duty. If thanks are expressed and blessing bestowed it is not on the basis of desert or merit, it is gratis.

Thus we see that the matter of discipleship bulks large in this material. There will be no inclination to deny that problems similar to those which are met by these sections arose wherever Christian communities came into being and flourished. It is simply the emergence of the human. Since this is so, it is not easy to tie down any section to a specific place or situation with any degree of assurance. But we may be confident that when these problems arose, problems which were vital to the church, no time would be lost in bringing to bear an authoritative word that would meet the situation. The place where these questions would first obtrude themselves and demand answer was almost certainly Jerusalem. The reference to the burial of the dead, the Pharisaic persecution, the impatience at the delay of the Lord's coming, and the pluming of one's self on greatness of service are primarily Jewish and Jerusalemic. While demonstration is not possible, there is much to be said in favor of the hypothesis that these traditions took form to meet situations in the Jerusalem community, or at least arose in Jerusalem, the center of apostolic tradition, to meet situations in the Christian communities on Palestinian soil.

#### V. THE ASCETIC INTEREST

In discussing the opposition to the Pharisees which seems to have obtained in the early church, we noticed occasional flashes of censure of their wealth-accumulating propensities combined with words of comfort to the poverty-ridden Christians. This last feature reappears

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the request of James and John and the indignation of the other disciples. Mark 10:35-41.

emphasized and strengthened in what we have called the ascetic interest. The first instance is in Luke 10:38-42 where Martha makes her appeal to Jesus against Mary. It is rather strange that the Son of Man who came "eating and drinking" should apparently rebuke the generous hospitality of his hostess. The matter takes on a new color from the standpoint of an interest which is either combating a tendency to indulgence and luxury or endeavoring to overcome the allurements of the "good things of life." The exaltation of the "good part which shall not be taken away" would serve such an interest. Whatever the interpretation of the "one thing," whether it signifies that the spiritual is to take precedence over the mere bodily necessities or refers to the simplicity of the meal, the tendency is to exalt the severe and repressive.

Again, in 11:27-28 an interest which might be called ascetic appears. The natural feelings and emotions are given a subordinate position and the spiritual is emphasized. This is the repressive element which makes religious duties override family ties and affections. The paragraph 12:13-20 sets forth an appeal to Jesus to be an arbitrator in the matter of an "inheritance." The stern refusal to deal with such matters, combined with the statement that a man's life consisteth not in the things which he possesseth, and with the parable of the Rich Fool, manifests a strong tendency against the accumulation of wealth and the indulgence which it brings and at the same time serves to exalt simplicity and sincerity of life. In agreement with this is the exhortation to avoid the chief seats at feasts and public places, with the corresponding commendation of humility, and the accompanying promise that true humility and freedom from self-seeking will gain the reward of honor and esteem, while ostentation and self-aggrandizement can meet no other end than confusion and humiliation.

It may be argued that these are tenuous threads from which to weave the fabric of an ascetic interest. It is granted that they are somewhat fragile, but not overmuch so. Is it not true that in the atmosphere of the early Christian community, with its vagueness and need of adjustment, the emphasis on asceticism could not be laid too strongly for fear of injuring an undeveloped faith? It would seem to be the part of good leadership not to urge it to the point of repulsion. The extravagant exaltation of this tendency in later times to the extent of indifference to the body and the glorification of martyrdom, as seen in the Epistles of Ignatius and the Martyrdom of Polycarp, would probably have strongly repelled the halting novices in the faith and defeated the aims of the interest.

Did a situation exist in the early church in which such an interest would play a part? We may note the experiment of that organization as recorded in Acts 2:43-45. The possession of great wealth was evidently not encouraged in the community.<sup>1</sup> Again, there can be little doubt that James, the brother of Jesus, early became a commanding and influential personage in the Jerusalem church.<sup>2</sup> His relationship to Jesus would naturally give him special claims to distinction and his dicta would have corresponding influence and weight. His Jewish strictness and rigidity on the ascetic side are shown in his attitude on the matter of clean and unclean,<sup>3</sup> as well as in the interference of his messengers at Antioch.<sup>4</sup> This, of course, proves no more than that James was a strict, unyielding Jew in these respects, but the elements which make for asceticism are there. However, in addition to this we have the statement of Hegesippus in the fifth book of his *Commentaries*, quoted by Eusebius:<sup>5</sup>

But James, the brother of the Lord, who, as there are many of his name, was surnamed the Just by all, from the days of our Lord until now, received the government of the church with the apostles. This apostle was consecrated from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor fermented liquors, and abstained from animal food. A razor never came upon his head, he never anointed with oil, and never used a bath. He alone was allowed to enter the sanctuary. He never wore woolen, but linen garments. He was in the habit of entering the temple alone, and was often found upon his bended knees, and interceding for the forgiveness of the people, so that his knees became as hard as camels' in consequence of his habitual supplication and kneeling before God.

Exception may be taken to the historicity of this passage, and probably some of the details are fanciful and apocryphal. But after due allowance has been made for legendary accretion there probably remains a residuum which indicates that James was of an ascetic temperament. It does not seem likely that such a statement arose with absolutely no foundation. This, coupled with what we know of the man from the New Testament, gives fair justification for ascribing a severe and repressive tendency to him. What is more likely than that this should appear in some of the traditions regarding Jesus and that these should be promulgated first in the Jerusalem community and made to meet any tendency to laxity and indulgence?

<sup>1</sup> Acts 4:32-35.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 15:13, 15, 22; 21:17; Gal. 1:19; 2:9, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 15:19-20.

<sup>4</sup> Gal. 2:12.

<sup>5</sup> *H.E.*, II, 23.



## VI. THE TEACHING ON EXORCISM

We pass now to one of the most difficult phases of our subject and one of no little importance. This is the teaching of this section on exorcism. Its first appearance is in connection with the return of the Seventy.<sup>1</sup> The Seventy are represented as rejoicing because on their missionary tour their work of preaching had been accompanied by works of exorcism, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in thy name." The sentence can be understood only in the light of the prevailing world-view and the demonology of the time. This, however, will form a later part of our discussion. The striking thing about this passage is that, apart from a momentary flash of apparent gladness, there is no word of commendation from Jesus for this work. On the contrary, there is a very distinct rebuff to any tendency to give an important place to this species of activity. "Nevertheless, in this rejoice not that the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven." Here the spiritual side of the work is clearly given prominence at the expense of the spectacular.

The question of exorcism crops out for a moment in Luke 13:31-33, where Jesus makes reply to the Pharisees who warn him against Herod. The reply is an oracular one and is rather colorless in respect to our discussion here. The other important place in the section where exorcism is discussed is in Luke 11:14-26. Here we seem to have two conflicting phases of the subject, the latter of which we shall discuss first. The statement regarding the man who has been delivered from an unclean spirit and who suffers the return of the demon with seven others of a more vicious type is one which has caused no little difficulty to interpreters. The only legitimate inference is that a deliverance from such a spirit is followed by a domination many times worse. Then why continue the practice? It would seem inhuman so to do. The question raises itself whether this passage does not represent a circle which is interested in showing the inferiority of exorcism as a line of religious activity and its temporary character. If this is so, it is a stronger expression of the interest manifested in the somewhat gentle rebuke of Jesus to the Seventy.

The verses which precede those which have just been discussed, namely, 11:14-23, offer some difficulty. It is the only definite case of exorcism in this whole section—in fact, in all the non-Markan material—and is on the whole unfavorable. The very fact that such activity could be connected with the name of Beelzebul shows that in some circles it

<sup>1</sup> Luke 10:17-20.



did not enjoy high repute. But the argument of the passage is that it is by divine power that these deeds are accomplished, and that this acquisition and exercise of power over the evil spirits is a foreshadowing of the kingdom of God, an earnest of the greater conquest to be. A stronger than "the prince of the power of the air" is working for the overthrow of evil. The implication of vs. 23 is that any opposition to this testimony is opposition to God through Jesus. It is quite possible that we have here a reply to those who denounced the practice from a circle which practiced exorcism and saw in it the promise and adumbration of the kingdom.

Have we then in these passages indications that there were two circles among early Christians which held opposing views on this subject? Let us examine whatever facts may have a bearing on the matter. In reference to the practice of exorcism by the early Christians we note that in Acts 5:16 works of healing and exorcism on the part of the apostles are said to have attracted large numbers of people from the country around Jerusalem. The opposition of the Jewish leaders seems to be closely connected with this. We have no means of determining what the "great wonders and signs" wrought by Stephen were,<sup>1</sup> but it is probable that casting out evil spirits had its place among them. In the Samaritan mission under the leadership of Philip we are told that his "signs" were exorcisms and that there were many of them. The story of Simon Magus gives an interesting side-light on the impression which such deeds made on a sorcerer. In Acts 8:14 ff. the power to cast out demons is dependent on the reception of the Holy Spirit, which reception was accompanied by external manifestations. On the missionary tour of Paul and Barnabas they wrought "signs and wonders" at Iconium, and unbelieving Jews stirred up opposition against them. We have also the specific case of Paul at Philippi.<sup>2</sup> Thus there can be no doubt that exorcism was practiced by Jewish Christians at a very early time, that it was performed under control of the Holy Spirit, and that it was exorcism in the name of Jesus.<sup>3</sup>

What was the Jewish attitude toward exorcism? It appears to have been more or less a custom among the Jews. This is shown by the *ad hominem* argument of Jesus in Luke 11:19, "By whom do your sons cast them out?" Unless there was a practice more or less prevalent the remark would have little point. Acts, chap. 19, is also of significance here. At Ephesus Paul came into contact with a number of itinerant exorcists of Jewish nationality. Evidently they made a profession of

<sup>1</sup> Acts 6:8.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 16:16 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Acts 4:30; 5:28; 16:18; Luke 10:17.

casting out demons. In the interbiblical literature the Book of Tobit presents a case in point, and it is an easy matter to trace both prophetic and legal hostility to all forms of magic.<sup>1</sup> The translation of Exod. 20:7 might well run, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God for an evil purpose." The evil use of the name of Yahweh which is here forbidden cannot possibly refer to its use in swearing, because the people are frequently exhorted to swear by his name.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the use of the sacred name for any such purpose as blasphemous cursing would be the last thought for a Jew. It is far more likely that the prohibition is to prevent its use in incantations and spells which conjured the evil spirit to or from its abode. Two things then are clear: (1) that the practice of sorcery was in vogue among the Jewish people, for laws are not made in advance of need and prophets do not fulminate against purely imaginary evils; (2) that there were legal prohibitions of such practices.

We must now recall that at the head of the church in Jerusalem stood a man who was a Jew of a rigid and strictly legal bent. To such a man the exorcisms which were performed would be a matter for doubt, if not a thing of abhorrence. That James had a strong following in the Jerusalem church is evidenced by the part it played later in the legalistic controversy. What is more probable than that in this circle there grew up an opposition to the practice of exorcising in the name of Jesus? To the members of this legalistic circle it was a transgression of a direct command and therefore not to be tolerated. Viewed from the standpoint of such a situation the passages on exorcism in our section become intelligible as they do on no other interpretation. Again we find our material giving indications of having emanated from the Christian community at Jerusalem.

#### VII. THE PRAYER ELEMENT

The next interest which we discover in our material is one which might be considered so general that it would be impossible to discover a situation into which it would not fit, and, therefore, difficult to assign to any particular situation with any high degree of probability. The prayer element in this material emerges first in the eleventh chapter, where we have the shorter and less-known form of the Lord's prayer. The introduction to this prayer is significant: "And it came to pass as he was praying in a certain place, that when he ceased, one of his disciples

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 8:9; Jer. 27:9-10; Mal. 3:5; Exod. 20:7; Lev. 19:26, 31; 20:6; Deut. 18:11. The passage in Deuteronomy forbids any commerce with magic and uses the broadest terms in this connection; cf. "abominations of the nations."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deut. 10:20.

said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples." This is very Jewish, and to feel the atmosphere one has but to recall the fact that the rabbis sometimes composed prayers for their pupils. This introduction is very different from that which meets us in the Gospel according to Matthew and raises the question as to the situation which may have caused it to be remembered or formulated. It would seem to represent a period in which Christianity had not formulated its prayers and was feeling the need of so doing. Gradually becoming conscious of its difference from Judaism, it would come to feel the inadequacy of the old prayers to meet the new spirit, and thus to lay emphasis on such an element. There is yet another possible indication of the situation: "Even as John also taught his disciples." The persistence of the Johannine movement side by side with Christianity is a fact that cannot be gainsaid. The statement regarding Apollos<sup>1</sup> that he knew only the baptism of John is in point here, while the incident of Paul and the disciples at Ephesus<sup>2</sup> is highly significant. One of the manifest interests of the Fourth Gospel is to combat a persisting Johannine party.<sup>3</sup> The placing of any phase of the Johannine movement in contrast to that of Jesus, as in these introductory verses, indicates a fairly close proximity of the two movements and some emulation.

The continuation of the passage which contains the model prayer<sup>4</sup> deals specifically with this interest. The evident intent of the verses is to encourage the disciples to continuance in prayer even in the face of disheartening obstacles. The basis of encouragement is the fact that they may rely on God to be at least as generous and willing as any human friend. The specific reference to the Holy Spirit as the supreme gift in answer to prayer is very primitive from the standpoint of Christian history.

The second appearance of the prayer interest in our material is in Luke 18:1-14. There are two parts in the passage representing different phases of the matter: (1) the parable of the Indifferent Judge, or better, that of the Importunate Petitioner; (2) the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican. Regarding the first, the evident purpose of the story is to emphasize the necessity and value of persistent, courageous

<sup>1</sup> Acts 18:24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 19:1-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 77-86. As to the continued persistence of Johannine influence in the Sabaeans or Mandaeans found in the Tigris and Euphrates districts, cf. Lightfoot on Colossians, p. 402, and Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, II, 679.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 11:5-13.



prayer, not the unwillingness of God, for the apathy of the judge is but the background of the picture. The seventh verse seems to point to a situation of distress and oppression which calls for the intervention of God. The second phase represents an interest in the control of prayer-custom and habit, and is designed to prevent arrogance and to inculcate the spirit of humility born from a sense of unworthiness.

As we have already stated, the prayer interest is so general that it will be a matter of difficulty to discover indications of special situations which are served by these passages. But we may recall the pre-eminent position which prayer occupied in the early Christian community. The prayer in the upper chamber,<sup>1</sup> attendance at the temple at the hour of prayer,<sup>2</sup> the prayer of the community in special situations,<sup>3</sup> the attitude and practice of the apostles and leaders,<sup>4</sup> and of the laymen<sup>5</sup> demonstrate this with clearness. It was by prayer that the Holy Spirit and its accompanying powers came. This fact alone would be sufficient to show that prayer occupied a place of great prominence. It may be asked: "If this is so, and on the hypothesis that this section represents the needs of the early Christian community, how it is that it does not occupy a larger place in it?" The probable explanation is simple. Prayer was and is one of the most spontaneous expressions of religious life and experience and would not suffer too great a control. One would be justified in expecting that any instruction or guidance in the matter would be general and the touches light. The model prayer of 11:2 ff. would serve to turn the minds of the worshipers to sane and practical subjects, a control so urgent and necessary in a primitive movement, and thus to prevent wild and uncontrolled and dissipated exercise of the activity. Persistence in prayer, especially in the face of apparent failure and hostile forces, would be a subject most apposite; while, on the other hand, persistence in prayer, especially if successful, would easily produce an incipient religious arrogance which the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican would admirably meet. It seems very probable that the need for prayer-control would arise very early in an ecstatic religious community, such as the Jerusalem church was. While the prayer interest of this section cannot be definitely attached to this circle, we can say that it is Palestinian Jewish,<sup>6</sup> and that as far as there are indications of time and place they favor Jerusalem and its Christian community as the place where these traditions took form.

<sup>1</sup> Acts 1:13-14, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Acts 6:4; 8:15; 9:40; 11:5; 13:3; 16:16.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 3:1.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 10:2, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 4:23; 12:5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. "Went up to the temple to pray."



## VIII. THE MIRACLE ELEMENT

We consider now the bearing of the treatment of miracle which appears in this section as evidence for the date and place of the material. The first fact we meet, and it is one of great importance, is that there is but a modicum of the miraculous in the material before us. In 10:3 there is a reference to mighty works which had been done in Chorazin and Bethsaida without any further specification, while none are noted as having been performed in Capernaum, the Galilean headquarters of Jesus. The Seventy are represented as having power to cast out evil spirits.<sup>1</sup> The third reference is in 11:14 ff., where the dumb demon is exorcised. But there is here a distinct impression that the thing done was not a marvelous work. By some the deed is ascribed to co-operation with the prince of demons, while others repudiate it as unworthy of consideration, and request a sign that shall be unmistakably such and bear the stamp of heavenly supernatural power.<sup>2</sup> The miraculous is not by any means here exalted to a place of eminence. Three miracles of healing complete the list: (1) the healing of the woman with a spirit of infirmity<sup>3</sup> (13:10-17); (2) the healing of the dropsical man (14:2); (3) the healing of the ten lepers (17:11-19).

The very modest place which miracle occupies in this section as compared with Mark is striking. In Mark 1-9:29 (the rest of Mark's Gospel is occupied with the journey to Jerusalem and the Passion), that is, during the Galilean activity of Jesus, there are three specific cases of exorcism<sup>4</sup> and five general statements of miracle-working activity<sup>5</sup> in which the impression is given that a large number of miraculous acts were performed, and that they consisted of healings in general and of exorcisms. One of these statements has reference to the activity of the disciples, and it is very significant that, while no limitation is placed on their power to exorcise, their healing activities are dependent on the use of medicinal agents.<sup>6</sup> The Master, however, speaks but the word. Besides this there are eight specific cases of healing miracles by Jesus.<sup>7</sup> In addition to these there is one case of raising the dead<sup>8</sup> and four nature miracles: the calming of the storm;<sup>9</sup> the feeding of the five thousand;<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 10:17.<sup>2</sup> Vss. 15, 16.<sup>3</sup> Note the indefiniteness of the expression *πνεῦμα ἀσθενίας*.<sup>4</sup> 1:23 ff.; 5:1 ff.; 7:24 ff.<sup>5</sup> 1:32, 39; 3:10 ff.; 6:13 ff. (disciples); 6:53-56.<sup>6</sup> 6:13.<sup>7</sup> 1:19, 43; 2:3 ff.; 3:1 ff.; 5:25; 7:31 ff.; 8:22; 9:14-29.<sup>8</sup> 5:21 ff.<sup>9</sup> 4:35 ff.<sup>10</sup> 6:33-44.

the walking on the water;<sup>1</sup> and the feeding of the four thousand.<sup>2</sup> How great a weight of the miraculous is here as compared with our Lukan material is very evident. Not only is the miraculous much greater in quantity, but it is heightened in intensity. In Luke the miracles are healings and exorcisms and, with the exception of the healing of the lepers, the cases are left as indefinite as may be. In Mark we have the raising of the dead and the nature miracles. It requires no argument to demonstrate the difference of atmosphere. It may be said that this section is essentially a discourse section and, as such, would not include miracles. It is true that the section is predominantly discourse-material and in so far the objection has force. It is, however, not exclusively so and the predominance has not operated to the exclusion of miracles, as the presence of a few shows.

Passing to the Fourth Gospel we find seven specific miracles: the turning of water into wine at Cana (2:1-11), the healing of the nobleman's son (4:46-54), the healing of the man at Bethesda (5:1-9), the feeding of the multitude (6:1-14), the walking on the water (6:16-21), the restoration of sight to the man blind from his birth (9:1-12), and the raising of Lazarus (11:1-45). Besides these we have definite statements of groups of miracles performed by Jesus. "Now when he was at Jerusalem at the passover, during the feast, many believed on him there, beholding the signs which he did."<sup>3</sup> "The Galileans received him having seen all the things which he did at Jerusalem at the feast."<sup>4</sup> "And a great multitude followed him because they beheld the signs which he did on them that were sick."<sup>5</sup> "His brethren said to him, Depart hence, and go into Judea that thy disciples also may behold thy works which thou doest."<sup>6</sup> "But though he had done so many signs before them yet they believed not on him."<sup>7</sup> Although there are fewer specific miracles than in Mark, the character is similar to those mentioned there, and in some cases it is heightened. The impression is also distinctly conveyed that the exercise of this miraculous power was a very common thing with Jesus and that we have but a few of his deeds recorded. It is to be noticed that the miracle of exorcism has entirely disappeared. Another point in this general review is that in the Lukan section we are discussing there is only one mention of faith in connection with the miraculous and that is after the miracle has been performed and brings an added blessing.<sup>8</sup> In Mark, however, faith is the prerequisite of the blessing which comes through this supernatural power, while in the Fourth Gospel the process

<sup>1</sup> 6:45-52.<sup>2</sup> 2:23.<sup>3</sup> 6:2.<sup>4</sup> 12:37.<sup>5</sup> 8:1 ff.<sup>6</sup> 4:4-5.<sup>7</sup> 7:3.<sup>8</sup> Luke 17:19.

is reversed and the miracles become signs (*σημεῖα*) which call forth faith in the one who performs them.

Let us now examine these data for their interpretation. Entirely apart from the question of historicity, we find a progress in the matter of the number of miracles. Between this Lukan material and Mark and the Fourth Gospel there is a great disparity in this respect. In the character of the miracles there is also a progress, there being no nature miracles in the Lukan section, while in the rest of the material they appear. There is but one specific case of exorcism in Luke and that not highly favorable, while this type is predominant in Mark and wholly disappears in the Fourth Gospel. Faith has no intimate connection with the miracles in Luke, it is their prerequisite in Mark, and their result in the Fourth Gospel. In Mark, Jesus is the constant doer of "mighty works," which are the outflow of his saving power and are cosmic in significance. In the Fourth Gospel they are "signs" and are evidences of his person. It is suggested that these data indicate a chronological development and place this material earlier than Mark. Is this development synchronous with the christological development of the period?<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that at the beginning the element of miracle was either ignored or emphasized but little, and that it was only as christological thought became more distinctly formulated and heightened that this element came into prominence? Moreover, the opposition of orthodox Jews to anything that savored of commerce with evil spirits would tend to minimize the emphasis on exorcism. Apart from Mark it does not appear in any large way. Does its disappearance in the Fourth Gospel indicate that such deeds did not comport as well with the high thought of the Christ as did the other miraculous acts? If the sons of the Pharisees and vagabond Jews did such things they would have little evidential value for Jesus. The Markan representation comes from a circle which laid emphasis on these manifestations of power. But while explaining the silence of the Fourth Gospel on the ground of christological propriety, we cannot do so in the case of our material. It is much more probable that an early date is one factor in the minimizing of the miraculous when the future appearance of Jesus as Messiah well-nigh filled the whole horizon of Christian thought. A later silence would be harder to explain.<sup>2</sup> Another factor, already suggested, might be found in Jewish suspicion if this material is of Jerusalem origin, for we have already

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the discussion of the christological interest, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts, chap. 3, for such a miracle-free representation of Jesus, and Acts, chap. 2, which some think a later phase of thought.



seen that there was probably at Jerusalem a circle which looked askance at exorcism. Thus we reach the hypothesis that the status of the miracle element in this section indicates an early period when the thought of the Christians was centered on other matters and that such a representation comes from Palestinian soil, presumably Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

#### IX. THE STAGE OF CHRISTOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AS INDICATIVE OF TIME AND PLACE

Attention must be given to the following allusions to, or statements regarding, the prophetic and teaching function of Jesus. In 10:1 he is represented as about to follow in the steps of his preaching disciples. Although his purpose in so doing is not stated, it is a fair inference that he wished to supplement their message. In 10:25 he is addressed as "Teacher" by one of those learned in the law. The "good part" which Mary chose was receiving the instruction of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> The passage 11:29 ff., where Jesus refuses to give a sign to those asking save the sign of Jonah, places the emphasis on the prophetic message. The way in which Jonah became a sign to the Ninevites was by his preaching,<sup>3</sup> and "as Jonah became a sign to the people of Nineveh so shall the Son of Man be to this generation. . . . The men of Nineveh . . . repented at the preaching of Jonah and, behold, a greater than Jonah is here." Thus the sign to that generation was the great message of Jesus. Again, the lawyers address him as "Teacher" in 11:45, and the same title is applied to him in 12:13. His teaching labors are mentioned in 13:10, 22. He is represented in 13:33 as distinctly aligning himself with the prophets. "Nevertheless, I must go on my way to-day and to-morrow, and the day following, for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem." It is quite true that this representation of the preaching-teaching function of Jesus is seen in other material than this, but it receives prominence here. Regarding its appearance in other material it must be granted that emphases remain in vestiges, sometimes frequent vestiges, after a new phase has become the ruling one.

<sup>1</sup> Note the refusal of Jesus to give a sign, Luke 11:29 ff. A most significant change in this tradition appears in the parallel in Matthew, 12:38 ff., where the emphasis is placed, not on the preaching of Jonah, but on his adventure with the great fish. It should be noted that Luke 11:20 makes Jesus say that the finger (power) of God is the agency in exorcism, not Jesus himself by a word, as in Mark. This Lukan representation is in very close alignment with the representation of Acts 2:22.

<sup>2</sup> 10:39, 42.

<sup>3</sup> The Matthean parallel has an entirely different thought.



We turn now to other christological representations. The title "Son of Man" appears in 9:58, but this has no reference other than to the loneliness of Jesus. In 11:30 the title refers to Jesus in his teaching-preaching ministry. If the term as it appears in 12:8-10 is apocalyptic, it is only very moderately so. The eschatological passage 12:35-40 represents the Son of Man as coming. He was not so represented in 12:8-10. It is not, however, the vivid and pictorial eschatology of Mark; it is rather a reserved and indefinite type. A difficult and heterogeneous passage meets us in 17:20-37. Vss. 20-21 seem to be definitely anti-apocalyptic. In the following verses we have a mixture of the apocalyptic and the ethical,<sup>1</sup> but when we compare this with Mark we find that the connection of Jesus (the Son of Man) with the apocalyptic program is much vaguer than in the Second Gospel. There it is "for my name's sake," etc. Thus while the apocalyptic eschatology and Christology appear in this section, the quantity is not great and is very vague in type. The title *ὁ κύριος* also appears.

The striking christological passage in this section is 10:21-23, in which Jesus, as the text now stands, claims a unique relationship to the Father, a unique knowledge of him, and a unique power to reveal him, which power rests on his own faculty of choice. The discussion of these verses by Harnack in an excursus in *The Sayings of Jesus*<sup>2</sup> is excellent and does much to render intelligible a passage difficult both textually and as to thought-content. As to the Christology, all we need to note here is that the reconstructed passage gives us not a metaphysical relationship of the Father to Jesus, but an ethical one. In the intimacy of this relationship Jesus has gained a great insight into the character of God and is thus enabled to show him to those with whom he comes in contact as no other can. The nature of Jesus is not here a matter of consideration, it is his function and task.

What we have of christological representation in this section does not indicate by any means a high development of thought on the matter. The prophetic preaching phase receives considerable attention, the apocalyptic and messianic side of the question is much less vigorous than in Mark, the title "the Lord" is somewhat in evidence, and the restored form of the famous passage of this section loses its highly developed Christology under the demands of textual criticism.

We now proceed to sketch the various phases of christological thinking in order to find a time and a place into which the phenomena which appear in our material will fit. It must be said at the outset that the

<sup>1</sup> Vs. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 272-310.

different phases were probably not sharply distinguished either chronologically or as to area. The scantiness of our sources in some quarters renders the task a delicate one, but a general outline may be obtained.

For the early Christians the supreme evidence of the uniqueness of Jesus was the resurrection. It was the ground of their messianic faith, and, if to their Jewish minds the essentials of the messianic task had not been performed by Jesus in his earthly life, they had but to wait for his return on the clouds to see them accomplished. He is "the Christ who hath been appointed for you; Jesus, whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoration of all things."<sup>1</sup> There was a phase of thought which considered that it was first by his resurrection that Jesus became Messiah. The climax of Peter's Pentecostal sermon<sup>2</sup> is in the light of the preceding context best interpreted in this way. The term used is a strong one (*ἐποίσεν*). Whatever Paul may have thought of the pre-existence and position of Jesus he certainly considers that by the resurrection Jesus was placed in possession of a more potent messiahship than had been his hitherto. On a fair interpretation of Rom. 1:3-4 this conclusion is necessary. In the very nature of the case this adoptionist idea could not long hold its ground. The future work of the Messiah must be connected with his earthly life. In proportion to the dimming of the hope of his immediate coming was the increase of the demand that his saving ministry appear in the past. Moreover, it is quite possible that unbelieving Jews might ask questions and make statements regarding the earthly career of Jesus that would cause no little perplexity and difficulty, and create a need for explanation of the events to which these statements related. That this happened in the case of his death seems very evident from our sources. In the linking of the earthly career of Jesus with his official position and future work what were the lines along which the earthly Christians moved? It would seem that the great message of Jesus was early taken as evidence of his messianic dignity and work on earth. With the words of Deuteronomy, chap. 18, regarding the prophet like unto Moses whom Yahweh would raise up for his people as a basis and starting-point, the splendid ministry of preaching and prophetic utterance on the part of Jesus could easily be taken as messianic attestation. In fact, this very word is quoted in Peter's sermon as recorded in Acts 3:22, and is there applied to Jesus.<sup>3</sup> Such traditions

<sup>1</sup> Acts 3:20-21.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 2:36.

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted in passing that the Samaritans possessing only the Pentateuch would be confined to this representation of the one who was to come.

as the transfiguration would also be pointed out as evidences of a uniqueness on the part of Jesus while on earth. It is quite possible that such things as the promise<sup>1</sup> of a prophetic person to whose word obedience was to be rendered, and the exhortation in the transfiguration experience where Jesus is manifestly superior to Moses, served to meet a problem which early confronted the Christians by reason of a Jewish challenge on behalf of the supremacy of Moses. They would perform such a service excellently. This would appear to be the transition from the attestation of Jesus by God to a self-attestation.

It cannot be doubted that the early leaders of the Christian community soon found some exceedingly delicate and troublesome problems on their hands. No sooner was claim of messiahship made for Jesus than unbelieving Jews pointed out his ignominious death, his obscure lineage, and lowly origin. In a way that cannot fail to command our admiration the Christians addressed themselves to their task. The death was explained on the ground that it was a foreseen matter foreshadowed by the prophets,<sup>2</sup> that it was in line with the purpose and plan of the omnipotent God,<sup>3</sup> and that it was for the sins of men.<sup>4</sup> The genealogies showed his kingly descent and answered the reproach of lowly origin, as well as brought him into line with the Davidic prince who was to rule. The supernatural conception explained the entry of this messianic being into the world. Thus Jesus is Messiah at least from his birth. These last features, however, were later in making their appearance, however long they may have been in existence. Between the interpretations of Jesus just considered is a representation which we find in Mark, where Jesus is set forth as the user of miraculous power which is employed to overthrow the kingdom of the evil one. As far as Mark alone is concerned the realization of messianic position and task comes to Jesus at the time of his baptism when the voice from the heavens declares, "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I take pleasure." The temptation story in Mark and the emphasis on mighty works set forth Jesus as the Messiah on earth who has conquered Satan and is plundering his domain. Thus the kingdom of righteousness—the messianic kingdom—has already begun to triumph over the dominion of darkness and evil.<sup>5</sup> Early the primitive Christians found strong evidence of Jesus' messiahship in the saving power which inhered in him and was manifested in miraculous

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 18:18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 3:18.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 2:23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Paul, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection the covert note of surprise in the voice of Jesus, "I was beholding Satan fall as lightning from heaven," Luke 10:18. This seems earlier than Mark.



display. This is another self-attestation of Jesus. When we reach the Fourth Gospel the question has passed beyond controversy—Jesus is the pre-existent divine Logos.<sup>1</sup>

If we have approximated to fact in this meager sketch of the various phases of thought about Jesus as reflected in our sources, it will not be a difficult task to assign our material to its place and date on the basis of its christological ideas. Two phases appear in the main: (1) that in which the teaching ministry of Jesus predominates, and (2) an eschatological representation quite modified in tone. Both these phases probably existed side by side in early Christian thinking. The heralding of Jesus as the Messiah to come could not fail to draw around his person and its interpretation some of the imagery and fancy of apocalypticism. That this was done has been placed beyond question by the Christian Apocalypse which closes the Canon. The presence of this phenomenon in a modified form in our material argues one of two things: (1) either it has come from a circle which did not approve the type of thought, or (2) it comes from a time when the process was incipient. The possibility of the prophetic side of the interpretation having arisen to meet Jewish taunts as to Jesus' inferiority to Moses has been suggested above. These taunts would almost surely arise when Christians began to evangelize the Jews. Both the phases which appear in this section are Jewish and can hardly have originated on other than Jewish soil. Where would such thinking and interpretation take its rise? There is every probability that the early Christian interpretation of Jesus was wrought out by those who had been closest to him in his earthly career. It was to them the community turned as the fountains of knowledge concerning the church's Lord. These men for long years had their quarters at Jerusalem and from that point dominated the situation. It is quite in accord with this that we find both the phases under consideration set forth in the addresses of Peter in Acts, chaps. 2 and 3. While it is true that the apocalyptic interpretation was not by any means confined to Jewish centers,<sup>2</sup> yet it was Jewish in origin, character, and development, and when probabilities are weighed the likelihood of Jerusalem as its center must be conceded. As for the prophetic aspect, it is distinctly Jewish, and, both from the standpoint of origin and from that of probable purpose, belongs to Jerusalem, performing its service there in the years

<sup>1</sup> It would be instructive to follow the exaltation of Jesus through patristic literature to the declaration of the Council of Nicea, but that does not belong to this discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Thessalonians.



when the Jewish Christians were pressing the claims of their Lord on their fellow-Jews and meeting their incredulity.

X. THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY AS INDICATING THE DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THIS MATERIAL

In the well-known passage Luke 10:21-24 we have a reflection of the progress which missionary Christianity had made and was making: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding and didst reveal them unto babes." It is very evident here that the message of early Christianity had made little appeal and had produced little effect on the intellectual and cultured classes. That this was the condition of affairs in Jerusalem seems to be made abundantly clear by the attitude of the aristocratic Sadducees and high-priestly class.<sup>1</sup> This, too, in spite of the statement that a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.<sup>2</sup> The cases of the Ethiopian eunuch and the centurion, Cornelius, offer no serious difficulty. The Pharisaic sneer of John 7:48 is possibly a tradition from this earlier time, "Hath any of the rulers believed on him or any of the Pharisees?" That Paul met the same situation and felt the necessity of dealing with it is clear from I Cor. 1:20 ff. There we find that both on Jewish and on Greek soil the response to the Christian appeal has been on the part of the unlettered and unlearned. In that case and in the one before us in the Lukan material the explanation is the same. It is part of the purpose of God; he has called and he has revealed. But we notice that Paul dealt with the question very soon after the problem arose among the Corinthians, and it is but natural to think that the same insistence for an explanation on the part of Jews is met in the section before us. It fits the Jerusalem situation passing well, for that church gives little evidence of possessing leaders or members of the intellectual or cultured type. It is rather strange that the Jerusalem church produced so few men in the course of its history who were at all eminent. As to its poverty and need, the distribution to the widows, the experiment with communism, the request of the council that the poor should be remembered,<sup>3</sup> and the zealous activity of Paul in his collection for the poor of the mother-church<sup>4</sup> leave no room for questioning. Thus this part of our material would fit the situation in Jerusalem and probably in Palestine in all its missionary activities.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acts 4:1, 5, 13, "unlearned and ignorant"; 5:17, 24; 7:1.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 6:7.

<sup>3</sup> Gal. 2:10.

<sup>4</sup> I Cor. 16:1 ff.; II Cor., chaps. 8, 9; Rom. 15:25-26; Acts 24:17.

Again, 10:22 ff. seems to reflect a time when considerable work had been done along missionary lines, but when the results appeared rather meager to those who were laboring. Some passages in Acts<sup>1</sup> indicate a marvelous success for the movement from the beginning. But there is strong evidence that the Jews as such steadily refused to give allegiance to the teachings of what was to them an impious sect. It was one of the heaviest burdens which weighed down the heart of Paul that his nation had rejected the Christ and his salvation. It is with no imaginary problem that the apostle is wrestling in Rom., chaps. 9-11; the crushing truth is that the results of the Christian mission among the Jews have been disappointing to a degree. In a similar strain is the lament of the apostle in II Cor. 3:13-16. We have already seen that certain parts of this Lukan material strongly reflect the rejection of the gospel by the Jews. Paul has two solutions: (1) "Their minds were hardened"; (2) the Gentiles profit by the rejection of the Jews, which is but temporary. Here in Luke there is the simpler and less reasoned explanation that this lack of success is due to the providential control of God. Revelation of the truth comes only by the Father and the Son; the disciples are relieved of responsibility when they have faithfully done their part. The early Christian missionaries, in the first blush of their great religious experience, their new belief, and in the face of their inspiring task, could not fail to expect their efforts to be attended with sweeping success. To them their message was the greatest thing in life, in their enthusiasm they could but think that it must compel acceptance with all who heard it. But we know the results fell far below such expectations. Did they turn amid such circumstances to those from whom they had gone forth and to whom they had learned to look for counsel, the apostles, and from them receive this word of the Master to be the answer to their doubts and their encouragement to future efforts? What more probable function could it exercise?

#### XI. OTHER INDICATIONS AS TO TIME AND PLACE

In the following paragraphs we gather together a few scattered statements which are better treated in this way than by assigning a separate heading to each. The passage in Luke 13:31-35 contains two such. We consider first 13:31-33, in which the Pharisees are represented as advising Jesus to leave the territory ruled over by Herod and seek safety elsewhere, because Herod had designs on his life. It is a curious bit of tradition, (1) because of its fugitive reference to Herod,

<sup>1</sup> 2:5 ff., 4:1, 47; 4:4, 21; 5:14; 6:7.

(2) because of the very strange representation of the Pharisees as giving friendly counsel to one whom they are otherwise declared to hate and whose life they desire, and (3) because of the vague, indefinite, oracular response of Jesus, dimly suggesting a consciousness that all his course was pre-arranged and determined. It is a weak form of the Johannine "Mine hour is not yet come." It seems to be an isolated scrap of tradition connected here with the following context by the reference to Jerusalem. One cannot avoid wondering how it came to be preserved, especially when it distinctly opposes the hostile representation of the Pharisees. Nor is the statement regarding Herod such as friends of Jesus would care to remember on his lips. Is there an interest which would account for the preservation and use of such a passage? The references to Herod and his followers are sufficiently rare to raise a suspicion that in the mention of these may be found a hint of the solution. In Acts 12:1 ff. we have the statement that Herod the king was persecuting the church, and had gone so far as to kill the apostle James. Then to please the Jews (a fine touch regarding the Herods) he arrested Peter. At such a time when Herod was vexatious to the church the Christians would be interested in remembering any tradition which reflected discredit on the Idumean house, and which would at the same time show that they were but suffering a continuance of the treatment which had been given their Lord. While to our modern way of thinking this might seem puerile, it would have real significance and perform a function of value in a Jerusalem situation. The question also obtrudes itself: If this were Herod Antipas, as it must be in any reference to Jesus, what jurisdiction would he have over Jesus in the neighborhood of Jerusalem? At that time the district of Judea was under direct Roman rule and Jesus had long since left the territory over which Antipas held sway.<sup>1</sup> But it is significant that at the time of the incidents recorded in Acts, chap. 12, Herod Agrippa I was on the throne over the land of Judea. This was the only time a Herod held sway over Judea after 6 A.D. Thus several suggestive lines point to the time when Herod Agrippa was vexing the church in Jerusalem, and the dates of his rule are 41-44 A.D.

Following these verses are two<sup>2</sup> which represent Jesus as lamenting over the city of Jerusalem, bewailing her treatment of those who tried to instruct her, protesting that she herself had rejected all the advances of her Lord, and solemnly declaring that she is abandoned until she shall have acknowledged Jesus as the Sent of Yahweh. When we recall the

<sup>1</sup> 9:51; 13:22.

<sup>2</sup> 13:34-35.



fact that Jerusalem was the scene of the early Christian activity, the birthplace of the church, the headquarters of missionary endeavor for many years, that she remained the center to which the eyes of Jewish and many Greek Christians turned with something akin to reverence for many years more, the preservation of such a tradition is passing strange. If it were in existence and in any way current during those early years it could not fail to give offense. It is in striking contrast to the pacificatory utterances of Peter in his addresses in Acts, chaps. 2 and 3, where he is made to say that the Jews put Jesus to death in ignorance and that they were merely the agents in the execution of the divine purpose. Are there any indications of date or situation in the verses "That killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee"? Is there any known situation which this fits so well as the death of James at the hand of Herod and the stoning of Stephen? It is a very apt description of two great tragedies which occurred during the early years in Jerusalem. "How often would I have gathered you . . . , but ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate! . . . Ye shall not see me until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The position has been advanced that the words in 13:34-35 are a late tradition and arose at the time of the abandonment of Jerusalem by the Christians before its fall. I agree with Wellhausen (*Das Evangelium Matthaei*, p. 121) that ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν does not refer to the temple. It should be noted that the thought of desolation is transferred from the ἔρημος of Matt. 23:38. In Luke it is a simple abandonment (ἀφίεται). Now if this refers to the abandonment of Jews by Christians as an object of missionary endeavor and is at the same time to be referred to about the year 70 A.D. it involves the persistence up to that time of a body of Christians in Jerusalem who were active in the work of propaganda among their compatriots. But whatever facts we have are against such an assumption. After the first dispersion the missionary activity of the Jerusalem church is very small. From the time when James supersedes the apostles in the leadership of the local church that church seems to have lived on terms of friendly toleration with the religious leaders of the Jews. Unless all our traditions regarding James (cf. Paul, Gal. 2:12; Eusebius, *H.E.*, II, 23) are astray, a church under his control would not be likely to develop a situation so acute as that reflected in the sentences under discussion. The removal of the Christians to Pella can hardly be viewed in the light of a missionary abandonment. The personal interest was the deciding one in that case, Eusebius and Epiphanius to the contrary notwithstanding. Moreover, the assumption that later the city will acknowledge the Messiah is not in closest accord with the imminence of destruction which sent the Christians forth. It is more than doubtful if this section would have been connected with the stirring events of 67-70 A.D. had not Matthew brought it into immediate context with the predictions of the destruction of the city. If the Matthean connection be the original it is very hard to find a reason for the isolation of the tradition as it stands in Luke if it is there to be placed in the same historical situation. In themselves the Lukan verses



But the stubborn fact is that for many years after the death of Jesus the efforts of his followers were focused on a city which is here declared to be abandoned. Is it not very probable that this tradition was used to account for and to mark the abandonment of Jerusalem from the standpoint of evangelization, or perhaps the break from the purely Jewish mission? When was Jerusalem so abandoned? The petty opposition of the Jewish leaders and the hostility which culminated against Stephen are set forth in the early chapters of Acts. After the death of Stephen there is the first separation from Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The gradual extension of the movement beyond the Jews is reflected in the cases of Philip and the eunuch, Peter and Simon the tanner, Peter and Cornelius, and the first definite work among the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> We find in following the record that this break with the Jewish mission, which was the culmination of a process, took place about the same time as Herod's persecution. This was, as we know, during the years 41-44 A.D. and may very well be the time when our verses found a use. In this connection we must note, whatever our opinion of its trustworthiness, the tradition that a word of the Lord was given the apostles to remain in Jerusalem for twelve years and then go into the world. The form of the statement varies, but the period of twelve years remains fairly constant.<sup>3</sup> The calculation of the year of Peter's death depends on this tradition:  $30 + 12 + 25 = 67$ . While the forms in which the tradition appears are doubtless apocryphal, yet there may be some foundation in fact for the number 12. On this calculation our verses would represent a Jerusalem situation about 42 A.D.

This same problem of the abandonment of the Jews because of their rejection of the gospel seems to appear again in 13:6-9 in the parable of the Barren Fig Tree with the plea for another year's grace. This would serve well as a protest against a premature acknowledgment of the failure of the Jews to receive the gospel and as a sorrowful admission on the part of the Christians of the justice of their final break with their compatriots. Another phase of the Jewish mission seems to appear in 13:22-30. The paucity of the results of their labors evidently troubled the Christians and the question is plainly put, "Are there few that be

do not refer to a destruction of the city, but to an abandonment. The idea of destruction has been transferred to this by reason of the Matthean juxtaposition of traditions referring to two different events. It seems very clear that these words in Luke are better taken as referring to the missionary abandonment of the city by the apostles.

<sup>1</sup> Acts 8:2.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 11:20 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Preaching of Peter, *ap. Clement, Strom.*, VI, 5, 43; the *Acta Petri cum Simone V*, and Apollonius, *ap. Eusebius, H.E.*, V, 18, 14.

saved?" The answer is a statement of the difficulty of entering the kingdom (which would explain the fewness) and of the need of urgency because of the imminence of the closing of the door. When it is too late and the Jews recognize the superiority of Jesus and his lordship they plead their special advantages—the Jewish idea of favoritism—but this will not avail. Instead of their admittance to the kingdom, those from north and south and east and west, that is, Gentiles, are to have the desired positions. They who were first in choice and opportunity will fail to attain, while those who were considered outcasts are to be the children of the kingdom. This seems to be an eminently apt tradition for the failure of the Jewish mission and the exhortation to urgent haste, as well as the statement that the "wedding shall be furnished with guests" from those who were not "my people." While it is not possible to discriminate sharply, such a situation would probably obtain with some acuteness in the early part of the fifth decade of the first century.

A further interest is that which lays emphasis on almsgiving. Here we are met by that somewhat difficult sixteenth chapter, which, apart from some material which appears to have little or no connection with the main theme of the chapter, is devoted to this subject. The strange parable of the Unjust Steward seems to have its point in vs. 9, the preceding verses being its background and those which follow being in the nature of comment. "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness;<sup>1</sup> that, when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles." One immediately recalls the very close connection in a Jewish mind between almsgiving and righteousness. It is evidently an exhortation to the right use of money and would be addressed to those who had possessions.<sup>2</sup> The poverty of the Jerusalem church as well as the Jewish thought of almsgiving would make this a very important question and provide a real reason for the formulation and preservation of such a tradition as this. The section vss. 1-13 manifests an evident purpose to urge almsgiving on those who were able to practice it and to show the superior value of the true riches which cannot be obtained if material wealth is not properly administered. Vss. 10-13 would also comfort the Christians who suffered the privations of poverty. Vss. 14-18 are heterogeneous and break the connection. It is possible that they came in from the margin before Luke got his source. Vs. 19 is the logical sequence of vs. 13 and demonstrates the inability to serve God and mammon as well as the folly of the man who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our "filthy lucre."

<sup>2</sup> Note the exhortation in chap. 11 to the Pharisees to give alms.

has not used his wealth on the basis of the exhortation of vs. 9. As far as vs. 25 the accompanying thought is that those who experience poverty and hardship now are to be encouraged by the glorious prospect of the future. While this has been a fairly constant Christian appeal through the centuries, the need for such instruction seems to have been very acute in the poverty-ridden Jerusalem community, and a situation into which this fits admirably is thus found. Vss. 26-31 are not logically connected with the general thought of the chapter. Again we find the troublesome question of the failure of the Jews to accept Jesus as Messiah coming to the front. Does this passage represent the church dealing with the skepticism of the Jews as to the resurrection? In the face of a Jewish taunt to produce the risen Christ, the answer is that a proper reading of the Law and the Prophets would enable them to understand and believe. Such a pronouncement from the father of the faithful could be used with telling force.<sup>1</sup> Again the situation of this appended fragment is Jewish and, with no little degree of probability, Jerusalem.

We have now traversed this material, examining the interests served by it and noting the situations where such interests needed serving. The results have been uniform. Without a single exception the material betrays Palestinian characteristics, and is of a type fitted to serve in situations which are either known by historical statement to have existed there or which can be closely inferred from facts that have strong claims to be considered historical. But we can draw the limits still more closely. Some of the situations which are served by the material here gathered are more easily located in Jerusalem than in any other place. It is indisputable that Jerusalem was at once the headquarters of Judaism and of Christianity, the abiding-place of their leaders, the scene of their first conflicts, and the place where, beyond any other on Palestinian soil, the problems arising from the separation of the Christian movement from orthodox Judaism and the ensuing bitterness would first make themselves felt. Thus, while it is true that some of the interests which seem to be served by this material were not by any means confined to Jerusalem, that city was the place where they first needed serving, and the place where an effort would be made to meet the needs of the growing and expanding organization. The conclusion seems fair that the traditions contained in this section arose in Jerusalem to meet the questions which confronted the Christian community there and to control its development.

<sup>1</sup> In the Fourth Gospel the Jews refuse belief in the presence of one risen from the dead.



As to the date of its crystallization, we have seen that the mission interest is strongly reflected, the Samaritan mission is specifically treated, the question of Pharisaic persecution occupies a place of prominence, the problems concerning the discipleship which would arise very early are faced, and the rejection of the gospel by the Jews and their abandonment as material for evangelization, together with the closely related movement of the Gentile mission, appear. Moreover, the development of christological thought, the progress of evangelization, the reflections on the Herodian family, and other matters give us a more or less defined period in which this material came into use and prominence. Such a period would extend from the martyrdom of Stephen to the acceptance of the Gentile mission—roughly speaking, from 35 A.D. to 50 or 55 A.D.

If these conclusions as to place and time are correct we gain from them a suggestion as to the form of this material which Luke uses. The subjects treated in the material have been noted in the general discussion and it remains only to draw attention to the fact that invariably the questions which lie behind the various paragraphs are questions related to the instruction of the Christian community and the control of the individual and corporate life. The attempts at control are indirect in some cases, but that is entirely in keeping with the situation. The one theological topic of importance, the question of Christology, had in that situation exceedingly practical aspects. There are few things more probable than that leaders who were bearing the "care of all the churches" should feel the need of a manual of ecclesiastical and religious instruction, such as the Old Testament could not afford. It is possible that this block of material, Luke 9:51—18:14, formed part or the whole of a primitive gospel document. The topics discussed are distinctly favorable to this hypothesis, while the character of the material, discourse rather than narrative, tends strongly in the same direction. A study of our early Christian literature will place beyond dispute that for a considerable time the only authorities which at all approximated to coordination with the Old Testament were the words of Jesus and the declarations of the prophet. Later, much later, appeal was had to the incidents of his life.

Regarding the formation of such a document only the probabilities of speculation are left us. It is possible that the method was in the main agglutinative. A Christian, or group of Christians, possessing a record of a tradition regarding Jesus would actually join it to others when such were obtained. Doubtless the transition from oral to written transmission was very gradual, perhaps spasmodic. Moreover, we are



quite familiar with the method of accretion from marginal interpolations. That this material was not deliberately arranged and ordered is supported by the presence of abrupt turns, of breaks in logical connection, and passages evidently interpolated in an earlier combination. This, together with the presence of this material in its present form in the Third Gospel and the convergence of interests and situations upon one period and one place, is an argument in favor of considering this a document from the Jerusalem church. How far it had been reworked before it reached the hand of Luke one cannot say, and the possibility is by no means precluded that the author of the Third Gospel himself left his imprint upon it. But there are a few indications which point in the direction of a composite document, and they are such as to suggest that the material was in approximately its present form when Luke incorporated it. There are two startings for Jerusalem, one at the opening of the section 9:51, and the other in 13:22. Has all the time between 9:51 and 13:22 been spent in Samaria and Judea? If so, how shall we account for the strange reference to Herod in 13:31? A very strange geographical note appears in 17:11, where Jesus is represented as passing along the borders of Samaria and Galilee going to Jerusalem. It is incredible that this is due to the author of our gospel, but is quite comprehensible in a primitive agglutination of documents with the intent to preserve everything about Jesus for practical purposes. There are also two groups of Samaritan material: (1) 9:51-56 and 10:25-37; (2) 17:11-19. The discussion of the question of discipleship appears in more than one place. Other interests might be traced in the same way and would give force to the suggestion that this material as it came into Luke's hand was made up of at least two smaller documents representing similar interests, which documents had been earlier combined into one. The limits of these documents might be given as 9:51-13:21; 13:22-18:14. Within these, again, are suggestions of a composite character, which will not be traced here. But however and whenever this material assumed its present form, it goes back for its first literary formulation to the Christian church at Jerusalem. If a suggestion were to be hazarded it would be that it took literary form when the exigencies of the missionary expansion of Christianity rendered it impossible for all or even the greater part of the adherents to receive the "spoken word" from the "eyewitnesses."

## II. AN EXAMINATION OF THE NON-MARKAN MATERIAL CONTAINED IN LUKE, CHAPS. 3-8

The material which forms the basis of our discussion in this section is found in Luke, chaps. 3-8, and includes the following: 3:7-20; 4:1-30; 5:1-11; 6:20-49; 7:1-8:3. It will be observed that this material does not present itself in a compact form, as was the case with the previous section. It is interpolated in the Markan scheme in places which seemed fitting to the evangelist. There are a few coincidences with Mark even in the material we have called non-Markan, e.g., Mark 1:7-8, Luke 3:16; Mark 1:12-13, Luke 4:1-2; Mark 1:14-15, Luke 4:14-15. The first of these is a word of the Baptist regarding the "mightier than I," which might well have stood both in Mark and in the peculiar source, for the parallels are not accurate. The second is an introductory statement to the temptation and has sufficient variation at least to raise the question whether Luke is not here independent of Mark. The third coincidence is a mere transition from the scene of the temptation to Galilee. None of these figures at all seriously in the general problem. Regarding the rest of the material we note that Matthew has some of it almost verbatim, some with more or less divergence, while some is peculiarly Lukan.

A study of this material gives the impression that two, if not three, interests lay back of its formulation and use by the early Christian community. There are two types of material, one being narrative, the other discourse. To one who follows these sections uninterrupted by the Markan basis the difference in type is striking. Any statement as to the bearing of these types and interests on unity or plurality of sources will be postponed until the material has been subjected to an examination.

### I. THE SERMON ON THE PLAIN

We shall consider first the discourse-material found in Luke 6:20-49, known as the Sermon on the Plain. The relationship of this sermon to that which appears in the First Gospel will not be directly discussed. The question is a complicated and delicate one and would involve a greater attention to the literary problem than lies within our province. Reasoning *a priori* it may be regarded as a matter of great likelihood that this quintessence of the teaching of Jesus would assume more than one form and would be in somewhat general circulation. It is generally

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agreed that Matthew's sermon as we now have it is composite, but we shall follow the question of relation no farther. We pass to notice some facts regarding the Lukan sermon and some interests which appear to be served by it.

As the sermon stands before us in Luke it is manifestly and exclusively a discourse addressed to the community. It is true that in vs. 17 mention is made of a "great multitude of disciples" who are among "a great number of people" who ostensibly hear the sermon, but the address is to the disciples and is direct. It is the disciples who are "ye poor," etc. In the early part of Matthew's sermon the address is indirect and the blessings are pronounced on classes. In Matt. 5:11-12, where the approximation to Luke is close, the direct form of address is used. There is here, however, no suggestion that the blessings and statements have a wider application than to those who are of the inner circle. This points rather definitely in the direction of the early church when the kingdom was the peculiar possession of those who acknowledged Jesus as Messiah and confessed him—in other words, the disciples.

The first section of the sermon, vss. 20-26, deals with the economic and social condition of the community in contrast to that of outside groups. "Blessed are ye poor" is a reference to economic poverty and physical privation. Οἱ πεινῶντες has a physical reference. The general sorrows and griefs of life arising from a variety of causes are covered by οἱ κλαίοντες. The twenty-second verse deals with the question of social ostracism, which developed into contempt and calumny and which had its basis in religious differences. Over against these distressing conditions are set promises which are to be the basis of comfort and the inspiration to duty. To the πτωχοί, destitute economically in a broad sense, the kingdom of God is promised. Whatever may have been the thought of Jesus regarding the kingdom, however ethical and present it was in his teaching, it was a task of no little difficulty to strip the concept of the material and objective in the minds of Christians. While an interpretation of the phrase as indicating their present possession of a spiritual blessing which overcomes the disadvantages of πτωχεία may be possible, it seems much more probable that for the early church there remained in the concept of the kingdom many sensuous phases which were to be a future *quid pro quo* for present discomforts and privations. The supper in the kingdom, the high position of authority and esteem, would serve to extract the sting from present disability. One can easily understand an eschatological turn in ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. The promises which offset the hungering and mourning look in the same direction. It is



hard to avoid the feeling that the satisfaction of *χορτασθήσεσθε* is physical, and *γελάσετε* is not the ideal expression for a highly spiritual consolation. The bitterness of social isolation and the burden of slander was to be borne lightly in view of the fact that a great reward was set apart for them, *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*. But it was *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* that the Messiah was; from the heavens he was to come to receive them and they were to share his kingdom. So, then, the basis of comfort is participation in the kingdom, prosperity, happiness, and a reward awaiting in heaven.<sup>1</sup> A most unmistakably Jewish touch appears in vs. 23*b*: "In the same manner did their fathers unto the prophets." One cannot fail to recall at this point the statements of Luke 11:42 ff., where the fathers of the Pharisees and the lawyers are charged with killing the prophets. It is at once evident that this section represents an attempt to console the church in the face of Jewish hostility and oppression.

Vss. 24-26 contain four woes directed against classes which are in straight contrast with the classes of the Christian community mentioned above. The wealth, the luxury, the gaiety, and the social prestige which the opponents of the early church enjoyed must have been a bitter experience and have constituted a serious problem for the church. Only in such a reversal of conditions as is here pictured could the righteousness of God and the value of the kingdom be maintained. That piety must bring prosperity and evil must be punished was the age-long cry of the Jew. By all the nation, save by a few of the élite, these rewards and punishments were thought of in terms of the material. The material thought died hard; in fact, it is not quite without life in modern times. The purely spiritual character of the religion of Jesus, the idea that "virtue is its own reward," were matters of exceedingly slow development. It is not to the discredit of the leaders and preachers of the early church that they appealed by means of the tangible and material. The ascetic element in the verses is in accord with an interest which was discovered in the material considered in the previous chapter. The reference to false prophets is essentially Jewish.<sup>2</sup>

This first section of the sermon reflects the early Christian movement, which is poor, lowly, and persecuted. To offset the discouragement which pressed upon the community the promise of a future happiness already adumbrated is given. The teaching of these verses would meet

<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely necessary to point out how the crudeness and abruptness of these sentences have been softened by Matthew, but a comparison of the Matthean account with that of Luke will serve to emphasize the material and economic aspect.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jer., chap. 22; I Kings, chap. 22.



directly the pressing practical need which arose from such a situation, and would also serve as a call to fuller trust and devotion. The poverty and oppression which lie back of these words correspond admirably to what we know of the situation in Jerusalem.

The following paragraph of the sermon, vss. 27-38, deals with the relation of the members of the community to outsiders. The sharp and bitter economical contrast indicated in the Beatitudes and Woes could not fail to tend in the direction of an attitude of harshness and an intense feeling between the two groups, the church and the outsider. Such a situation would require close attention and control. The predominant characteristic of the Christian is to be love and this is to determine his conduct toward his fellow-creatures. Their maledictions and ill treatment are to be met by the Christian virtues of benediction and intercession. Positive opposition to the church and physical injury are to be met by a calm non-resistance, and a spirit of generosity that is beyond expectation is to have free play. No wanton offense is to be given to outsiders, but by all lawful means Christians are to seek to heal the differences. Recognition of the fact that retaliation is the natural thing is implicit, but it would be neither right nor wise. Two motives are urged: a spiritual one and a practical one. The example of the Most High, whose sons they claim to be, should impel them in the right direction. His mercies are toward the unthankful. Moreover, it is a wise policy so to conduct one's self. Non-retaliation and generosity of spirit and treatment will go far to gain for them the desired leniency, and will do much toward disarming their opponents. The principle of vs. 38b is of double application.

This paragraph represents a phase of the disintegration of the old Jewish idea of favoritism. The process required much work as Christianity expanded. It was the first great practical problem, and in many ways the hardest, which primitive Christianity had to solve, and the direction of its solution was to do much to determine the future of the new religion. The words of this section throw a fine light on the continued influence of the profound ethicism of Jesus.

The relation of the members of the community to each other is the subject of vss. 39-45. Attention should be called to the unsuitability of such an address to the disciples in the ostensible situation.<sup>1</sup> Up to this

<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that such an attitude may at some time have been assumed by the disciples. The request of the mother of James and John indicates this. But such could not well have been the case so early as the sermon. Even if it were, is it probable that a tradition so uncomplimentary to the leaders of the movement would have been preserved unless it was of value in a specific situation?

time there has been in the relation of Jesus and his disciples no evidence that any of them are assuming the position of leaders. In any case, that was the very purpose for which he had selected them. But the general attitude of the disciples has been hesitant and timid. In the early community, however, the self-preference of members would be a very probable phenomenon. Those who felt themselves to be in any way superior by position, training, or spiritual gifts would easily assume the position of leaders. Does this question represent a situation when comparative novices are presuming to lead and to teach? Grave dangers would attend such a proceeding. The use of the word *κατηρτισμένος* indicates their present unequipped condition.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that some of the self-appointed leaders have, from their lofty spiritual height, criticized their brethren and looked at them with contemptuous disapproval. The stubborn fact, however, remains that those who have arrogated to themselves the right to sit in judgment are afflicted with more grievous faults than those whom they condemn. The teaching is very clear that the important matter is the ethical life, not the spectacular and the prominent. That such criticism and such an attitude have become manifest is a sufficient indication of the necessity for a change in the inner life, of which these things are but the expression.

Thus it would appear that under the excellent ethical admonitions of these verses there lies an attempt to meet an exceedingly practical question of polity and conduct. In a new organization scarcely conscious of itself, certainly with no clear apprehension of its full significance, with its various elements requiring care and adjustment, the regulation of impulsive and somewhat arrogant members would be a matter of no small importance. As to the place where such a need would be felt, it is admitted that it would arise in many places, but it is probable that the Jerusalem community early felt the pressure of the problem. There the regularly qualified leaders were present to exercise their authority and control. There also at the time of the disputations in the synagogue of the Libertines and the appointment of the deacons were those "full of the Holy Spirit and of good report" who were forging to the front. In fact, from the time when the gifts of the Holy Spirit began to be manifest there were present factors which could produce the situation which apparently lies behind the admonitions of these verses. Very early in the history of the movement such control as we have here would be needed.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the problem regarding speaking with tongues and of spiritual gifts with which Paul had to deal, I Cor., chap. 12.

The sermon closes with a section, vss. 46-49, which emphasizes the supremacy of inner religion. The marks of a Christian in the early days were belief and confession.<sup>1</sup> In the first dawn of the movement the fundamental matter was belief in Jesus as the Messiah. Confession was to follow spontaneously. Later, however, under the stress of opposition, confession was emphasized as marking the true Christian. To "witness a good confession" was "a consummation devoutly to be wished." When the attempt was made to compel allegiance to the empire by forcing a confession of the emperor as Lord, more than ever would the confession of Jesus be the mark of a Christian.<sup>2</sup> We shall not be far wrong in claiming that from an early time strong insistence was made upon an oral confession of Jesus as Lord. Under such circumstances the external act could easily incur the danger of being substituted to a greater or less degree for the inner experience. This paragraph makes an excellent corrective for the distorted idea that the naming of Jesus as *κύριος* has anything essential to do with vital Christianity. The essentials are rather the inner transformation of the life and its control by the principles of Jesus.

The encroachments of externality are so general that it is impossible to state a definite situation out of which alone this corrective would grow. It is, however, scarcely credible that Jerusalem and its Christian community so recently from Judaism and surrounded by strong Judaistic influences could escape this danger.

It is not possible to read this discourse and fail to be impressed by its compact unity. It moves carefully, steadily, and logically from thought to thought and is complete in itself. Moreover, the literary style of the section is deserving of attention. The sermon is composed of sharp, pointed sayings, close, clear contrasts, and moves on steadily from statement to statement to a conclusion. There is balance of thought and expression which is in a measure different from anything else in the gospels. It is not the parallelism of the Hebrew style; rather it is a style affecting the Stoic diatribe. In some parts of the Pauline literature there is an approximation to it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luke 12:8; Rom. 10:9-10; Phil. 2:11; I John 4:15.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the martyrdom of Polycarp shows the tenacity of the idea; cf. *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, ix, x.

<sup>3</sup> The influence of the literary forms of Hellenic philosophic culture on New Testament thought and expression has been investigated only in very recent times. It is natural that the Pauline writings should be the first to come under scrutiny, but there is no guaranty that the other New Testament books have entirely escaped the pervasive



The completeness of the section and the somewhat distinctive literary form suggest that the author of the gospel took an existing source and incorporated it without serious alteration. The perfection of its literary form is evidence for its existence in written form, while the value of its practical suggestions contained in its paragraphs would be sufficient warrant for its preservation in this attractive way. Evidently in its present form we have here a sermon to early Christians. The Jewish touches give clear evidence of its Palestinian origin, while the influence of Stoic literary forms, if accepted, suggests a Hellenistic circle. Of all the Palestinian centers Jerusalem has the greatest claim to consideration, for reasons that are quite obvious.<sup>1</sup> The sermon appears to be the application of the ideas of Jesus to certain church situations which have to a greater or less degree controlled the emphasis. Its isolation in the Lukan Gospel, combined with its literary form and the character of its thought-content, strongly indicates a separate source. It came from a circle not far removed from that from which the Perean material emanated.

## II. THE REMAINDER OF THE MATERIAL

We pass now to consider the rest of the peculiarly Lukan material contained in these chapters. The broken and scattered condition of

influence of Hellenism. On the matter of the diatribe, cf. Rud. Bultmann, *Der Stil der Paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, pp. 39 ff.; *Die Literaturformen*.

<sup>1</sup> The combination of an origin on Palestinian soil with the Cynic-Stoic literary tendency may seem to some strange and unnatural. But it is possible that we underestimate the Hellenistic influence in some Palestinian centers, especially in Jerusalem. It is true the presence of the temple with its priesthood and its ritual was a strong conservative influence. But the Sadducees who were intrenched there were hospitable to Hellenic culture. It is not likely that the constant intercourse between Jerusalem and Jews of the Dispersion would fail of some influence. The presence of a Hellenistic synagogue, or Hellenistic synagogues, in Jerusalem (Acts 6:8 ff.) is directly in point here. The fact that the members are represented as opposing Stephen does not constitute a serious objection; cf. *Encyc. Bib.*, cols. 4787-88. Stephen himself may have been a Hellenist and have been impregnated with the views and ideas of Hellenism. There were Hellenists in the Jerusalem Christian community (Acts 6:1). Philo is an example of a Hellenist who remained a Jew, but who nevertheless laid under tribute whatever of Greek culture he could use. Josephus might also be cited. With the presence of a body of Hellenists in Jerusalem, with the constant stream of outside influence, and with the characteristic aptitude of the Jews to seize and use the best that other peoples produced, there is no serious reason for refusing to admit the possibility that a Jewish or Hellenistic preacher in Jerusalem might adopt the style which had been so successful in the hands of its exponents. If Paul made use of this Stoic agency our argument is by so much the stronger; cf. Bultmann, *op. cit.*



these sections renders the interests which lie behind them slightly more difficult to recover, but a careful examination will show that there are interests of a dominating character. There are two groups of material which have a common bond in that they relate to John the Baptist, and for convenience here these will be treated together. They are 3:7-20 and 7:18-35.

An early relation of Jesus and John the Baptist seems to be well founded. It is not easy to discover any reason for the production of such a tradition. Its persistence can be due only to its correspondence to actual fact. But in respect to the relation as generally conceived there are some difficulties. There can be little doubt as to the strength and character of the impression which the Baptist made on the people of this country. "They held John as a prophet." In the opinion of the people his office and function was that of a preacher of righteousness. Moreover, we cannot be oblivious of the persistence of the Johannine movement and its possible status as a rival to Christianity.<sup>1</sup> These facts do not quite accord with the representation of this man's gracious withdrawal before the "mightier than I." The early relationship of Jesus and John and the subsequent separation were matters to which the early Christians had to give consideration when they came to adjust their new views of Jesus to his earthly career. The cause of the separation does not belong to our discussion here. The relative positions and tasks of these two great figures were early explained by assigning to John the position of forerunner to the Messiah. Prophecies from various parts of the Old Testament were adduced in support of this claim. This arrangement not only solved the troublesome question of the relationship existing between the movements and their founders, but served to demonstrate and enhance the messianic dignity of Jesus. These are considerations which we must bear in mind as we proceed to an examination of the representation of the Baptist in the material before us.

We are justified in inferring from the paucity of the material that we possess a very small part of the message of John. We must deal, however, with what we have and endeavor to discover the spirit and thought of his preaching. The first thing to be noticed is that John is represented as attempting to disturb that feeling of security in Abrahamic descent which characterized the Jewish people. The lines of nationalism and favoritism are well-nigh obliterated, and an appeal is made to base the life on ethical principles. It is true that there are foregleams of these ideas in the great prophets, but it is surprising to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 44.

hear this note emerging from an atmosphere of legalism. That, however, is not an insurmountable difficulty. But it is perplexing, on the assumption of its genuineness, to find that no appeal was made to this teaching in the Jewish controversy. Moreover, there appears to have been no opposition to John on the part of the religious leaders. This is indeed strange if he attacked one of their most precious heritages. But since John was *persona grata* to the Jews, a message such as we have here from his lips would be of great value and telling effect in a Christian appeal to Jews who were clinging to their ideas of national favor and covenant privilege.<sup>1</sup> Is there not a subtle and significant reference to the Gentile mission in the words, "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham"? The situations which the peculiar turn of John's message as here set forth would meet are church situations during the struggle with the Jews over Jewish privilege and Gentile admission.

In vss. 10-14 we have a specific application of the general ethical attitude to various classes. "The multitude" is a term too indefinite to deny to any specific situation. It fits the preaching of John and of the Christian missionaries alike. But the "publicans" as a class yielding to his exhortations strikes the reader as strange. Elsewhere Jesus represents himself as being criticized in strong contrast to John for associating with publicans and sinners.<sup>2</sup> If John came into close contact with them this comparison loses much of its point. However, the possibility is by no means excluded that John's appeals were heeded by them. Little or nothing of such an effect of John's preaching appears in the course of Jesus' ministry. The third class mentioned is the soldiers. Did these go to hear John? Did they yield themselves to a Jewish idea and submit to its control? It is possible, but one cannot fail to wonder if Roman soldiers went to the desert to hear a Jewish fanatic preach.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Christianity working in the cities came into contact with, and made appeal to, these very classes. In such an appeal and mission this tradition would be of value. The whole paragraph is, however, little more than a background for the succeeding verses, in which John declares the superiority and announces the judicial function of Jesus. This is the climax of this section and to it the preceding statements are subservient.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the attitude of Paul to Abrahamic descent, Rom., chap. 4; Gal., chap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 7:33-35.

<sup>3</sup> That they were Romans, or at least non-Jews, is clear; cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 3 Aufl., I, 459-60; *History of the Jewish People*, Div. I., Vol. II, p. 50.

The other material in which John appears is found in 7:18-35. This section also is difficult by reason of the incorporation of the idea of the forerunner. At the outset there is a lack of confidence on the part of John regarding this personage whom he is supposed to announce. There is genuine wonderment and perplexity. His movement is not merged in that of Jesus, the messengers are still "his disciples." The depressing effect of John's imprisonment is scarcely an adequate explanation for his attitude when compared with other parts of the Baptist tradition. There are but two matters in the section which call for our consideration. The first is the favorable attitude assumed toward the "people" and the "publicans," and the hostile attitude taken toward the religious leaders represented by the "Pharisees and lawyers." Here again we have a reflection of the struggle of the early Christians against the Jewish leaders which was so abundantly manifest in the Perean material. The other matter, and it is by far the more important, is the tribute of Jesus to John the Baptist. Not by any means the least interesting aspect of this tribute is its limitations. With the symbolic answer which Jesus gave to the Baptist's query the incident would naturally be considered ended. But the fact is that the question and its answer are far less significant than that which follows. The words of Jesus constitute a splendid eulogy on the leader of the movement with which he had probably identified himself at the beginning and with which he had broken when he found himself differing from it in thought and aim. John is placed at the very head of prophetic teachers. But with whatever prestige this brought, to which is added that of being the "preparer," John is distinctly shut out from the kingdom of God.<sup>1</sup> Here again the two movements are sharply differentiated. John's position and John's movement are represented as immeasurably inferior to the position of Jesus and his movement.

In this Johannine material two main interests are discoverable. The first is the demonstration of the inferior position occupied by John and the minor importance of his movement as merely preparatory to that of Jesus. This relative position is admitted by John himself according to 3:15-17, and is claimed by Jesus in 7:27, 28*b*. The chief situation which lies behind this interest is the necessity of dealing with the persistency of the Johannine sect and the endeavor to absorb it in the Christian movement. The second interest is the converse of the former and is an attempt to establish the superiority of Jesus as a person and a

<sup>1</sup> Is the real connection of a Johannine tradition broken by the insertion of vss. 27 and 28*b*?



religious leader with the corresponding excellence of this movement. This superiority of Jesus is declared by John and is claimed by Jesus. Thus one interest is a question of policy and diplomacy, and the other a theological or polemical one. The diplomacy of the first interest is shown in the generous estimate placed on the person of John the Baptist and the very great importance assigned to his movement as secondary only to that of Jesus. This conciliatory attitude would do much to break down the opposition and prejudice of the members of the Johannine sect. The second interest will receive further attention in the following paragraphs.

We consider now the temptation narrative contained in Luke 4:1-13. This is a distinctly christological section and marks a phase of the adjustment of the facts of Jesus' earthly career to the thoughts which were current in the early church regarding him. The view of the temptation taken by the source which Luke here follows is different from that of Mark, who sees in the conflict of Jesus with Satan amid the beasts a cosmic victory of the Messiah. It is quite true that the Lukan source considers the temptation in the light of a victory over the evil spirits represented by *ὁ διάβολος* and thereby enhances the figure and personality of Jesus, but that does not exhaust the significance of the narrative. The somewhat detailed discussion of the three temptations serves to explain stubborn facts which seemed to conflict with the messianic dignity of Jesus. The first temptation explains the facts of the economic poverty and humble social position of Jesus. They were the result of a deliberate choice and as such did not invalidate his messianic claim. The second temptation addresses itself to the pressing problem as to why Jesus did not set up a messianic kingdom on earth. Again we find that it was a voluntary renunciation and that such a procedure was deliberately rejected as not in accordance with his plan. The failure of Jesus to reveal himself as a supernatural being endowed with messianic powers was perplexing to many Jewish minds. To give an explanation of this we have the third temptation, in which such a miraculous display as would convince the skeptical is definitely refused. All these questions were difficult and troublesome ones for the early Christians as they pressed the messianic claims of their Lord and were met by the scoffing queries of the Jews. The answer of the temptation story is that all the things which the Jews expected in their messianic king were within the power and grasp of Jesus, but in obedience to a higher ideal and another purpose he had risen superior to their allurements, and was so much greater than any messiah hitherto imagined. Again we have the interest of enhancing the person and official function of Jesus.



At the end of the narrative a word is added which indicates the ubiquitous practical interest of the early church: "And when the devil had completed every temptation he departed from him for a season." This not only shows the completeness of the victory of Jesus over hostile forces and thus serves to demonstrate his superiority to them, but it would be an exceedingly useful word for the encouragement of Christians in the times of stress and testing which were frequent in the early Christian community. It would be heartening to recall that the "head of the church" had been "tempted in all points" and had endured.

The story of the rejection at Nazareth as related in Luke 4:16-30 has likewise a christological interest, although there is a difference in emphasis from the preceding. It represents the mission of Jesus as a preaching one and sets forth his task as that of a prophet. Importance is attached to the announcement of good tidings and the mediation of spiritual blessings. It is the "words of grace" which impress the people, and as a prophetic preacher he makes his appeal to his fellow-townsmen. However, the demonstration of his prophetic mission is not all. He definitely assumes the title of prophet in vs. 24, but in vs. 23 the testimony of his mighty works finds expression.<sup>1</sup> The christological interest of this paragraph, then, has two sides: the supreme message of the blessings of God to men constitutes a credential of Jesus, and the marvelous works which had attended his ministry show his unique power and personality. In our discussion of the development of christological thought in the early church in the preceding section we saw that both these phases had a place.

In the latter part of this narrative the missionary interest issues. The rejection of Jesus at Nazareth has its counterpart in the larger rejection of him by the Jewish people when he is presented to them as their Messiah by the Christians. The two striking instances of the blessing of Israel's God being bestowed on non-Jews in the early prophetic time could be used with telling effect in the struggle of Christianity to

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that vs. 23 may be a Lukan addition to the source under the influence of Mark 6:2. The position of the story of the rejection at Nazareth in Luke is much earlier than that of Mark, who represents Jesus as having done many mighty works in Capernaum before his experience at Nazareth. In Luke, however, apart from 4:23, there is no mention of Capernaum until 4:31, and the writer may have felt it necessary to insert something to approximate the Markan situation. If this view is taken we shall have to modify our statement to the extent that there is but one type of christological representation in this paragraph, namely, the prophetic. But this will in no way affect the argument regarding the whole section.

break the bonds of its early nationalism. This function is so obvious as not to require argument.

The peculiar material of Luke is broken at 4:30 by Markan material, only to be resumed in 5:1. The section 5:1-11 is instructive from our point of approach. The preaching mission of Jesus is reflected in the opening verse, but this is passed by rapidly in order to give attention to another phase of his activity. The interest which centers in the calling of the disciples tends to obscure the important part this section could play in demonstrating the supernatural knowledge of Jesus and his control over natural forces. The accuracy of his knowledge and the immediacy of results impress Simon Peter (the church leader of the early days) with a sense of the uniqueness and superiority of Jesus. The form of apostolic commission which appears here is worthy of notice. This statement of their consecration to a task by Jesus himself and their immediate devotion to it and to his person would be of inestimable value in establishing the position of the apostles as leaders in the church. The point of importance in this paragraph is that it is dominated throughout by christological thought. It sets forth Jesus as the one who has a marvelous and immediate control over both nature and men.

The rest of this peculiarly Lukan material is found in 7:1-8:3 and is strongly marked with a general christological interest. The first part of the chapter concerns itself with the request of a certain centurion that Jesus would heal a servant who was at the point of death. In view of the gospel representation of Jesus as a doer of mighty works there is nothing strange in such a request, but some of the details of the story are very striking. The relations existing between the centurion and the elders of the Jews, the entreaty of the latter to Jesus to respond to the request made, especially taken in comparison with the balder account of Matt. 8:5-13, may suggest an attempt at mediation between the military class, the elders, and the Christians. Much more important, however, is the attitude toward Jesus which the officer is represented as assuming. If a Roman officer showed his respect and esteem to Jesus while Jesus was living it would make excellent apologetic material to the military class in the Christian propaganda. There is here a recognition of the supremacy, the authority, and the dignity of Jesus on the part of this centurion such as is scarcely met with elsewhere in our records. This acknowledgment of these characteristics and its tacit acceptance by Jesus would serve to demonstrate in an excellent manner to any questioning group the right of Jesus to the office and honors claimed for him by the church. It could be used with telling effect with the upper

classes. The second striking thing that emerges is the wonderful power of Jesus, whose word is able to heal even at a distance. This unique ability is clearly understood by this suppliant non-Jew. The surprising attitude of the centurion opens the way for the comments of Jesus on the quality and magnitude of the faith exercised toward him. It is superior to anything that has been found among the people who should have been its most noteworthy exponents. This comparison of the faith manifested by Israel and by the Roman fits such a situation as that brought about by the conversion of Cornelius.<sup>1</sup> If this tradition were current at that time, one cannot fail to wonder at the difficulty which Peter experienced in meeting the situation, a difficulty so great as to necessitate a vision. Moreover, how was it that the church so stubbornly resisted the admission of Gentiles in the face of this example of the Master? Is it possible that the tradition crystallized first in such a situation? In this section we find again the twofold interest of showing the superiority of Jesus and of supporting the larger mission of Christianity.

The paragraph containing the narrative of the raising of the son of the widow of Nain has given rise to some discussion. Many hold the opinion that it is a stray tradition inserted here by Luke to justify the statement of vs. 22, "the dead are raised up."<sup>2</sup> It is quite true that it affords a basis for that remark, but it by no means follows that its insertion is due to the author of the Third Gospel. The interest which the paragraph displays is in such harmony with the general interest of the whole chapter, and in fact of the whole of this peculiar material which we are considering here, that there are strong grounds for considering it an integral part of a source which the author is here using. Even if it is to be regarded as incorporated for the purpose above indicated, there is no reason whatever for delaying its insertion till the time of Luke.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Acts, chap. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johannes Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, I, 448-49.

<sup>3</sup> The omission of the story of the raising of the widow's son by Matthew has been thought to be evidence against its being in the source which Luke and Matthew used. This, of course, assumes identity of source for these two writers. Granting this, is there any reason why Matthew should omit it if it were present? He has copied Luke 7:1-10, with the omission of vss. 3-6a, fairly closely in Matt. 8:5-10, 13. The next levy on this source is made in Matt. 11:29, where the question of the Baptist with Jesus' answer and tribute are recorded. In this he follows Luke 7:18-35 with considerable accuracy. But between chaps. 8 and 11 Matthew has recorded the raising of Jairus' daughter, which furnishes a basis for the statement in the reply of Jesus, "the dead are raised up." When we recall that Matthew omits the story of the anointing of Jesus by the penitent woman in the house of Simon, Luke 7:36-50, perhaps because he takes



The alternative is that the author is eclectic and is piecing together traditions as his work progresses. There are very grave difficulties in the way of acceptance of this view.

The incident shows a progress of thought when compared with that of the healing of the centurion's servant, where Jesus is represented as possessing power over disease. Here his power and supremacy are heightened so that he has control of, and power over, death. The ascription to Jesus the Messiah of such a power would leave little to be desired. In this connection it is of interest to note the manner in which Paul grapples with the problem of the relation of the glorified Christ to death and the application of his thought to the resurrection.<sup>1</sup> The effect of this mighty work on the people of Nain is worthy of consideration. It is the prophetic character of the work of Jesus which seems to have impressed them. To them the power and function of this man were those of a divinely sent and controlled prophet. They did not ascribe the power to do the mighty work to the person who stood before them, but to God who had visited his people.<sup>2</sup> As in the other material, we notice here a dominating christological interest.

The question of the Baptist, with the answer and accompanying eulogy of Jesus, has been discussed above, so we pass to a consideration of the incidents of the dinner in the house of the Pharisee.<sup>3</sup> The narrative shows the superiority of Jesus to legal scrupulosity in his refusal to recognize the uncleanness of the touch of the sinful woman. This tradition would be of assistance in emphasizing the authority of Jesus over legal enactments and would help to cut the Gordian knot of the relation of Christianity to the law. It would likewise serve to break down the prejudice of Jewish Christians in working among such people. But these interests are minor ones in this connection. The Pharisee is represented as doubting the prophetic ability of Jesus because of his failure to recognize the character of the woman who anointed him. Jesus appears in the best possible light when he shows not only that he is aware of the

over from Mark 14:3-9 in a later chapter a somewhat similar story, we may conclude that even if he is using an identical source he is not binding himself to an absolute use, but is using selective powers. I am not able to see that the omission of Luke 7:11-17 by Matthew is in any way proof that it was not in the source Luke had before him. The explanation lies in the difference of arrangement of material.

<sup>1</sup> I Thess. 4:13 ff.; I Cor., chap. 15; Rom. 8:1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Some have seen in several details of this narrative striking similarities to the accounts of the raising of the dead ascribed to Elijah and Elisha in I Kings 7:17-24 and II Kings 4:17-37; cf. Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 7:36-50.



type of woman who has come to him, but also he is quite cognizant of the thoughts which are passing through the mind of his host. The supernatural knowledge of Jesus is clearly exhibited in the conversation which follows. This is a phase of the superiority of Jesus which constantly characterizes this material. The same christological tendency is seen in the statements regarding the forgiveness of sins. There is no hesitancy on the part of Jesus to pronounce pardon, nor does he appeal to external authority. How great an assumption of official dignity and superiority this was in the eyes of contemporaries is reflected in the surprise of the query, "Who is this that forgiveth sins?" There are practical interests discernible throughout the paragraph, but they contain nothing new and are decidedly secondary to the dominating motive of the exaltation of Jesus to a unique position of power and authority.

The short section 8:1-3 is of an entirely different type and probably does not belong to the source. If it does, it is a vagrant tradition which has attached itself to what was originally a separate document. Its function in the Third Gospel is merely connective. If we should look for an interest which is served by it, it would be found in the communistic or ministrative idea, which would be of value in urging support for those missionaries who devoted themselves to the work of the gospel.

We have now passed in review the material which is peculiar to Luke in these chapters, 3-8, and it remains to gather the main facts and to draw from them their legitimate inferences. We have found imbedded in the sixth chapter what, on grounds of obvious direction, function, and literary style, may be considered a separate written source which the author of the Third Gospel has incorporated practically unchanged in his work. It was probably a sermon, or the digest of a sermon, which appealed so strongly to its hearers and performed such valuable service that it was preserved in this form for wider use. There seems to be justification for the theory that the Sermon on the Plain constituted a separate source for our author. Its date and place of origin are quite similar to those of the material of Luke 9:51-18:14.

When we come to consider the remaining material we are conscious of a different thought-atmosphere, and, in fact, a different literary atmosphere, as well. The discourse-material no longer predominates, but occupies a secondary place to the narrative. The practical interest, in the strict meaning of that phrase, appears only occasionally. In its place we have a controlling theological interest. We have noted the occurrence of a Baptist tradition. This has been brought into alignment with the chief interest of the source, and there is ground for the

opinion that a careful combination of literary and historical criticism could restore to us part of a Johannine tradition which did not represent its hero as secondary to Jesus.<sup>1</sup> This does not concern us deeply here, for this Johannine material had been absorbed in the general interest and incorporated in the source before it reached the hand of the author of our gospel. The overwhelming interest of this material has been christological. Throughout its various sections we have detected the purpose of indicating and demonstrating the superiority of Jesus. At one time he is the mighty prophet who by word and deed impresses those who hear his gracious words with a due sense of his unique greatness. At other times he is the supreme Lord over the forces of nature, of life, and of death, as in the healing of the centurion's servant, the raising of the widow's son, the miracles in the presence of John's messengers, and the great draught of fishes. In the realm of knowledge which is beyond ordinary ken he walks serene and undisturbed. His supernatural knowledge enables him to detect the character and hidden thoughts of his fellows, and to be conversant with the secret workings of nature. His control over men is such that a word from him is sufficient to change the course of their lives.<sup>2</sup> Every ascription of superiority, supremacy, or dignity Jesus is made to accept as his right, and, on more than one occasion, actually claims it. It would then appear that what we have here is a document with the definite interest of meeting the difficulties which confronted the early church when it attempted to demonstrate the messianic office, dignity, and power of Jesus while he was on earth. If his failure to meet the requirements of the common messianic ideal was opposed to the claim of his followers, they replied in the story of the temptation that a different purpose involved a voluntary refusal of the exercise of such powers and activities. If his humble and obscure career formed the basis of a taunt or became a stumbling-block to earnest seekers, his splendid message of divine blessing and love as well as his mighty works would be adduced as marks of his personal greatness and demonstrations of his high position. In short, we have here a document which was a christological polemic. To discover its provenance we need only recall the place where the battle for the messianic claims of Jesus

<sup>1</sup> On the whole question of the existence of a document devoted to John the Baptist which has, at least in part, been incorporated in Luke, and on the question of the persistence of a Johannine sect which attempted to rival the Christian movement, cf. Clayton R. Bowen, in the *American Journal of Theology*, XVI, 90-106; cf. also Baldensperger, *Prolog des vierten Evangeliums*; E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 77-86.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 5:10-11.

was first fought. It was in Jerusalem that the apostles first set him forth as Messiah; it was there also that they met with stern opposition from the religious leaders of the people who would have been seriously compromised by any general acceptance of the messianic character of Jesus. Moreover, it was in Jerusalem that, in response to various objections to ascribing this office to Jesus on the part of Jewish opponents who knew the career of Jesus, the first advances in christological thinking were made. If we were right in the sketch of christological development given in a previous section,<sup>1</sup> we are in a position to give a relative date to this document. There we saw that the adoptionist Christology was followed by a phase which gradually thrust the messianic task and dignity back into the earthly career of Jesus and which seized upon various traditions to support its claim. The prophetic aspect of his work, based on the promise of a "prophet like unto Moses," preceded that of Jesus as a doer of messianic mighty works. In the Perean section we found the former representation predominating; here we have both aspects, that of the possessor and wielder of miraculous power being the more prominent. While the impossibility of distinguishing sharply in period between various phases is freely admitted, for there is high probability that different conceptions coexisted, yet a general chronological arrangement may be claimed. So, then, there is reason for placing the crystallization of these traditions and probably their collection into documentary form at that time when the emphasis on "mighty works" was beginning to force the prophetic representation into a secondary place. This would be somewhat later than the material of Luke 9:51-18:14, but earlier than Mark, for in the Second Gospel we have the emphasis on the miraculous highly developed and the annunciation of messianic office to Jesus at his baptism.

Thus our study of this Lukan material has led us to these conclusions: Luke is using at least three sources, besides Mark, in these chapters. There is, first, the material which he has incorporated *en bloc* in 9:51-18:14; second, there is the Sermon on the Plain, which we consider a separate source; and third, there is the christological document scattered throughout chaps. 3, 4, 5, 7. The first and third of these sources are manifestly composite and had doubtless a literary history before they reached the hand of the author of the Third Gospel. They are all Palestinian in origin and the evidence points with some clearness to Jerusalem as the place where they assumed documentary form. Their probable dates have been indicated in the course of the discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 49 ff.

















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